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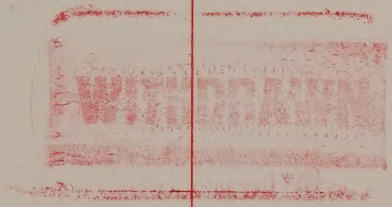

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AN INTRODUCTION AND A COMMENTARY

BY

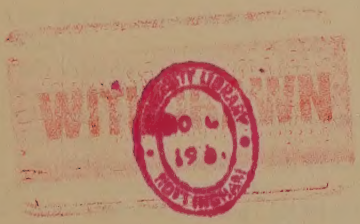
C. G. MONTEFIORE

HON. D.D. (MANCHESTER)

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

Second Edition revised and partly rewritten



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MATTHEW

CHAPTER I

1–17. The Genealogy of Jesus

(Matthew only)

Book of the origin of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judah and his brothers; and Judah begat Phares and Zara of Thamar; and Phares begat Esrom; and Esrom begat Aram; and Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naasson; and Naasson begat Salmon; and Salmon begat Boaz of Rachab; and Boaz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David the king; and David begat Solomon of the wife of Uriah; and Solomon begat Rehoboam; and Rehoboam begat Abia; and Abia begat Asa; and Asa begat Jehosaphat; and Jehosaphat begat Joram; and Joram begat Oziah; and Oziah begat Jotham; and Jotham begat Achaz; and Achaz begat Hezekiah; and Hezekiah begat Manasseh; and Manasseh begat Amon; and Amon begat Josiah; and Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brothers, about the time of the Babylonian captivity; and after the captivity of Babylon, Jechoniah begat Salathiel; and Salathiel begat Zorobabel; and Zorobabel begat Abiud; and Abiud begat Eliakim; and Eliakim begat Azor; and Azor begat Sadoc; and Sadoc begat Achim; and Achim begat Eliud; and Eliud begat Eleazar; and Eleazar begat Matthan; and Matthan begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called the Christ.

So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David until the Babylonian captivity are

fourteen generations; and from the Babylonian captivity unto Christ are fourteen generations.

I do not propose to make any serious changes in the very brief notes of my first edition to the first three chapters of Matthew. The subject-matter of those chapters has no special interest for Jewish readers, nor would anything that I could say about them be of any interest to anybody. In my first edition, chapters i.-iii. occupied 15 pages; chapters v.-vii. (the Sermon on the Mount) occupied 73 pages, and in the present edition a similar proportion will be observed. As in the first edition so now I will begin my notes by a useful quotation from Loisy:

'Both in his subject-matter, as in the order of his material, the redactor of the first Gospel depends upon the second. But before the story of the ministry of Christ, he has placed a preamble, containing a narrative of the conception, the birth and the infancy of Jesus (Chapters i., ii.). After the preliminaries of the Gospel preaching (iii.–iv. 22), he lets us see the main object of his book,—namely, an exposition of what Jesus taught and did (iv. 23). The teaching indeed takes precedence of the doings; the opening of each main section of the work is marked by a considerable oration; a collection of sayings precedes a series of doings. Thus the Sermon on the Mount (iv. 24–vii.) precedes any detailed account of the miracles, and is followed by a series of ten marvels, which the redactor has brought together by taking from Mark a certain number of facts told before the death of John the Baptist, and changing their order (viii.–ix. 34); the speech to the apostles (ix. 35–x.) paves the way for a series of lessons combined with certain pieces of Mark which had not found a place in the preceding section (xi., xii); then comes the discourse of the parables (xiii. 1–52), which is followed by other narratives from Mark (xiii. 53–xvii. 23). A speech of smaller length (xviii.), but important to the Evangelist, because it has to do with the order and the peace of the Christian congregations, precedes the departure for Judæa (xix., xx.), and the incidents of the Jerusalem ministry (xxi., xxii.). The oration against the Pharisees (xxiii.), and the apocalypse (xxiv., xxv.), concludes the preaching of Jesus, and introduces the narrative of the Passion and the resurrection (xxvi.–xxviii.).

'It is clear that the two first chapters are an added section put before the preaching of John the Baptist. In these very chapters, however, the opening genealogy (i. 1–17) detaches itself from the following narrative: it had at first a separate existence, and was drawn up without relation to the virgin birth; a gloss at the close (i. 16) adapts it to the narrative, but probably at one time it immediately preceded the story of the Baptist (iii. 1 connects better

with i. 17 than with the immediately preceding narrative). The stories of the conception, the birth, the Magi, the flight into Egypt, and the return, are all from the same hand, which seems to be that of the Evangelist himself. Their object is to show the accomplishment of prophecies, and they are arranged with an eye to the oracles which they are supposed to have fulfilled' (*E. S.* I. pp. 120, 121).

Thus the genealogy with which the Gospel opens is obviously only adopted and adapted by the Evangelist. For, if Jesus was not the son of Joseph, the genealogy is worthless and pointless. The genealogy was drawn up in a quarter and at a time in which the belief that Jesus was Joseph's son still existed. As the genealogy was known, the Evangelist thought it well to adopt and include it, though with a necessary modification at its close. For its whole point is to show that Jesus, on the father's side, was descended from David. The 16th verse must therefore have run originally: 'And Joseph begat Jesus.' For if he did not, the whole genealogy would be valueless. There is also some textual evidence. For instance, the Sinaitic Syriac reads: 'Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary was betrothed, begat Jesus Christ' (see Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 106). Merx shows that even the S.S. is interpolated. Originally the text ran, 'And Joseph begat Jesus.' Then after verse 17 there followed originally (in all probability) iii. 1 (*Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II. 1, pp. viii. and 15). Those who are curious to see how orthodox Christian theologians try to avoid the seemingly obvious conclusion drawn from these facts can read Mr. Allen's, Prof. M'Neile's, and Prof. Box's commentaries. They can there see it argued that ἐγέννησε throughout the genealogy denotes legal, not physical, descent. Streeter, however, essays to show that the S.S. has 'small claim to be regarded as the true text' (pp. 87, 267. But *cp.* Meyer, I. p. 62, n. 2).

Jesus himself apparently never laid claim to Davidic descent. In fact Mark xii. 38 would seem to show that he was conscious that he could make no such claim. The humble family at Nazareth was probably totally ignorant of its ancestors. The genealogies of Luke and Matthew—discordant, the one with the other—are due to the obvious necessity for proving to the Jews the Davidic descent of the Messiah. They were composed after Jesus's death, but before the doctrine of the virgin birth had become widely known and accepted. The partiality for equal numbers, and for the sacred number seven, is shown in verse 17.

As a matter of fact, even including Joseph (or Mary) and Jesus, there are only fourteen generations in the third series, if Jechoniah (= Jehoiachin) is counted again as the first of the third series as well as the last of the second.

There are errors in the second series: four kings are omitted, *i.e.* Ahaziah (son of Joram), Joash, Amaziah, and Jehoiakim.

In the first series, Rahab is oddly made the mother of Boaz. According to the Old Testament records and genealogies, there must have been 300 years between them. Holtzmann points out that Rahab attained in the New Testament to a certain importance (*cp.* Hebrews xi. 31; James ii. 25). The Rabbis also regard her as a famous proselyte. The genealogist liked to bring in famous women (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Bathsheba) as part of the Messiah's ancestry. J. Weiss points out the prominence given to women who in the Old Testament records have some sort of stigma attached to them—Tamar, Rahab, Bathsheba. Ruth was a Moabitess. The occasion for specially naming these women must have been, as J. Weiss thinks, that the Jews cast some reproaches against Mary. 'If the Jews, in spite of those stumbling-blocks, do not cease to honour the sacred history of their nation, they have no reason for bringing a reproach against the new religion on the ground of a suspicion which the Evangelist is about to prove unfounded.'

1. 'Book of the origin, or genealogy,' like Genesis v. 1. It is a heading to the genealogy, not to the whole Gospel.

'Jesus Christ,' *cp.* Mark i. 1. The full form was 'the Messiah Jesus,' then came 'Messiah Jesus,' and by an inversion, Messiah becoming a sort of surname, 'Jesus Messiah'—Jesus Christ.

18–25. The Virgin Birth

(Matthew only)

18 Now the birth of Jesus Christ happened thus. After his mother
Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, but before they came together,
it was found that she was with child of the Holy Spirit. Then
19 Joseph her husband, being a righteous man, and not willing to
20 expose her to shame, determined to divorce her secretly. But
while he thought over these things, behold, an angel of the Lord
appeared unto him in a dream, saying, 'Joseph, son of David, fear
not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which has been
21 begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit. And she shall bring forth
a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his
people from their sins.'

Now all this took place that that might be fulfilled which was
23 spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, 'Behold, the

virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel,' which, being translated, is, God is with us.

And when Joseph arose from his sleep, he did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife. And he knew her not till she brought forth a son: and he called his name Jesus.

Matthew adopted and edited the genealogy, but this next paragraph is probably his own.

18. The S.S. reads 'of the Messiah' only, without Jesus.

'Betrothed.' They had not yet lived together in one house as man and wife, though they were legally married according to Jewish law. Mary does not appear to know the origin and cause of her pregnant condition. In Luke it is all explained to her. In Matthew, she receives no celestial message; the destined name of her son is not previously told to her, but to Joseph, nor is it she who names him after his birth; she is, in fact, given a less exalted place than in Luke, and Joseph, whose *rôle* is secondary in Luke, takes the more important place in Matthew.

19. δίκαιος ὤν. 'A righteous man': used, some think, in a special, legal sense. Being 'righteous' he was obliged to divorce her, but he did not wish to put her to open shame. Hence he determines on a secret separation.

δειγματίσαι. 'To expose her to shame.' In actual fact he could not, by mutual arrangement and privately, have legally dissolved the marriage; but in a legendary narrative this difficulty does not matter.

20. 'An angel in a dream.' Warnings by dreams only occur here, and ii. 12, 13, 19, 22, xxvii. 19, in the New Testament.

21. The name of Jesus is historic; an explanation of it was easy for his disciples. The name lent itself to deeper meanings. It fitted in with the interpretation which was given of his life. Its literal signification is: 'Yahweh is salvation.'

'From their sins.' Jesus urged repentance, in order that the Messianic judgment might not prevent repentant sinners from entering the Kingdom. But here the words sound somewhat more technical, even as a more theological kind of salvation, depending upon a certain faith in Jesus's person, is suggested by xxvi. 28.

22. The first example of Matthew's favourite way of introducing a passage from the Old Testament. The life of Jesus becomes a prearranged fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. There are fourteen instances of the phrase 'that it might be fulfilled' in this Gospel.

23. The first example is a very unfortunate one, so far as the meaning of the original Hebrew is concerned. But Matthew gladly follows the Septuagint, which had erroneously translated the Hebrew *almah* (young woman) by 'virgin.' For as Matthew accepted the later tradition that Jesus was born of a virgin, this passage in the Septuagint was an excellent 'proof' for him, as 'proofs' went in those days among both Jews and Christians.

It is, however, a good indication of the careful and honest way in which Matthew used his sources that he includes in his Gospel phrases and even stories which show a complete ignorance of any supernatural origin of Jesus on the part of his mother, and of his family, and of people in general (*cp. e.g.* xii. 46–50, xiii. 55, 56). Many scholars think that the origin of the idea of the virgin birth must not be sought in the Septuagint's mistranslation of Isaiah's prophecy. It is not implied in the Septuagint that the virgin is still to be a virgin, so far as man is concerned, when she is with child. The roots, they think, lie much deeper. For the real origins those who care to pursue the subject can find much of value in a number of works, both English and foreign, which are easily accessible. Harnack, on the other hand, denies that mythological conceptions could have *primarily* suggested the idea of the Virgin Birth, though they may have stimulated it. He thinks that it *is* the Greek version of Isaiah vii. 14 which is really responsible for the whole story and idea. See his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das neue Testament*, iv. (1911), pp. 99–105. Worth reading is Meyer's section on the *Geburtslegenden* and the pagan parallels, i. pp. 52–60.

The doctrine of the 'divinity' of Jesus has passed through many stages. There are even in the New Testament many conceptions of his relation to God which are not consistent with each other. There is Mark's view that he became the Son of God at the baptism, and even then only received the Spirit; there is the view indicated in Romans i. 4, that Jesus became the Son of God by the investiture of the Spirit at his resurrection; or, again, there is the more prevailing Pauline view that Jesus was a pre-existent divine being. And it has been pointed out (*e.g.* by J. Weiss) that the theory of the virgin birth precludes the view that Jesus, even before his birth, lived as a divine being in heaven, and then assumed human form and flesh. The idea which is found in Matthew (and in Luke) 'excludes a pre-existence in Heaven; in the conception of Jesus

begins, through a special miraculous act of creation, a new personality which, at most, had existed previously in the thought of God.' (*Cp.* Bultmann, p. 175; Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, 2nd ed., pp. 268–274; Clemen, p. 115; the last named shows that Matthew has adapted a story or a source which knew nothing of the virgin birth. Clemen emphatically rejects the hypothesis of Harnack.)

CHAPTER II

1–12. The Adoration of the Magi

(Matthew only)

1 Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days
of Herod the king, behold, there came Magi from the east to
2 Jerusalem, saying, 'Where is the new-born King of the Jews?
for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to do him
3 reverence.' When King Herod heard this, he was agitated, and
4 all Jerusalem with him. And he gathered all the chief priests
and scribes of the people together, and he enquired of them where
5 the Messiah was to be born. And they said unto him, 'In
6 Bethlehem of Judæa: for thus it is written by the prophet, And
thou Bethlehem, land of Juda, art by no means the least among
the governors of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that
7 shall feed my people Israel.' Then Herod secretly called the
Magi, and ascertained from them the time when the star had
8 appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, 'Go and
make careful enquiries about the child; and when ye have found
him, bring me word again, that I too may come and do him
9 reverence.' When they had heard the king, they departed; and,
lo, the star, which they had seen in the east, went before them,
10 till it came and stood still above where the child was. When
they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.
11 And when they came into the house, they saw the child with
Mary his mother, and they fell down, and did him reverence: and
they opened their treasures, and they offered unto him gifts; gold
12 and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned by God in a
dream not to return to Herod, they departed into their own
country by another way.

For the two main stories in chapter ii., which are not necessarily connected originally with each other, the student may conveniently

consult the brief remarks in Bultmann, p. 175. In their present literary form they are the work of the Evangelist.

1. 'Magi.' Astrologers are meant. Against the older tradition, Jesus is here made out to be, not a Galilæan born in Nazareth, but a Judæan born in Bethlehem. He is born at Bethlehem to suit the prophecy of Micah cited in verse 5.

The Magi represent the heathen world; they, too, are interested in the birth of the Messiah. As to the origin of the legend, see Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, pp. 108, 109, 119, 120, and Usener, in the article 'Nativity Narratives' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3351. Those who would like to see a modern plea for the historical character of the story, and even of the slaughter of the Innocents (in a somewhat restricted form), should read Mr. Allen's commentary, pp. 11–22.

2. The special star or comet, which appears at great men's births and death, is a common feature of legend. The Messiah's birth must also have its special star. Numbers xxiv. 17 will have helped to form the story. 'In the east,' or 'at its rising.'

4. Herod's action is charmingly naive!

6. The Hebrew text is considerably altered. Perhaps Matthew used some loose, oral, Aramaic translation. The original passage in Micah seems merely to mean that the Messiah shall be of David's line.

8. Herod's request that they shall return to him so that he, too, may go and worship is given in obvious craft. It is odd that a learned commentator should call Herod's pretext 'incredible.' One must not break the butterfly of legend upon critical wheels.

11. They worship and offer precious gifts in good eastern fashion (*cp.* Isaiah lx. 6).

12. The object of the dream is not to prevent the magi from becoming the victims of Herod's wrath, but to prevent them having to tell Herod, 'Yes: the child has really arrived.' Herod waits, and meanwhile Joseph escapes.

13–15. The Flight into Egypt

(Matthew only)

13 And after they had departed, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, 'Arise, and take the child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I tell thee: for Herod is about to seek the child to destroy him.'
14 So he arose, and he took the child and his mother by night, and
15 departed into Egypt. And he was there until the death of Herod: that that might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son.'

13. The troublous childhoods of great heroes is a well-known subject of legend. One can compare the legends about Moses, Cyrus, and many others.

15. The quotation from Hosea is drawn from the Hebrew or from some Greek translation other than the LXX. In reality Hosea referred here to Israel. It is possible that the story of the Flight into Egypt arose independently, but it is, perhaps, more probable that it was invented on the basis of the passage in Hosea and on the general idea that Jesus, the Son of God, the incarnation of the true Israel, must also be called out of Egypt like Israel of old.

16–18. The Massacre of the Innocents

(Matthew only)

16 Then Herod, when he saw that the Magi had deluded him, was exceeding wroth, and he sent and slew all the male children that were in Bethlehem, and in all its district, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had ascertained from
17 the Magi. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah
18 the prophet, saying, 'A voice is heard in Rama; weeping and much lamentation; Rachel weeps for her children, and will not be comforted, because they are not.'

16. There is little reason to suppose, and there is no confirmatory evidence, that Herod ever did anything of the kind here suggested. The story is more or less modelled upon that of Moses.

18. The passage from Jeremiah is, in reality, not a prophecy,

but a retrospect. The personified Israel bewails the loss of the many Israelites who have been led away into Babylonian captivity.

19–23. The Journey to Galilee

(Matthew only)

19 But when Herod died, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared
20 in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, 'Arise, take the child and his mother, and go to the land of Israel: for they who sought the
21 child's life are dead.' So he arose, and took the child and his
22 mother, and came to the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus was king over Judæa in the place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: but, being warned by God in a dream,
23 he withdrew into the region of Galilee. And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that that might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophets, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.'

20. The language is purposely modelled on Exodus iv. 19. He who was greater than Moses, and fulfilled (or supplanted ?) the Law which Moses gave, must have an early history which is parallel with, though it excels, the early history of Moses in danger and providential arrangement.

22. Archelaus was ethnarch, not king. The story is rather clumsy here. The angel apparently forgot to tell Joseph about Archelaus, and the narrator forgets that Antipas the ruler of Galilee was also a son of Herod.

23. By a roundabout process, Jesus is thus settled in his historic native town. The birth at Bethlehem and the journey to Egypt were apparently invented to make unreal fulfilments of misconceived prophetic passages. Finally, even the dwelling in Nazareth is made such a fulfilment. What it fulfils is, however, very obscure, as there is no passage in the prophets which says that the Messiah shall be called a 'Nazarene.' One rather superficial interpretation is that what the writer meant was a somewhat poor play upon words between 'Nazareth,' Jesus's dwelling-place, and 'netzer,' a shoot, or branch, applied in Isaiah xi. 1 to the Messiah: 'And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a *branch* out of his root shall bear fruit.' The word 'branch' is in the Hebrew *netzer*. 'Had the Evangelist some lost or apocryphal document in his thought, or was his fancy only

playing round some ancient word in which he imaginatively saw the name of Nazareth foreshadowed? The latter is the more probable' (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 45). It has also been suggested that in the age of Jesus there was no city of Nazareth at all. 'No such town as Nazareth is mentioned in the Old Testament, in Josephus, or in the Talmud' (Cheyne in *Encyc. Biblica*, *s.v.* 'Nazareth,' col. 3360). The idea is that Nazareth means really Galilee, and Nazarene means Galilæan. It is at any rate remarkable that there did exist a village called Bethlehem of Zebulun (Joshua xix. 15), which was situated only seven miles from the present Nazareth. In the Talmud this place is called 'Zoriyah,' which may be a corruption from 'Notzeriyah,' *i.e.* the Nazarene or Galilæan Bethlehem. Hence too, perhaps, the origin of the tradition that Jesus was born at Bethlehem. He was born there, but not in the Bethlehem of Judah, but of Galilee. 'The title Bethlehem-Nazareth was misunderstood by some of the transmitters of the tradition, so that while some said, "Jesus was born at Bethlehem," others said, "Jesus was born at Nazareth."' But it has to be noted that the Greek is not Nazarene, but Nazoraios (Ναζωραῖος), and this word may be quite disconnected originally with the name of the city or village of Nazareth. A useful summary of other possible interpretations can be read in Box's Commentary.

CHAPTER III

1–12. John the Baptist

(*Cp.* Mark i. 1–8 ; Luke iii. 1–18)

1 In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness
2 of Judæa, and saying, 'Repent ye : for the kingdom of heaven
3 has drawn nigh.' For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, saying, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare
4 ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' And John had his clothing of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins ;
5 and his food was locusts and wild honey. Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about the
6 Jordan, and they were baptized by him in the Jordan, confessing their sins.

7 But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to the baptism, he said unto them, 'O offspring of vipers, who
8 has suggested to you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth,
9 then, fruit befitting repentance : and think not to say to yourselves, We have Abraham for father : for I say unto you, that God is able
0 to raise up children unto Abraham from these stones. Already is the axe laid unto the root of the trees : every tree, then, which brings not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.
1 I baptize you with water unto repentance : but he that comes after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear :
2 he will baptize you with Holy Spirit, and fire. His winnowing fan is in his hand, and he will purify his threshing floor, and gather his wheat into the granary ; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

Matthew now begins to use and to incorporate large portions of Mark.

1, 2. Matthew only. What John is made to say in Matthew is

much the same as what Jesus says in Mark i. 15 ; but the words in Mark i. 4 about the ' remission of sins ' are omitted.

John and Jesus, then, begin with the same general message : ' Repent : the great day is at hand ; then there will be no more chance to repent, for then there will be separation and judgment : the good will enter the Kingdom ; the bad will enter Gehenna.' How far we are from this conception ! This fundamental difference must never be lost sight of in dealing with the religious teaching of Jesus. The conception of progress and purification after death, so profoundly vital and significant to us, was quite unknown to him. Burkitt thinks that John only said ' Repent,' and that he did not announce the imminent coming of the Kingdom. ' The message of John and the message of Jesus have been assimilated ' (*Christian Beginnings*, p. 16).

' Kingdom of heaven ' and ' Father in heaven ' are phrases used by Matthew. Mark says ' Kingdom of God,' and Jesus too probably used this phrase.

7–10. Compare Luke iii. 7–9. These verses are not found in Mark : their source is perhaps Q, who may be supposed also to have included 11 and 12, whether these latter two verses are parallel to, or the source of, Mark i. 7, 8. Thus Q probably started at the same point of departure as Mark.

7. Matthew often unites the Pharisees and Sadducees. He probably had only a vague idea who the Pharisees and Sadducees were. All he knew, or cared to know, was that they were opponents of his hero. Therefore they were bad people, for Matthew is a partisan, and uses the ordinary partisan language. The words which follow have no value as historical evidence about the characters of the real ' Pharisees ' or the real ' Sadducees.' In the parallel passage in Luke, the vituperative speech is not addressed to the Pharisees and Sadducees, but to the ' people ' generally. This may be more original, or it may be Luke's correction to avoid the contradiction with the statement in Matt. xxi. 32, Luke vii. 30 that the Pharisees and Sadducees refused to receive the baptism of John. The vehement words are in keeping with the character of John.

He compares them with vipers because of their hypocrisy and deceitfulness.

' Who suggested to, or told, you to flee from the wrath to come ? ' The answer meant is, It was not I. I did not think of *you* or summon *you*.

8. ' But if ye would really escape the Wrath, live more worthily; show by your works that your repentance is real ; the works

must correspond with, or answer to, the repentance.' Sound and customary Rabbinic doctrine. The word μετάνοια occurs in Matthew only here and iii. 3 (Q). In Mark it only occurs in i. 4. The verb (μετανοεῖν) only occurs in Mark in i. 15 and in vi. 12. In Matthew it occurs in iii. 2, iv. 17, xi. 20, 21 (Q), xii. 41 (Q). An examination of these few passages would seem to show that the teaching of Jesus which the disciples cared most to preserve did not *directly* harp upon the mere term and word 'repentance.' Jesus took a more original line of effecting an end common both to himself and to John. He encouraged, stimulated, comforted. He did not merely din a summons to repentance into people's ears. Luke has the noun five times, the verb nine times.

9. Like Amos, John seems to argue that God can reject his people. He can, in his omnipotence, make a new people out of stones. Anyhow, the Judgment is imminent, and its methods will be irrespective of race. Only those whose lives are good will escape 'eternal fire.' This warning against a narrow self-delusion and self-righteousness based upon race renewed the teaching of the eighth-century prophets. That at the great Day of Judgment God would punish Israel's foes and deliver Israel was a fixed dogma of the age. But John and Jesus proclaim aloud the old prophetic faith: for unrighteousness there shall be no escape. The sinful Jew shall not be exempt because of his race or nationality.

11, 12 = Mark i. 7, 8. Mark said that John baptized with water, Jesus with the higher baptism of the Holy Spirit. Jesus gives a higher grace, a better gift, than John. This idea is only in the background here. In the foreground is the idea that John is the precursor of the Judgment; he summons to repentance; Jesus is the lord and executor of the Judgment. He apportions to good and bad their final and everlasting doom. Matthew perhaps combines the 'fire' of his extra source with Mark's 'Holy Spirit.' The threshing-floor is heaped up with chaff and wheat. It is 'cleansed' by sifting the chaff from the wheat. The one is burnt; the other garnered. The figure has many Old Testament parallels (*e.g.* Jeremiah xv. 7).

Wellhausen suspects that the fire baptism has really to do, not with Jesus, but with the eschatological Messiah. It is he whom John had really in his mind as the executor of the divine wrath, and not the historic Jesus. He thinks, therefore, that a non-Christian tradition about John, which may be due to his disciples, has been mixed up with the Christian tradition as we find it in Mark, on the strength of a later identification of Jesus the Christ with the Jewish Messiah of the Baptist. I can only just allude to

the development this suggestion has received in the researches and theories of Reitzenstein. Whether they will be generally approved, or rejected, by competent scholars, it is, I suppose, still too early to know. *Cp. Das mändaische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, pp. 63, 64 (1919), *Das iranische Erlösungs-mysterium* (1921), p. 124. *Cp.* also the section on the Baptism by Fire in Leisegang, *Pneuma Hagion*, pp. 72–80, and Clemen, p. 122 : ' The saying about a baptism with spirit and fire, as perhaps also only with spirit, has indeed to be explained by an hellenistic origin.' Völter supposes that John, in speaking of a ' stronger than he,' meant God. John's words have been edited in a Christian sense. What he really said was that One stronger than he (*i.e.* God) would come after him, who would in His great final judgment burn the impenitent with fire. The theory is worked out with much ingenuity, but seems very doubtful. (' Die Rede Jesu über Johannes den Täufer nebst Bemerkungen zur Rede des Täufers über Jesus," in *Nieuw theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1920, pp. 76–97).

13–17. The Baptism of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark i. 9–11 ; Luke iii. 21, 22)

13 Then Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan unto John, to be
14 baptized by him. But John sought to prevent him, saying, ' I need
15 to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me ? ' But Jesus answered and said unto him, ' Permit it for the present ; for thus it befits us to fulfil all righteousness.' Then he permitted him.
16 And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water : and, lo, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Spirit of
17 God descending like a dove, and coming upon him : and, lo, a voice from heaven, saying, ' This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

14, 15. Matthew only. The insertion which Matthew makes here is to meet the objection how Jesus, who was sinless, could have required or undergone a baptism which was connected with repentance. But if John had thus early recognized Jesus as Messiah, he would not have sent the enquiry of xi. 2, 3.

15. Jesus explains that a merely temporary necessity must be fulfilled. ' To fulfil all righteousness ' means to satisfy all divine ordinances till the new revelation is ripe or ready. The baptism is regarded as a kind of needful accommodation. Jesus has to submit (as an Israelite) to a rite to which all Israelites were summoned.

Hence the plural ἡμῖν. *Cp.* xviii. 27. The words of Jesus must be unhistorical. Not only does John recognize and acknowledge the Messiah, but Jesus himself knows himself to be Messiah and sinless, even before the Baptism. The word δικαιοσύνη is almost peculiar to Matthew. Mark does not use it. In Luke it is found once (i. 75), in John twice (xvi. 8, 10). In Matthew it is only Jesus himself who uses the word. See further note on v. 6.

17. Here the voice does not address itself to Jesus, but to John or the bystanders. In Mark sight and sound are for Jesus alone. Both versions are doubtless equally unhistorical, but the second marks a later stage than the first. The baptism is no longer the moment at which Jesus becomes the Son of God. It is only the moment at which others are told of his true status. He has been the special Son of God since his birth. There are some good remarks on the baptism story in Bultmann, pp. 151–154. Allen says we must render, 'This is my Son, the beloved.' He is the Son in a metaphysical sense, he is ἀγαπητός, or ἐκλεκτός, as the Messiah (*cp.* Klostermann).

CHAPTER IV

I–II. The Temptation

(*Cp.* Mark i. 12, 13 ; Luke iv. 1–13)

1 Then was Jesus led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be
2 tempted by the devil. And when he had fasted forty days and
3 forty nights, afterwards he hungered. And the Tempter came up
to him and said, ' If thou be the Son of God, say that these stones
4 may become bread.' But he answered and said, ' It is written,
Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that pro-
5 ceeds out of the mouth of God.' Then the devil took him up
into the holy city, and set him upon the pinnacle of the temple,
6 and said unto him, ' If thou be the Son of God, throw thyself down :
for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee :
and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou
7 dash thy foot against a stone. Jesus said unto him, ' Again it is
8 written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' Then the devil
took him up again on to an exceeding high mountain, and shewed
9 him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them ; and he
said unto him, ' All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down
10 and do me reverence.' Then Jesus said unto him, ' Get thee hence,
Satan : for it is written, Thou shalt do reverence to the Lord thy
11 God, and him only shalt thou serve.' Then the devil left him, and,
behold, angels came and ministered unto him.

For his account of the temptation Matthew went, not to Mark, but to Q. Whether Mark's version is independent, or a mere epitome of Q's is disputed. It looks, it must be confessed, like an abbreviation of some longer narrative.

The story, or symbolic myth, of the temptation occupies two verses in Mark, eleven in Matthew, and thirteen in Luke. The best and most easily available explanation of it is to be found in Dr. Carpenter's splendid book, *The First Three Gospels* (pp. 134–143).

A condensed, but valuable, statement about it is obtainable in Bultmann, p. 155.

Many causes may have combined to produce the story. First of all there was the belief that many great heroes of olden times, *e.g.* Abraham and Job, had been 'tempted' and had conquered. Jesus, who was greater than Abraham, must also have been a greater conqueror. Secondly, there was the belief that one of the functions of the Messiah was to conquer Satan, the chief devil, and to overcome the demons. Thirdly, there were parallels in other religions, and it is not entirely impossible that the temptation stories of Buddha may have influenced the Gospel narratives. Fourthly, (as some think), the story puts at the beginning of the life of Jesus, in one concentrated and highly imaginative form, certain real temptations with which he possibly had to grapple in the course of his actual life.

It is usually said that these temptations were mainly twofold: the temptation to ask God for signs and miracles, and the temptation to aim at worldly power. It is likely enough that the opponents of Jesus, or those who hesitated whether to believe his message or no, often asked him for a sign, a miracle. Instead of teaching, they wanted miraculous doing. Jesus did, according to the Gospels, work 'wonders,' but these were incidental to his teaching; they were mainly miracles of healing or compassion. There was no formal 'sign,' like the sign granted to Elijah in the trial scene between him and the prophets of Baal. In the actual life of Jesus we have still further to discount the miracles, such even as they are, which the Gospel narrates. Many of them, we hold, did not happen. In that case, the desire to have the question settled by miracle would have been all the stronger. Some theologians regard this desire as sceptical or unspiritual, and therefore as characteristically Jewish. 'Wundersucht' is odious in their eyes. But I am not so sure that they are right. For Jesus put forward teaching which ran counter to the letter of the Law. If he was right, the Law was wrong. Could the Law—the word of God—be wrong? Nothing less than a very big miracle, or many big miracles, could make it likely that teaching which criticized the Law could possibly be right.

Jesus, doubtless, according to the views of his age, as he believed intensely in the divineness of his mission, believed that he could work miracles. He may, very probably, have believed that he had only to ask God to perform a miracle, and a miracle would happen. But he may have also believed that to make such a request to God was to tempt Him (Matt. iv. 7; Deut. vi. 16). He may have believed that his cause was to triumph, not by miracle, but by its own inherent power and truth. He may have felt that his life and

his teaching were to prove themselves, and that no external, even miraculous, actions or events could add authority to them. In such a belief there was truth and nobility of soul, as well as courage, conviction, and self-restraint. Why should we not credit Jesus with these virtues?

Yet, as Bultmann justly says, Christian reflection—the reflection and imagination of the early community—may have found a problem in the *kind* of Messiah which Jesus was, but if it saw in his miracles a *proof* of his Messiahship, how could it consider that the *method* of miracles was for Jesus a temptation of Satan?

It is, indeed, conceivable that, towards the close of his ministry, Jesus may have realized that his mission was only to succeed, and the Kingdom of God to be inaugurated, by his own suffering and death. In that case all suggestions to found an earthly sovereignty prematurely were mere temptations of the Evil One. His conception of his Messiahship may have been the conception of the Suffering Servant, through whose stripes and death men were healed, rather than that of the righteous and conquering king. In that case any appeal to force, any solicitation to become King of the Jews, in the old, outward, material sense, would have seemed to him the temptation of Satan. If the story which we read in Mark viii. 33 be historic, this must be its explanation. Jesus by that time may have come to believe that he was indeed the Messiah, but not the Messiah whom current desire or opinion expected. The consummation of his *earthly* career was the cross, not the crown. Hence his outburst to Peter, who seems to him to represent the very devil himself. It is this temptation (which could only have arisen when the Messianic views of Jesus had been fully developed, and when he foresaw the fatal, but yet inevitable and predestined, close of his career), which, in the story of Matt. iv. 1–11, is placed at the opening of his ministry.

This explanation of the temptation in the wilderness is suggestive and may be true. It seems, however, to involve a dangerously large insight into the inner consciousness of Jesus.

Again, as Bultmann says (p. 155): 'The attainment of world-rule by the Messiah is obvious, and the way to it here offered, the adoration of Satan, can indeed be no temptation to the Messiah. The idea of "worldly" rule or "worldly" means of ruling as the specific temptation has been read into the original text, and the S.S. to Matt. iv. 8, 9 marks the beginning of this.' (The S.S. in 9 for 'these things' says more distinctly, 'These kingdoms and their glory hast thou seen? To thee will I give them, if thou fall down and worship before me,' and in 8 for 'the kingdoms of the world' it reads 'the kingdoms of *this* world,'

which Merx, as usual, defends with great ingenuity and learning as the original reading.) Possibly, then, the customary interpretation of the Temptation legend may read too much into the whole story, the origin of which may be adequately accounted for by Old Testament and Buddhistic parallels and by the beliefs of the time. In his sketch of the career of Jesus, Loisy thinks the only safe thing to say is that after his baptism Jesus 'remained some time in the desert.' The proleptic anticipation of his Messiahship on earth involved the story of a temptation. For the Messiah had to fight and conquer Satan. Historically, the temptation which Jesus had to undergo was his death (Mark xiv. 36–38). But if he were Messiah from his baptism, an encounter with Satan had to be arranged for him.

1. The whole purpose of the sojourn in the wilderness is said to be the temptation. This goes beyond Mark.

2. In Mark the angels apparently feed Jesus *during* the forty days; they do not merely appear after the temptation is over, as in Matthew. Nor is the hunger of Jesus the primary motive of the temptation, as in Matthew. The forty days and the fasting are borrowed from the story of Moses.

3. The term 'Son of God' seems here employed as a title of the Messiah. We may, however, compare the argument about the son or child of God in the Wisdom of Solomon, ii. 13–18.

4. The quotation is from Deut. viii. 3. This verse from Deuteronomy and its predecessor are at least partially responsible for the make-up of the story. As Israel was 'tempted' in the wilderness, so was Jesus, but a more advanced theology ascribed temptations to Satan rather than to God (contrast 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 with 1 Chron. xxi. 1). Jesus asserts that the word of God will provide for his physical needs. God can, by his creative word, fashion material whereby man's life can be sustained, as he did in the case of the manna. More simply, God will provide adequately for the physical needs of his messenger.

5. The devil is highly personified. In Mark he is called 'Satan,' and so Jesus calls him here in 10. Matthew follows the Septuagint, and uses the word 'Diabolos.'

The pinnacle (*πτερύγιον*) must have been some well-known jutting-out spot upon the roof of the Temple. Jesus is carried about by the devil as Ezekiel is carried about by the hand of the Spirit (viii. 3, etc.).

By quoting Deut. vi. 16 'Jesus means to say that he had no right to throw himself into uncommanded danger, and then expect God to deliver him' (Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, p. 22). This temptation sums up the refusal of Jesus to work idle signs and miracles.

8. The third is the main temptation. There seems to be already contained in the suggestion of the devil the implicit idea that the kingdoms of the world, and all material power, are part of the realm of Satan. *This* world is evil and in the power of the devil. The quotation of Jesus is from Deut. vi. 13. Note the 'fairy-tale' touch of the mountain so high that all the kingdoms of the world could be seen from it.

10. 'Get thee hence, Satan.' *Cp.* Mark viii. 33. The angels in Mark must be supposed to 'minister' unto Jesus (by giving him food ?) for the forty days. In Matthew he fasts for the forty days, and the angels 'minister' unto him after the Temptation and the forty days are over. The whole story is curiously 'Rabbinic' in form. Jesus at each temptation overcomes the devil by a quotation from Scripture, exactly in the Rabbinic manner. Loisy defends the usual interpretation of the third temptation. He says: 'The sovereignty of the world was in fact the right of the Messiah, and Jesus may have wondered why the heavenly Father did not give it to him at once. But to seek sovereignty for the sake of sovereignty, without waiting for God's hour, to share the interests and the passions of the world, to make himself at the outset the echo of popular aspirations, the champion of national independence, to aim at an ordinary royalty, and adopt the means which might lead to it, that is to say, human policy, cunning, and violence, would be to determine to rule by means of Satan, and not by means of God, and to abandon the cause of the heavenly Father for that of the devil. Hence Jesus, at this extreme limit of the temptation, drives away the tempter: "Get thee hence, Satan"' (*E. S.* 1. p. 422).

I gather that M. Loisy holds that the temptation in the desert was a real fact in the history of Jesus. It was known that he did not at once reappear in Galilee after his baptism. Jesus must have spoken 'in general terms' of his residence in the desert and of his inward temptations there. Upon this basis the stories of the temptation of the devil were spun out. For Jesus himself, speaking of the moral difficulties which are here called 'temptings,' would not have hesitated to attribute them to Satan. Thus the temptation narratives have no mythical, but a historical, origin. The details are, however, 'made up' out of Old Testament remini-

scences, popular beliefs, and the later experiences and history of Jesus. M. Loisy's explanation is purely conjectural. It may be as he says: Jesus *may* have spoken in 'general terms' about his inward trials and his spiritual victory after the baptism—but one feels how extremely subjective and hypothetical all this explanation is.

And how far is Loisy right when he says that the great temptation of all was the Messianic ideal of his contemporaries and of his 'entourage'? First of all, M. Loisy's hypothesis supposes that Jesus already felt and knew himself to be the Messiah. This is extremely unlikely, but we will let it pass and assume it. But how curiously limited is the difference between M. Loisy's conception of Jesus's Messiahship and that of his 'entourage.' Or rather how careful one must be, in order to make up a difference, to degrade the conception of the entourage or to despoil it of all its spiritual features. For, to Loisy, Jesus is a real Messiah, not merely a spiritual teacher of fine religion. He is the Messiah of the Jews, promised to Israel. There is to be a real dominion, upon a regenerated earth. The rule of the Romans is to disappear. Jesus did not go to Jerusalem to die, though the possibility of death may have entered his mind. But his hope was to triumph; in other words, his hope was that God would at last intervene and bring about the final deliverance of the completed Kingdom.

Where is the great difference of all this from the Messianic ideal of his contemporaries? The difference is largely imaginary; but it has to be assumed, because Jesus must be not merely a great teacher, a sublime figure, but wholly different from his contemporaries, wholly unlike every other Jew. But unluckily the facts are against this arrangement of Jesus by himself on the one side, and of every other Jew, separated by a great gulf of morality and religion, upon the other. It is true that there was a 'zealot' party who wanted to aid God by physical force. But, in spite of Isaiah xi., the majority of Rabbis were inclined to think that the Kingdom would come by divine intervention, just as Jesus thought that it would come. Where, then, is the great difference between their view and his? I do not perceive it. M. Loisy indeed says: 'It was inconceivable to his contemporaries that the Messiah could be poor, could dispense with striking signs and with a kingdom in this world; and Jesus regarded as a suggestion of the devil's the idea of laying any claim, in his character as the Messiah, to earthly wealth, or of enhancing his reputation by miracles, or of seeking royalty; he trusted in the will of the Father, understanding that his present mission was first to attain for himself, and then to lead others to rise to, that moral condition which was needed for the coming of the Kingdom of heaven. He saw what the world

could offer him, the royalty that his fellow-countrymen were fully disposed to confer upon him; and he saw also and chose freely the wholly spiritual *rôle*, humble and dangerous at the same time, which the will of the Father assigned to him. That was really the temptation of Christ; no one but Jesus could have been tempted in this way' (*E. S.* I. p. 423). I do not deny that what M. Loisy here says may contain some truth. When Jesus came to believe that he was the Messiah, the temptation may have come to him: 'Shall I try to collect an army? shall I fight for the Messianic crown?' And then he may have thought that his vocation and duty were to do what M. Loisy so well describes, and to leave the issue to God. God, not he, shall supply the 'force,' and intervene for the final triumph. But is this idea un-Jewish? In any case the difference would be only one of means to an ultimate end. The end was the same both to Jesus and to many of the Rabbis. And the more proximate means were the same too: the intervention of God, and the establishment of the Kingdom supernaturally and miraculously. (I doubt whether M. Loisy would now accept what he said about the Temptation in *E. S.*)

12–17. The Return to Galilee

(*Cp.* Mark i. 14, 15; Luke iv. 14, 15)

12 Now when Jesus heard that John had been delivered up, he
13 withdrew into Galilee. And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is by the lake, in the district of Zebulon and
14 Naphthali: that that might be fulfilled which was spoken through
15 Isaiah, the prophet, saying, 'The land of Zebulon, and the land of Naphthali, towards the lake, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the gentiles;
16 the people which sat in darkness have seen a great light; and to them who sat in the region and shadow of death a light has arisen.'
17 From that time Jesus began to proclaim and say, 'Repent: for the kingdom of heaven has drawn nigh.'

12. Matthew follows Mark's order up to 22. The verb ἀνεχώρησεν, 'withdrew,' seems to show that Matthew thought that Jesus went to Galilee from fear of Antipas. Matthew did not remember, however, that the territory of Antipas included Galilee.

14. Matthew's love of 'fulfilments' leads him to strange interpretations. The obscure passage from Isaiah, here quoted with various modifications from the original Hebrew text, is,

however, a Messianic prophecy. 'Galilee of the nations,' or, rather, 'district of the nations' (Hebrew *gelîl*), was a district in the territory of Naphtali, with a considerable heathen population. In later times this 'district' (*gelîl*) was called Galilee, though Galilee included more land than the old 'district.' The 'light' is Jesus himself.

17. Mark i. 14, 15. The words put into Jesus's mouth are identically the same with those put into the mouth of John, iii. 2.

18–22. The First Four Apostles

(*Cp.* Mark i. 16–20)

And Jesus, walking by the lake of Galilee, saw two brothers, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the lake: for they were fishermen. And he said unto them, 'Come hither after me, and I will make you fishers of men.' And they straightway left their nets, and followed him.

And going on from there, he saw two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in a boat, with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they immediately left the boat and their father, and followed him.

20. Mark gives the abandoned father some 'hired servants'; Matthew omits them.

23–25. Preaching in Galilee

(Matthew only)

And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the Good Tidings of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people. And the report of him went out through all Syria: and they brought unto him all that were suffering with divers diseases and afflicted with torments, and those who were possessed with demons, and those who were moonstruck and paralysed; and he healed them. And there followed him great crowds of people from Galilee, and from the Ten Cities, and from Jerusalem, and from Judæa, and from beyond Jordan.

Matthew here leaves Mark's order. He wants to tell of the teaching of Jesus even before he tells of his deeds and wonders. Before each group of 'deeds' he inserts, or groups, a collection of sayings. So now he prepares the way by three summarizing verses for the Sermon on the Mount. Yet he depends on Mark for his summary. *Cp.* Mark i. 39 and iii. 7–10. So too for the scene of the Sermon we have Mark's familiar mountain.

23. 'Gospel of the Kingdom.' So Matthew only, and in ix. 35 and xxiv. 14. The good tidings consist in the certainty of the speedy coming of the Kingdom and in its nature and content. (*Cp.* Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries.* E. T., 1910, pp. 286, 287.)

24. 'Moonstruck,' *i.e.* epileptics. It is noteworthy that the S.S. has a less exaggerated form of text. '*Many* are brought and he heals them all.' This seems more original.

CHAPTER V

The Sermon on the Mount

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew contain the famous Sermon on the Mount. Mark in i. 22 had said that men were amazed at Jesus's teaching which he gave on Sabbaths in the synagogues. This verse is partly reproduced by Matthew in iv. 23 and partly in vii. 28 at the end of the Sermon. Presumably this statement of Mark's suggested to Matthew the advisability of setting in the forefront and beginning of the story of Jesus a long specimen of the teaching which produced this tremendous effect. The ' Sermon ' is apparently delivered in the presence of the people (v. 1 and vii. 28 ; the ὄχλοι or ' masses ' are amazed at it), but in the sermon itself it is the disciples, and not the people in general, who are addressed. The ' Sermon ' is not a summons to repentance, or a proclamation of the imminence of the Judgment and of the Kingdom, but it would rather seem to be intended for those who have already accepted the call and message of Jesus, and are ready for his most developed teaching. It is not a sermon with which Jesus could well have started his career as teacher, but rather one in which he summed it up. It is, on the whole, ripe teaching for ripe disciples. The Sermon on the Mount in Matthew partly corresponds with a Sermon on the Plain in Luke (vi. 17–49). But Matthew's Sermon is much longer than Luke's. It includes passages the parallels of which in Luke are found elsewhere than in the Sermon in the Plain, and it includes other passages which do not occur in Luke at all. There are a few verses which have parallels in Mark. These will be noted where they occur. There are also some verses in Luke's Sermon on the Plain which do not occur in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. These will be noticed in the commentary on Luke.

Both Matthew and Luke drew from a common source (Q), which each used and edited in different ways. The matter is further complicated because many scholars believe that Matthew's form of Q was not the same as Luke's form of Q ; in other words, Matthew and Luke used different recensions of Q. The passages in the

Sermon on the Mount which are also found in Luke were, in all probability, taken from Q. Some extra bits in Matthew which are not in Luke may also have been drawn from Q. The passages common to Matthew and Luke are v. 3, 4, 6, 11–13, 15, 18, 25, 26, 32, 39, 40, 42, 44–48; vi. 11–13, 19–33; vii. 1–5, 7–14, 16–18, 21, 24–27.

The Sermon, so far as it is authentic, is a collection of sayings of Jesus which have gone through a double process of editing. They were edited by Q, and Q was edited by Matthew. It may be that much which Matthew has brought together was already brought together by Q. The great theologian Harnack, who has a special interest in Q (for what is in Q may, he thinks, be almost always regarded as authentic, and he has a special *desire* to regard it as authentic), from the basis of a most minute examination of the text, argued that the passages in the Sermon which are common to Matthew and Luke, but which do not stand in the same order in both (being in Luke outside the Sermon), stood in Q where Matthew has them. Luke scattered them for reasons which we are unable to discover. Streeter's views of the sources of the Sermon are totally different, for they depend upon his theory of the Four Document Hypothesis and the special source M. 'All the phenomena' (in the Sermon) 'can be satisfactorily explained by the hypothesis that Matthew is conflating two separate discourses, one from Q practically identical with Luke's Sermon on the Plain, the other from M containing a much longer Sermon' (p. 251). However all this may be, the sayings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount were in all probability spoken on different occasions. Jesus, doubtless, may often have given a 'Sermon' as long as the Sermon on the Mount. But there was no one to take it down in shorthand, and what would best be remembered of his teaching would be short sayings and opinions. A comparison of Matthew and Luke, and a critical investigation of the Sermon itself, lead to the same conclusion. Much in the Sermon, as we have it in Matthew, goes back to Jesus, but some things do not, and the form and arrangement of the whole Sermon are due to Q and the Evangelist. Indeed, Wernle is perhaps not going much too far when he says (*Sources*, p. 138): 'In reality what we have here are separate detached utterances from all parts of his life—with a whole year, perhaps, between two adjacent sentences—put side by side because they are connected by the same subject-matter, the will of God and righteousness. And the underlying thoughts which unite them are not those of Jesus, but those of the earliest Christian community.' Many a detail in the wording reveals, or answers to, the conditions under which a later editor was living, and some of the ideas show traces of having been seriously 'worked over' (Klostermann, p. 180). While we can well under-

stand how anxious many Christian commentators are to keep as much of this famous Sermon as possible for Jesus himself (except, perhaps, v. 18, 19), the interest for *us* is rather in the words than in their author. What we have primarily and mainly to do with is the Sermon itself: its value is in itself and its truth is in itself. No part of it is any better if Jesus said it; no part of it is any worse if he did not.

1–12. The Beatitudes

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 20–23)

1 And seeing the crowds, he went up the mountain: and when
2 he sat down, his disciples came up to him. And he opened his
mouth, and taught them, saying,
3 'Happy are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of
4 heaven. Happy are they that mourn: for they shall be com-
5 forted. Happy are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
6 Happy are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness: for
7 they shall be satisfied. Happy are the pitiful: for they shall be
8 pitied. Happy are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
9 Happy are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.
10 Happy are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for
11 theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Happy are ye, when men revile
12 you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you
falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and exult: for great is your reward
in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets who were before
you.

1. What is this mountain? One must not ask. It is the editorial or stage mountain of which Mark makes much use—no mountain in particular. Though the parallel is incomplete, it can hardly be doubted that Jesus on the mountain is meant to recall Moses on Sinai; Matthew wants to contrast the two Laws: the one old, imperfect and transitory; the other new, perfect and definitive. The Law of Jesus fulfils the Law of Moses and the teaching of the prophets. This idea is wanting in Luke, but seems to dominate Matthew.

'Seeing the crowds, he went up the mountain.' This is very odd. Moreover, the disciples (as has already been noticed) are the people really addressed. The 'crowds' are forgotten till the end (vii. 28). 'Them' in 2 can hardly be the crowds; rather the disciples. (Is it possible that what lies behind our present text of

Matthew is a description how Jesus, in order to avoid the crowd, ascends a mountain whither the disciples follow him and receive special teaching? So Merx.) The setting in Luke is curiously different. There Jesus, having gone up a mountain to pray, and having prayed alone all night, calls his disciples to him at day-break, and chooses out the Twelve. Then he comes down with them, stands 'on a level place together with a large number of his disciples and a great multitude of people' from all parts of the country, heals all their sick, and then, lifting his eyes upon his disciples, begins the Sermon.

2. 'He opened his mouth.' Note the solemn beginning. *Cp.* Job iii. 1, Daniel x. 16.

3–12. The Sermon opens with a series of beatitudes. The Greek word μακάριος is the regular Septuagint translation of the Hebrew *ashre*, which means 'happy.' Sentences of the type of the beatitudes beginning 'Happy is he who does so and so,' or 'whom such and such a lot befalls,' are common in the Rabbinical literature and even in the Old Testament. The word μακάριος does not occur in Mark. In Matthew, outside the Sermon on the Mount, it occurs four times (xi. 6, xiii. 16, xvi. 17, xxiv. 46). In Luke, outside the beatitudes, it occurs ten times. The A.V. regularly translates it by 'blessed.' I have rendered it by 'happy,' but neither 'happy' nor 'blessed' is quite accurate or adequate. The happiness implied is of a particular type. It is religious happiness. But, moreover, it may be doubted how far the meaning is that the persons described as happy experience acute feelings of delight. At any rate, this is not the only, and probably not the chief, meaning. The main meaning probably is that they are religiously fortunate, that they enjoy, or will enjoy, a peculiar divine blessing or favour. And here lies the paradox. Those *e.g.* whom men would call unhappy, because they are persecuted, are really blessed of God, possessed of his favour, and happy in the consciousness of that favour and blessing.

The German *selig* gives a better rendering of *makarios* and of the Hebrew *ashre* than the English 'blessed' or 'happy.' If the substantive 'beatitude' had an adjective, meaning 'he who is in the condition of, or possesses, beatitude,' that adjective would be the right translation of *ashre* and *makarios*.

There are in Matthew's text, as we now have it, nine beatitudes, but there were certainly not so many originally, either in Q or when Jesus first proclaimed them. In Luke there are only four beatitudes, which more or less completely correspond with Matthew's first, fourth, third, and ninth (or with his eighth and ninth taken

together). There are three other points to notice about the differences between Matthew's version and Luke's. (1) The Beatitudes in Matthew, except the last, are general and in the third person; the beatitudes in Luke are in the second person, or, at least, the justification in each case is in the second person. The meaning would seem to be, 'Happy are you disciples in that you are this or that.' Matthew declares quite generally that such persons as are this or that are happy. (2) Matthew qualifies the adjective in the first, and the participles in the fourth, beatitude; Luke does not. (3) The nine kinds of people in Matthew who are declared to be happy fall under two classes, (*a*) those who are undergoing some suffering, (*b*) those who have a certain moral quality. Now it is noticeable that Luke's beatitudes deal exclusively with (*a*) — people who are undergoing some suffering, but that Matthew changes some of these by his additions into (*b*)—people of a certain moral quality.

The question is asked: Whose form of the beatitudes is older or more authentic, Matthew's or Luke's? Some have thought that Luke's version is throughout to be preferred; for example, Wellhausen, who says: 'In Luke the human subjects of the beatitudes enter the Kingdom, not because of that which they are and do, but because of that which they suffer and want. In place of these sufferings and renouncements we have in Matthew mainly inward qualities or tendencies, through which men make themselves worthy of the Kingdom or strive towards it. In Luke there is a clear-cut contrast between the misery of the present and the joy of the future; in Matthew this future is already being formed in the hearts of the elect. Doubtless inward conditions are also presupposed in Luke, but they are not expressly stated. Luke's variations from Matthew are always to be preferred. Matthew moralized the beatitudes, made seven of them, and enlarged their application beyond the disciples to all who possess the needful qualifications. Only in v. 11, 12 has Matthew kept the original. For there the disciples are specially addressed, and they are not promised reward for their virtues, but for the persecutions which they have undergone.'

Others (*e.g.* Harnack) think that Matthew is always nearer to what stood in Q. The truth may lie in between these two extremes: in some respects the text of Matthew, in other respects the text of Luke, may be preferable and older. Luke, *e.g.* may, perhaps, have changed the original third person of Matt. v. 5–10 into the second person in order to put all the beatitudes in the same person (Matt. v. 11 *has* the second person), or the beatitudes may have been interpreted by the Christian community to refer to themselves, which interpretation was adopted by Luke. Yet in other respects

Luke's version may be nearer to the original. Each verse must be separately considered. I append Streeter's view. 'The Sermon in Q contained the four Blessings in the second person, as in Luke; that in M gave four in the third person, corresponding to Matt. v. 7–10. The Q Beatitude, "Blessed are ye when men . . . persecute you . . . for my name's sake" (Matt. v. 11, 12) is a doublet of that in Matt. v. 10, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake" which stood in M; otherwise the two sets of four do not overlap. Matthew has simply added the two sets together, changing the person and slightly modifying the wording in three of those he takes from Q. Matt. v. 5 is, as the transposition in the MS. suggests, an early interpolation from Ps. xxxvii. 11. The four woes in Luke vi. 24 f. may have stood in Q and been omitted by Matthew. His explanatory additions to the Blessings on the Poor (+in spirit), and on those that hunger (+after righteousness), show that he might well have thought the denunciations of the rich and the "full" (Luke vi. 24, 25) open to misunderstandings: poverty and hunger *as such* have no ethical value' (pp. 251, 252).

In Matthew's version verse 5 (third beatitude) is practically a quotation from Psalm xxxvii. 11, and may be an interpolation. Verse 10*a* seems to be a sort of excerpt from 11, while 10*b* repeats 3*b*. If verse 5 be omitted, we have six beatitudes in 3, 4, 6–9. Did Matthew add 10 to make up seven beatitudes (a holy and favourite number) in the third person? There seems good reason to believe that 10, 11, 12 ought to be distinguished from 3–9. Verse 11 (12) has the second person, and in its subject-matter is very different from 3–9. It deals with those who are persecuted because of their Christian faith, and is later in date than 3–9 (*cp.* Bultmann, p. 66). It may also be mentioned that a conservative commentator (B. Weiss) held that only verses 3, 4, and 6 belonged to the original Sermon; the rest were spoken on other occasions.

3. In Luke the first beatitude is simply: 'Happy are the poor,' or 'Happy are ye poor.' Matthew's words 'in spirit' (literally 'in the spirit') are wanting. Luke's version is probably more original. Jesus, if he spoke the beatitude, was not thinking so much of people who are materially impoverished as of those who belong to the class whom the Psalmists call the *ani'im* and the *anawim*, the poor and the humble. They are poor in the material sense, but they are also lowly, humble, and perhaps even oppressed. *Cp.* Psalms x. 8, 9, 10, 12; xxxiv. 2; xxxv. 10; lxviii. 11; lxxii. 12; cxl. 12. The ideas of poverty, weakness, affliction, lowliness, humility, and piety tend in the Psalms (and in some prophetical passages) to run into one another. It is doubtless such people whom Jesus had in mind. In Isaiah lxi. 1 the prophet says that

God has anointed him to preach good tidings to the meek (*anawim*). Perhaps this verse was in the mind of the speaker. (In the LXX it runs εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς.) It is perhaps going too far to say as I said in my first edition: 'Jesus had a bias against the rich,' but in the sense in which the Psalmists seem to have a bias for the poor, and largely to identify poverty and piety, we may predicate the same sort of bias in the case of Jesus. As M. Loisy observes, the idea of a rich man, humble and self-denying, would have appeared to him as strange, almost as a contradiction in terms. Many seem to think the same to-day.

Matthew's addition was not probably meant to do more than make the meaning plain. 'Poor in spirit' does not mean weak in intelligence; rather its meaning is humble, contrite, trusting in God. *Cp.* Isaiah lxvi. 2: 'On this man will I look, even on him that is poor and is crushed in spirit and trembles at my word.' 'God saves those that are of a crushed spirit,' Psalm xxxv. 18. (In the LXX ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι.) We must not too hastily identify the people of whom Jesus is thinking here with the ''*Am ha-'Arec*' of the Talmud. For we know that as a matter of fact some of these *were rich*. There is little reason to believe that all the poor people in the age and environment of Jesus were neglected outcasts, who did not observe the ceremonial law, and that all the rich people were rigid observers of the law (though formalists and sanctimonious). There must have been many poor people who did observe the law, and some rich people who did not. Doubtless there were also some poor people who were '*Am ha'-Arec* in the technical sense; ignorant and neglectful of the Law, social outcasts; waifs and strays. But it is doubtful whether Jesus was thinking of them in any of these beatitudes. If, indeed, Jesus said anything like what we find in v. 17–19 it is hardly likely that he would categorically, and without any qualification as to repentance, have declared that the violators of the Law would be the first to inherit the kingdom of heaven.

The present tense of the copula 'is' must not be pressed. There would have been no verb in the original. The future tense in the next verses makes it certain that the future is also meant here. The Kingdom is the eschatological Kingdom: the Kingdom which is to come. As to its *locale*, the speaker was probably not thinking of 'heaven' as distinct from 'earth,' the abode of spirits in the 'sky.' He was more probably thinking of the transformed or regenerated earth of the Messianic age.

The phrase 'Kingdom of heaven,' or literally, 'of the heavens,' is found in Matthew some 33 times. 'Kingdom of God' occurs some three times, and in addition we find 'Kingdom' by itself or 'his Kingdom,' 'thy Kingdom,' 'Kingdom of my father,' and 'Kingdom

of their father' 12 times more. The full list is given by Mr. Allen, who seems to have omitted xiii. 33. The phrase 'Kingdom of God' occurs 14 times in Mark; Matthew five times substitutes 'Kingdom of heaven,' and eight times omits or paraphrases. On one occasion the reading is doubtful (Matt. xix. 24 = Mark x. 25), but Mr. Allen strongly inclines here to the reading 'heaven.'

Out of these 48 occasions in which the Kingdom is referred to in Matthew, many obviously, or very probably, refer to the future Kingdom which was to be inaugurated when the Messianic age had come in its completion. This would be at or after the Parousia and the Judgment. *Cp.* for such usage in Matthew the passages v. 3, 10, 19 (*bis*), 20, vi. 10, 33, vii. 21, viii. 11, xiii. 43. xvi. 28, xx. 21, xxvi. 29. In other passages the Kingdom is conceived as having drawn very nigh, or as having virtually begun, with the advent of Jesus the Messiah. *Cp.* iii. 2, iv. 17, 23, ix. 35, x. 7, xii. 28. There are a further number of passages in which the Kingdom seems to be present, and identified with the Christian community or church. *Cp.* xi. 11, xiii. 19, 24, 31, 33, 38, 41, 47, 52, xvi. 19, xxiii. 13. It must, however, be admitted that these passages are not very numerous, and are mainly found in chapter xiii. Probably future is the use in viii. 12, xiii. 11, 44, 45, xviii. 1, 3, 4, xix. 12, 14, 23, 24, xxi. 31, 43. Dubious passages, needing special consideration are the following: xi. 12, xviii. 23, xx. 1, xxii. 2, xxv. 1. Thus of the 48 passages, 26 are certainly or probably 'future'; six are, if not wholly future, yet not wholly present. Eleven only seem to refer pretty clearly to the existing Christian community, and in five the use is dubious.

The Kingdom of God or Kingdom of heaven is a familiar Jewish and Rabbinic idea. 'Thy kingdom,' says the Psalmist, 'is an everlasting kingdom.' But by 'kingdom' was usually meant not a sphere or place, but rule, dominion, and in that sense the Kingdom of God is often spoken of in the Rabbinical literature. The Kingdom of God is the rule of God, which men can acknowledge and confess on earth by observing God's law. But as the rule of God is only imperfectly realized on earth because of human wickedness, the oppression of God's people, and their sins, therefore his rule, as completely manifested and realized, is still future, and it will only be made complete, acknowledged by all, and manifest to all, in the Messianic age, or at the Resurrection of the Dead. Hence the Kingdom could be the herald of gloom or of joy; the proclamation of it could be regarded as severe tidings or glad tidings. God's perfected rule would be a time of pain and darkness to the wicked and the unrepentant; a time of gladness and of light to the repentant and the good. In the Gospels the Kingdom appears to be used in a somewhat broader sense. It is a sort of shorthand

expression for the condition of beatitude and glory *in* which the righteous will find themselves after the Judgment, at the end of the present world order, and at the full inauguration of the next world order. It *is* also that new world itself. The Kingdom often appears to be the equivalent of the Rabbinic 'the world to come.' It is God's gift to the righteous, but it must also be striven for by man. To enter or inherit the Kingdom means to form one of the chosen band, one of those happy ones, who would be permitted to enjoy and witness God's perfected rule wheresoever that rule might extend. Hence the rule can, by an easy transference, be used to indicate the sphere of that rule, its locality. In that sense, the Kingdom is obviously future. It is the sphere, or even, one might say, the condition, in which the righteous will find themselves after the Judgment, or after the advent of the Messiah and the completion of his work. In the Synoptic Gospels there is no dispute as to the Kingdom being often used of that perfect dominion of God, and of that sphere through which the dominion will extend, which were yet to come. The Kingdom as future is common enough. Doubtless Jesus believed that it was coming *very soon*—during his lifetime or soon after his death. As it was coming so soon, and as he was its herald, or even its bringer, it might be said, in a sense, to have already begun. It is a little doubtful whether he ever used it in ways or with meanings other than these. But when the human members of the Kingdom, the human witnesses of God's perfected rule, they who were to be admitted to its fullest glory, were identified with those who acknowledged, or should acknowledge, the Messiahship or Sonship of Jesus, the Kingdom could take on another meaning. The Kingdom or rule of God could be identified with those who acknowledged, or who are to acknowledge, it, as distinguished from those who do not or will not. The Kingdom is realized in its witnesses ; the rule in its subjects. For Jesus—perhaps always, certainly at the beginning of his ministry—there was only one way in which one could 'enter into the Kindom,' and that was by righteousness and simple faith in God. Only thus—but also not needing more—could one witness God's perfected rule and enjoy its bliss. That is the older conception. But after Jesus had died, and the Christian community had begun, another test was added. In order to enter the Kingdom mere righteousness is no longer enough. An extra and essential condition is to believe in and follow Jesus, to be his disciple. The Jews, though the born heirs of the Kingdom, are excluded from it. Into their place steps another restricted body—namely, they who call themselves by the name of Jesus : that is, the Christians. It is true that not all Christians will remain in the Kingdom in its perfection. At the Judgment there will be a sifting and a selection

(from many 'called' few will be chosen). But this selection takes place within their ranks. Those outside are *ipso facto* condemned. And hence the Kingdom (as realized in the Christian community) is partly already present, though partly future. Whether the Kingdom was ever used in the Gospels in a more inward, spiritual sense, as present, but present, not in the external organization, but in the heart, will be discussed when we come to the supposed instances of such a use. The most important of these supposed instances is Luke xvii. 21. In Matt. v. 3 the meaning is tolerably plain. 'The poor in spirit' will witness and enjoy the perfected rule of God. They will be the subjects of that divine Kingdom, throughout the limits of which there will be no wickedness or unhappiness, no misery or sin. There is an interesting excursus on the Kingdom in S.-B. Vol. I. pp. 172–184; the collection of Rabbinic passages is very useful, but the deductions drawn from them are not always fair or accurate; especially inaccurate is the statement that there was *no* universalism, *only* nationalism and narrowness, and the desired *destruction* of the heathen, in the Rabbinic conception of the Kingdom, a statement in flat contradiction with that Alenu prayer which is one of the very passages quoted by S.-B. themselves! (It is included in the Orthodox Jewish Prayer-book, Singer's edition, p. 76, and Abrahams' notes, p. lxxxvi.)

In some MSS. 4 comes before 5; in others 5 comes before 4.

4. For 'they that mourn' Luke has 'they that weep,' and for 'shall be comforted' he has 'shall laugh.' Some think Matthew more original; others Luke. 'They that mourn' seems based on Isaiah lxi. 2. What do they mourn? The word is, I think, best taken quite generally. They do not specifically lament the power of evil in the world; but they mourn because they are unhappy.

5. This verse is probably interpolated. It virtually repeats 3, for the *ani'im* and the *anawim* are practically the same people. It is also a mere quotation from Psalm xxxvii. 11 (though 'the land' or earth, as here understood, is not Palestine, but the regenerated world of the Messianic age (*die erneuerte Erde auf die das Himmelreich hinabkommt*, Klostermann). The verse is wanting in Luke.

6. Two separate questions present themselves. (1) Is Luke's version of this beatitude which omits 'after righteousness' and omits 'thirst' more original than Matthew's version or *vice versa*? Many scholars, and, I think, rightly, hold that Luke's version is older. And a literal hunger was probably intended. The whole idea of these beatitudes is that in 'the world to come'—in the

Messianic era—there will be a complete reversal of the conditions obtaining now. Those who are in distress now—assuming them to be good people—will then be happy. Hunger, even physical hunger, is distressing, therefore in the Messianic era there will be no physical hunger. Such was doubtless the simple view of Jesus. (2) Matthew, disliking the reference to mere physical hunger, adds the words 'after righteousness.' He means quite simply, 'Those who long and try hard to be good shall be well rewarded for their longing in the Messianic era.' Another reason why *καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην* are probably a gloss is that '*πεινᾷν* with acc. is unique, though a few late instances of *διψᾷν* with acc. occur, and *χορτασθῆναι* denotes the satisfaction of hunger, not of thirst.' (McNeile). For the metaphor, as Matthew made it, one may compare Amos viii. 11, Isaiah lv. 1, and other O.T. passages. That 'righteousness' is not here used to mean 'moral goodness,' or that the reference is to people who know that they cannot attain to any righteousness by their own power—or, at any rate, to any righteousness which is accounted as such by God—but who yet long for such unattainable righteousness, and who will be given the satisfaction of their longing by God, is, I think, unlikely. Pauline ideas must not be thrown backward into the simpler conceptions of the Gospels and of Jesus. Some suppose that 'to hunger after righteousness' means here, not a longing to be good in our modern and merely ethical sense, but a longing to be held righteous, to be justified by God. Such a justification would come to those who now yearn for it with the new age or at the general Judgment. Some compare the Psalmic prediction that the 'righteousness' of the afflicted shall be made manifest at the Judgment or Messianic era (*cp.* Ps. xxxvii. 6). The poor sinners and outcasts—they who do not and cannot observe the Law—nevertheless yearn for God's grace, and they hope that God will justify them and recognize them as righteous in a truer and purer sense, for all that they want is to draw near to God, and they throw themselves upon His mercy. This interpretation is dubious. Dr. Abbott in an interesting essay, 'Righteousness in the Gospels' (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1918), seeks to show that Jesus may have used the word 'righteousness' on all the occasions in which it is ascribed to him by Matthew, or that Matthew, at all events, took the passages in which the word occurs from a 'Biographical Collection of Logia,' and did not himself put the word into the mouth of Jesus. 'It may be taken as certain that Jesus, in thought at all events, protested against the "doing" of a spurious "righteousness" or "alms-giving," dictated by the love of the applause of men as well as by a belief that it would be rewarded in strict accordance with a debtor and creditor account registered by God. It may be taken as highly

probable that occasionally Jesus, when thus protesting, used the word "righteousness" in the technical sense in which it was used by the Jews in, and before, the first century. It is more probable that Luke omitted all these traditions as being too technical—and as being capable of expression in other ways—than that Matthew, without any authority, interpolated all of them in Christ's doctrine' (p. 13). The other passages in Matthew in which 'righteousness' occurs are v. 20, vi. 1, vi. 33, and xxi. 32.

Burney is most interesting about the Beatitudes and about their rhythm and rhymes. He says: 'Both rhythm and rhyme speak conclusively for the original omission of *τὴν δικαιοσύνην*, an explanation which is hardly more necessary here than it would be in Isaiah lv. 1 ff. ("Ho, every one that thirsteth," etc.), a passage which was probably in our Lord's mind when He framed the beatitude. In the promise attached to this beatitude we notice the only occurrence of a two-stress in place of a three-stress stichos; and, while it is by no means necessary to postulate absolute rhythmical uniformity, we may conjecture that possibly some such term as *ṭāb*, "good," may have been accidentally omitted—*d'hinnun ṭáb mitmᶜ láyin*, "For they shall be filled with good," would connect still more closely with Isaiah lv. 2, "hearken diligently unto Me, and eat ye that which is good," than the passage does at present' (p. 167). Thus, while 'after righteousness' is a gloss, it will be a correct gloss; material danger and thirst would not be intended.

7. Not in Luke. A very Rabbinic sentiment, even as compassion is a very Rabbinic virtue. *Cp.* S.-B. pp. 203–205.

8. Not in Luke. The verse is made up of Psalms xi. 7 and xxiv. 4, and the meaning of seeing God would be no less and no more than what the Psalmist meant by the phrase: the highest bliss. To see God is to be near him, and to know him, and to rejoice in him, in one.

9. Again a thoroughly Rabbinic sentiment. 'Sons of God'; the original Aramaic would, so far as sense and sentiment are concerned, be more fitly rendered in modern English by 'children of God': the emphasis is not on the sex. Children or sons of God, because in the new order, in the higher sphere of existence, they will possess a nature which, like that of the angels, will be more like the divine nature than the nature which they possess now. *Cp.* Luke xx. 36. Or, perhaps, more generally, he who practises or imitates the divine excellences and attributes may be said to become like unto God—again a Rabbinic, though also a Platonic and Stoic, sentiment. There is an interesting article on this verse by Windisch in *Z. N. W.*, 1925, pp. 240–260.

10. The first part of the verse seems (as has already been noticed) to depend on 11; the second part of the verse repeats 3*b*. The whole verse can be regarded as Matthew's addition to 3–9, bringing up the number of the beatitudes in the third person to seven. The perfect participle (δεδιωγμένοι) 'does not materially differ from a present; an Aramaic participle which it represents would be timeless' (McNeile). Nevertheless, the tense does not seem to me totally valueless in one's judgment as to whether the saying is later than Jesus or not. 'For righteousness' sake': an addition in Matthew similar to the additions in verses 3 and 6. The 'righteousness' on account, or for the sake, of which they suffer is not quite the same as the righteousness of verse 6. The first Christians were not 'persecuted' because they were compassionate, or had all their goods in common, or were exceptionally virtuous; they were persecuted, if they *were* persecuted at all, because of their belief that their Master was the Messiah. The righteousness which is alluded to in this verse is their fidelity to that Master and to his cause. Burney thinks that the beatitude in 10 'may originally have run *ṭūbēhon d'rād' phîn l' ṣidḳā*, 'Blessed are they that pursue righteousness,' the Old Testament connection in thought being with Deut. xvi. 20, 'Righteousness, righteousness shalt thou pursue, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee' (*cf.* also Isa. li. 1, 'ye that pursue righteousness'). The prep *l'* in *l'ṣidḳā*, which introduces the direct accusative, may then have been misunderstood in the sense *for*, and this may have led to the understanding of רדפין as passive רְדִפִין *r'dīphīn*, 'persecuted' (lit. 'pursued') instead of active רָדְפִין *rād'phīn*, 'pursuing')' —a very interesting suggestion (p. 168).

11, 12. Some think that 10 was not constructed out of 11, 12, but that 11, 12 are an expansion of 10. Anyway, 11, 12 do not really belong to 3–9, but are different in character, and probably also later in date. *Cp.* Luke vi. 22, 23.

11. 'Falsely,' ψευδόμενοι. The word is wanting in some MSS. and versions, and should probably be omitted. Harnack would also omit ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ.

12. 'Reward in heaven.' This does not mean that the reward will be enjoyed in heaven and not upon the regenerated earth in the Messianic age. It means that the reward is already, as it were, existent and prepared for you with God in heaven.

11 and 12 seem later than Jesus, though perhaps written in his spirit. They seem to reflect early persecutions endured by the young Christian community.

Harnack is intensely keen to keep all the main beatitudes (common to Luke and Matthew and hence taken from Q) as the utterance of Jesus : *i.e.* verses 3, 4, 6, 10–12. Not everything, he urges, which *might* be the result of subsequent events is therefore necessarily to be regarded as such a result. Why could Jesus not have said : 'Happy are ye when they revile and persecute and falsely speak all manner of evil about you.' 'Surely, even in the lifetime of Jesus, the disciples must have experienced such treatment again and again, and in the most varied forms ; and it seems quite impossible that He should not have spoken about it' (*Sprüche und Reden*, p. 143, E. T. p. 205). With all respect to the distinguished German theologian, his argument seems to me exceedingly dubious. What good evidence is there that the disciples of Jesus or Jesus himself were persecuted in the Galilæan period ? For my own part I should think it very doubtful. Mark gives us the impression that Jesus might have had to undergo some adverse criticism, but not anything like what we should call persecution. There was somewhat more freedom of discussion and opinion in those days than is generally admitted.

Present sufferings should not only be faithfully endured : they may be fitly undergone with rejoicing, because the ultimate reward — in the perfected Kingdom — will be very great. The followers of Jesus may also rejoice in that they are the true successors of the prophets who were persecuted of old. Thus present woes are a mere transitory prelude to future bliss. But there is a higher note also. There is a touch of passion and enthusiasm ; a certain pride in suffering for the cause of righteousness and truth.

Under the influence of Paul, and of Luther and of other teachers of the Reformation period, there is no doctrine against which many Protestant theologians fulminate more violently than the doctrine of reward. They do not mind punishment ; they *could* hardly mind it, when the extended use of Gehenna and Hell from the Gospel onwards right down to Luther and Calvin and up to modern times, is borne in mind, but they hate what they call eudæmonism—so much good action paid for by so much reward—and they assert that reward is the sheet-anchor of Judaism, and especially of the Rabbis. Man *earns* his reward in Judaism : the grace of God *gives* undeserved and unearned beatitude in Christianity. The *result* is, in one sense, the same : both Judaism and Christianity assume that the good and the believing will enjoy bliss, but what is earned reward to the one is a free gift to the other. Legalism, the hated red rag and unclean thing to Lutheran theologians, involves reward. Legalism and eudæmonism go together. It was necessary to smash legalism to get rid of the bribery and degradation of reward.

There is exaggeration in all this tilting against reward. It has been shown by Schechter and Abrahams and others that there is not only less 'eudæmonism' in Rabbinic theology than its antagonists would allow, but also that its eudæmonism is tempered by several other and very different strains. It has also been shown that the assurance and even the delineation of reward do not necessarily mean that good acts were performed for the *sake* of the reward, or that pure and disinterested piety was not as prized and familiar to the Rabbi as to the Christian. The familiar doctrine of *Lishmah*, which ninety-nine out of a hundred German Protestant theologians ignore, or have never heard of, is the best proof that the motive of reward was regarded as the lower and less desirable motive, 'for its own sake,' or 'for love' as the higher and more desirable motive. Again, Jesus, who was happily ignorant of these antagonisms and oppositions, was quite ready, every now and then, to use the doctrine of reward, and to enunciate it, as here, in the very strongest and simplest terms. The Protestant theologians try hard to show that he does not really mean what he says, or that somehow *his* doctrine of reward is wholly different from the Rabbis' doctrine of reward; his is pure, theirs is impure; his is a mere use of popular language, theirs is seriously meant; his is an exquisite statement of the gracious goodness of God, theirs is calculation and bribery—and so on. But for those who stand above the facts these differences are largely the creation of the theologians. On the other hand, it *is* true both that there is too much of measure for measure and of merit in the Rabbinic literature, and that there are some noble utterances against measure for measure, and against human goodness or the service of God *meriting* reward in the teaching of Jesus. Dr. McNeile says that Jesus 'introduced new elements' into the idea of reward, which 'transformed the idea.' These new elements are: (1) reward is purely qualitative and is identical for all (Matt. xx. 1–16); (2) it is the Kingdom of heaven, with all that that involves (to this there would be good Rabbinic parallels); (3) it is given to those for whom it has been prepared (same comment); (4) service is a mere duty which cannot merit reward (Luke xvii. 9); (5) reward is free, undeserved grace, and is pictured as quite out of all proportion to the service rendered (also a frequent Rabbinic idea, existing side by side with the idea of earned reward). Thus the 'new' elements in the teaching of Jesus would be (1) and (4). And I think we may truly say that (1) and (4) are virtually new, just as they are also notable and far-reaching in significance and power. We may, perhaps, add that all the five elements are comparatively more predominant in the teaching of Jesus than all that corresponds to them is in the teaching of the Rabbis. But it is going too far when, after quite fairly

giving a list of the passages which 'reflect, at least on the surface, the current opinions' of Jesus's day, Dr. McNeile declares that the five 'new' doctrines just cited 'really eliminate the idea of reward altogether.' If Jesus had wished to eliminate the idea of reward altogether, his words were singularly uncautious, and he should not have been so ready to use 'the popular language' when he pointed out 'the sort of actions and spirit that God demands' (p. 55).

But it may be observed of the eudæmonism of Jesus, and often too of the eudæmonism of the Rabbis, that they are an eudæmonism of a special kind. They do not say, 'Do this, or be this, *because* you will gain a reward,' or, 'do not do this *because* you will be punished.' But they say, 'A certain line of action, a certain disposition of mind, bring happiness now and hereafter.' The result follows necessarily from the cause. It is the law of God. 'Heaven' and happiness follow as certainly from goodness, as their opposites follow from wickedness. The one is not an arbitrarily added reward; the other is not an arbitrarily added punishment. The result is contained in the premiss, as surely as the result of health-giving medicines or death-dealing drugs is already contained within them. The bliss of virtue, both 'now' and 'hereafter,' is a continuous state, and not a something added *ab extra* to form a reward: and *mutatis mutandis*, the same way be said of vice. Thus the sting of the supposed 'eudæmonism' is removed.

Cp. Marriott (p. 179). 'It is upon the spiritual side [of the Kingdom] that the promises lay stress. There is no necessary inconsistency between the promises thus understood and the pronouncements of blessedness. For it is not needful to suppose that the conjunction ὅτι implies that the blessedness consists solely in the obtaining of these promises. Whilst they are future, the blessedness follows as an immediate result from the inner dispositions described. In fact, the force of ὅτι here seems to be "and the proof of it is" rather than "and the reason of it is." The ὅτι of the last beatitude, however, bears the meaning "because."'

It is curious that the same charges of eudæmonism and of impure morality, which are levelled by many German Protestant scholars against Judaism and the religion of the Rabbis, are brought by some modern Jewish teachers against Christianity and the religion of Jesus. The Jewish kettle makes a hot retort against the Christian pot. The 'Vergeltungsglaube' of Judaism and the Rabbis is denounced up hill and down dale by the German Protestant theologians. The charge is that the one single motive or end for well-doing in Judaism is the hope of reward or the fear of punishment. The Jewish critic of Christianity and of the teaching of Jesus says that, though the *scene* of the reward or punishment is

shifted to the life beyond the grave—to heaven and hell—the end or purpose of well-doing in Christianity and in the teaching of Jesus is that ' thy Father in heaven may reward thee ' in heaven. Moreover, the teaching is selfish and anti-social ; the one end sought is personal salvation. Nothing matters so long as you save your own soul : that is, and should be, the one overmastering care or object : that you, the individual, should avoid the pains of hell and secure the beatitudes of heaven.

How curious that each set of critics make practically the same accusation. The historian, who is free from prejudice, will agree that there is *some* force in both accusations : of the Christian against Judaism and of the Jew against Christianity. *Some* force : but not more. And not more for three reasons. First, he will hold that some eudæmonism is justified. To believe that God—whether in this world or in the next—will *always* wed righteousness to calamity and sin to felicity is surely absurd. Secondly, it does not follow, because one strongly believes that righteousness and felicity must, and will, in the long run, be joined together, that therefore the desire for felicity is the only, or even the strongest, motive for moral well-doing. Judaism, and Rabbinism more especially, know and lay the utmost stress upon other motives, such as the Sanctification of the Name, Lishmah (virtue for virtue's sake), the love of God, and so on. Thirdly, to seek salvation and felicity after death is not selfish, unless it is taught that A's salvation means B's damnation or neglect. Moreover, the teaching of Jesus is that it is *service* which secures salvation : it is by serving others, and seeking to redeem the ' lost,' that we save our souls. Thus, if everybody sought to save his own soul, and saved it, there would be, even on earth, elysium. Moreover, self-development (and is not this a modern way of rewriting ' the seeking of salvation ' ?) is a duty incumbent upon each one of us. Each one of us is to seek the highest that he knows : what does this mean but that each one of us is to seek to ' save his soul ' ? The question is how is he to do it. The teaching of Jesus does not say that he is to do it in selfish isolation. The Christian is to imitate his Master who came, not to rule, but to serve. And the Jew prays to God that ' God may open our hearts unto His Law, and place His love and fear in our hearts, that we may do His will, and serve Him with a perfect heart, and that we may be worthy to witness and inherit happiness and blessing in the days of the Messiah and in the life of the world to come.' So far as ethical purity and unselfishness are concerned, the best Rabbinic teaching and the teaching of Jesus are closely similar and akin. It is a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other.

The beatitudes form a suitable and noble opening for the great Sermon. They set the note for all that is to follow. They pitch

the key. We are to hear about the right morality and the true religion for those who are to be 'happy' in their poverty and affliction, and 'happy' in their meekness and mercy.

And if we choose rather to adopt Luke's version of the beatitudes in verses 3 and 6, we may not unjustifiably divide the whole number in some such way as was indicated above, that is, into two groups, one of which deals with people who are suffering certain ills, and the other with people who possess certain qualities. Verses 3, 4, 6, and 10 will form one group, and 5, 7, 8, and 9 the other. Each group has its own special characteristic. And whatever the number of the original beatitudes may have been, it may reasonably be urged that all of them are welcome and suitable, and that both groups are in keeping with the Sermon as a whole.

The first group is, perhaps, the more striking and original. At first sight the originality may not be noticed, but it is nevertheless there. We have but to put the stress in the right place. For whatever the reasons given for the assertion that certain classes of persons are happy, the emphasis is upon the fact that they are so. It may be that the reason for their present happiness is their future 'reward': nevertheless, the fact remains of their justified happiness in the present. And in this present happiness or bliss lies the originality of these beatitudes.

To comfort those who are now poor, or hungry, or mournful, or persecuted, is one thing. But to tell them that they not only *will be* happy, but are, or should feel themselves, really and truly, happy *now*, this is quite another thing. To tell them that they ought positively to be glad and rejoice in their misfortunes struck a new note—a note of great significance and power, a note which was to have great consequences of far-reaching importance. To rejoice in martyrdom, to seek it out, this was promoted by the beatitudes. Not merely to endure a life of hardship bravely, but to rejoice in it and to seek it out, this too has been the product of the beatitudes. And these notes and excellences have been, it must be acknowledged, distinctive of Christianity and of its saints and apostles and martyrs. And doubtless many thousands of humble sufferers have risen superior to their troubles and afflictions through the memory and influence of the beatitudes.

Similarly, as regards the second set of the beatitudes, though perhaps with less originality. The meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemaker: these are not only to reap reward in the future: they are to feel happy *now*. For only in the highest goodness lies the highest rapture.

13–16. The Salt and the Light

(*Cp.* Luke xiv. 34, 35, xi. 33, viii. 16)

'Ye are the salt of the earth: but if salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, except to be thrown away and trodden under men's feet. Ye are the light of the world. A city that lies on a mountain cannot be hidden. Neither do men light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but upon the lampstand; and it gives light unto all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven.

The connection is not quite easy. Is it that 'the disciples of Jesus ought all the less to allow themselves to be frightened by persecution, inasmuch as they are, by their very calling, destined to exercise over other men a nobler and healthier influence' (Loisy)?

The metaphor of the salt and of the lamp occur both in Luke and in Mark. It may be presumed that both were found in Q, but whether Mark's versions are also dependent upon Q is in dispute.

13. Apparently, proverbial sayings, or sayings by Jesus, about salt are applied to the disciples. *Cp.* Mark ix. 50, where 'salt' is metaphorically used in a rather obscure verse. Loisy thinks that the 'salt' metaphor was at first, or originally, used in a simpler way than in that now found either in Mark or Matthew. The disciple who loses the spirit of discipleship is as useless as salt which has lost its saltness. This idea was then by Matthew enlarged. As salt is to food in general, so should the disciple, or the Christians, be to the world. They are to make it, as it were, palatable to God; they are to give a higher religion and morality to the world. In this form the salt metaphor is later than Jesus. For the whole 'salt' question *cp.* Abrahams, *Studies*, II. p. 183.

14–16. Here we seem to have much the same idea as is expressed in the metaphor of the salt. The Christian must not live for himself. He must be seen and show himself, as much as a city which is on the top of a hill. The same conception is put forward in the metaphor of the light and the lamp. The good deeds and life of the disciples, or of Christians, must be a shining light and example to the world. Mark iv. 21 employs the metaphor for the teaching of Jesus, and this would seem to be the older use. The mountain city is again

a proverbial expression. Verse 16 appears to connect 13–15 with the following passage. Luke uses the light metaphor twice, once from Mark, once from Q (viii. 16, xi. 33). Perhaps the original use of the metaphor was that the Kingdom of heaven will ultimately be visible all over the world. The Gospel is proclaimed in a corner; its fulfilment will be wide and general. The source of the metaphor is, perhaps, to be found in Isaiah xlii. 6. *Cp.* Abrahams, *Studies*, II. chap. iii., 'The Light of the World,' pp. 15, 16. As a whole, the passage, as we now have it, is clearly later than Jesus.

17–20. Jesus's Attitude towards the Law

(*Cp.* Luke xvi. 17)

17 'Think not that I came to destroy the Law or the Prophets:
18 I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you,
Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no
19 wise pass away from the Law, till all be fulfilled. Whoever then
abrogates one of these least commandments, and teaches men so,
he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but whoever
does and teaches them, he shall be called great in the kingdom
20 of heaven. For I say unto you, That unless your righteousness
exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in
no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

We now come to a main portion of the Sermon—the relation of the morality and religion of Jesus to the morality and religion of the Law, or, rather, it should perhaps be said, the relation of the teaching of Jesus to that of the Scribes or Rabbis. Verses 17–20 form an introduction which is full of difficulties. Even comparatively orthodox Christian commentators, who dislike doubting the authenticity of any of the words attributed to Jesus, feel uncomfortable about 18, 19. They obviously are well content with 20, and 17 they can interpret in a sense which is quite unobjectionable, but 18, 19 stick in the throat. And, indeed, they are not entirely wrong. It is very difficult to believe that Jesus can have uttered so emphatic and theoretic an affirmation of the permanence and inviolability of the Law.

Perhaps the calmest and most accurate view of 17–20 is to be found in Bultmann. He says: '17–19 is due to the discussions of the conservative (Palestinian) Christian community with the liberal, law-free (Hellenistic) community. The words "do not suppose," show that 17 arose out of debates, and the words

"I came" look back upon the ministry of Jesus. His work is already looked upon from the point of view of teaching, for the "fulfilling" and "annulling" refer to his teaching, not to his practice, as 19 clearly shows. Verse 18, in its pointed, theoretic formulation, and in its contradiction with oldest tradition, can only have been produced by the community, while 19 is not a polemic against Jewish teachers and Rabbis, but against Christian Hellenists. Verse 20 does not properly belong to 17–19, but is a verse created by the Evangelist to form an introduction or transition to 21–48. Thus, 17–19 (Q) gives the attitude of the conservative law-observing Palestinian community in its opposition to the attitude of the Hellenists' (p. 84).

17. 'I came.' *Cp.* x. 34, Mark ii. 17. But the last passage seems to invalidate Bultmann's theory that ἦλθεν necessarily 'looks back' upon a completed ministry. It must be a rendering of an Aramaic tense form which could have been used by Jesus to signify 'I came and am come.' 'The Prophets.' 'The reference to the Prophets seems out of place. It is the Law alone which is taken into consideration in the rest of the chapter. The editor has probably added 'or the Prophets,' in view of the fact that, according to Christ's teaching elsewhere, Prophets and Law alike (*i.e.* the whole Old Testament) found their fulfilment in Him' (Allen).

καταλῦσαι, 'destroy,' 'annul,' 'abrogate.' This verb is fairly clear. Not quite so clear is πληρῶσαι 'fulfil.' It may mean 'to fill the Law, to reveal the full depth of meaning that it was intended to hold' (McNeile). Jesus, or the man who wrote in his name, meant, perhaps, that he did not want to abrogate the law, but to deepen it, to give it a wider application than the ordinary Scribe understood. He did not want to abolish the law, 'Thou shalt not murder.' But he wanted to make it include all sorts of things which were not understood to fall within its range. He wanted to make the prohibition of adultery include the lustful thought as well as the lustful deed.

But this interpretation of fulfilment is not without its difficulty. For though it works as regards some of the examples, it does not work as regards others. Jesus says, 'Do not swear at all.' How can that be a 'fulfilment' in the sense described of the Law? Again Jesus says, 'Resist not evil.' How is that a fulfilment of 'an eye for an eye'? 'Fulfil' would have to be used, at any rate, in a somewhat loose sense to apply to these examples, and it can only with difficulty be maintained that the new teaching does not occasionally 'annul' or disavow or traverse the old.

'Fulfil,' moreover, unless we take it to have a Pauline sense,

or a sense in which it might have been used by such a writer as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, can be only applied to the moral, and not to the ceremonial, law. For verse 17 cannot mean that Jesus fulfilled the ceremonial law by overcoming it and making it needless. Such a meaning would not only be impossible for Jesus, but impossible too in this particular connection, or, indeed, in Matthew. It may, however, well be that Jesus was for the moment only thinking of the moral law, with which the following section (21–48) exclusively deals. Even his great saying about inward purity does not 'fulfil' the outward laws about purity except in a very special sense of the word 'fulfil,' which is different from the sense of 'fill out with a deeper meaning' or 'add to the range.' Historically, we can hardly expect to get to any certain conclusion as to Jesus's theoretic attitude towards the Law, because he probably had not faced the question himself. He may have been inconsistent without being aware of it. In all probability he observed the Mosaic Law himself, and did not directly urge or desire his disciples to break any definite injunction.

We have, however, seen already how difficulties and troubles actually arose. But from such difficulties to any idea that to point out the essence of the Law was to make its minor or ceremonial injunctions unnecessary is a very big step. The passage about the two greatest commandments may be authentic enough, and such teaching about the Law may be regarded as a fulfilment of it. But 'fulfil' can not be stretched to mean: 'by pointing out what are the two greatest commandments, and upon what all the Law hangs, I show that the ceremonial injunctions need not be obeyed.' To a saying like that of Matt. xxii. 40 one could quote close parallels from the Rabbis. For the edification and needs of the moment a Rabbi would often use words which would seem to imply a 'fulfilment' of the Law by an ignoring of its details; but he would have been very much surprised if he had been asked by a pupil, 'May I then eat a rabbit?' Moreover, the Rabbis habitually 'fulfilled' the Law in the same sort of way as Jesus fulfils it in his remarks about adultery and anger, which are singularly Jewish and Rabbinic; but, because they well knew the difference between legal enactments and ethical perfection, they did not mean to imply that the legal enactment was not to be observed. If 'fulfil' means 'give a deeper meaning to,' then it can be applied to the moral commands only, and even to some of them only with difficulty. There is a long discussion of 17–19 in Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, I. pp. 502–506. He argues that the thought of 17 is the product of the controversy about the Law which was started by Paul. The very phrase 'fulfilling the Law' is Pauline, and is found in Romans xiii. 8, 10 and viii. 4; Gal. v. 14.

He that loves his neighbour has fulfilled the Law.' If 17 is later han Jesus, no less, as Holtzmann thinks, are 18, 19.

Harnack vigorously champions the authenticity of 17 and 18. Fulfil' means 'complete,' 'deepen,' 'make the imperfect perfect.' The Prophets' may be an addition of the Evangelist. If authentic,' the meaning is that 'er (Jesus) ihre (the Prophets) das Gesetz ergänzenden Bestimmungen vollenden wolle.' 18 is obviously uthentic, for the saying 'almost from the very first became very nconvenient.' 19 is doubtfully authentic. The saying does not efer to the practical observance or non-observance of the Law, ut to its authority and validity (*Geltung*). The word ποιήσῃ must e interpreted in accordance with λύσῃ: 'qui *non* abrogaverit.' See the interesting essay in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 912, pp. 1–30, and 'Geschichte eines programmatischen Worts Jesu Matt. v. 17) in der ältesten Kirche,' in *Sitzungsbericht der reussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1912.)

Streeter says: 'The passage 17–20 reflects the attitude of the ewish Christians who, while barely tolerating the proceedings of aul, regarded as the pattern Christian, James, surnamed the Just, ecause his righteousness, even according to the Law, *did* exceed hat of the Scribes and Pharisees. It is to be remarked that this assage does not come in that part of the Sermon on the Mount hich [I] have assigned to Q' (p. 257; *cp.* also p. 512).

Mr. Marriott has some ingenious remarks about 'fulfilment' hich my readers may like to hear. Even as regards perjury, etaliation, and love and hatred, he thinks that fulfilment may egitimately be used. 'Here also Christ's teaching seems to be carrying forward to completion of the old. Let us consider each f the three instances separately. The Jewish law against perjury ad regard to the duty of veracity and fidelity to promises. It did ot, however, lay this duty down absolutely, but confined itself to ne requirement that words attested on oath should correspond ith truth or performance. Christ fulfilled this law by requiring n absolute fidelity to promise. With regard to the *lex talionis*, ne case is not quite so obvious. The Law certainly enjoined it as duty due to justice that a man should punish the offender. And, oking at it in this light, Christ seems simply to negative its teach-ng. But it has another aspect. Its original force was not only ositive and mandatory, but also restrictive. It had regard to the xcesses of vengeance to which man's unbridled passion is prone run. It marked an ethical advance when first promulgated, for curbed the lust for excessive retaliation, and limited this to an qual harm. Viewed in this light, it was fulfilled by Christ entirely rbidding what it had but restrained. Similarly, the precept, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy" has a double

significance. On the one hand, it enjoins hatred towards the enemy. In this respect it is flatly contradicted by the precepts of Christ. But, on the other hand, it restricts hatred to the enemy, and enjoins love towards the neighbour. In this respect it marked an ethical advance upon more primitive teaching, and is in the line of evolution towards the higher doctrine of Christ. Thus, in each of these three instances, the fulfilment is of the same character. It consists in entirely prohibiting what had previously been restricted only, and in requiring to be observed absolutely and universally that which previous legislation had enjoined to be observed only within limits. These, then, are extensions outwards: the boundaries restricting the areas covered by the precepts are removed, so that the extent of their application becomes unlimited' (p. 250). But Mr. Marriott's remarks are not by any means entirely accurate as regards the Jewish and Rabbinic Law which was a much higher law ethically than he appears to know.

18, 19. If 17 is authentic, it does not follow that 18 and 19 are authentic too. Marriott thinks that 17 was taken by Matthew from Q's sermon, and that he added 18, 19, 20 from elsewhere (p. 83). J. Weiss is inclined to regard all the three as interconnected, but later than Jesus and later than Paul. He points out that the Evangelist does not say 'to fulfil the Law,' but, generally, 'to fulfil,' without a specific object. The new law of Jesus stands to the old Law of Moses in the same relation as a fulfilment stands to a prediction. But it is not implied that the old Law is to exist *after* 'all has been fulfilled' (18). Till the Judgment, when the old earth and the old heaven shall pass away, the old Law is to abide. It is binding upon all the community till that not distant period. Mr. Allen says with force and directness about 18 and 19: 'Commentators have exhausted their ingenuity in attempts to explain away this passage, but its meaning is too clear to be misunderstood. Christ is here represented as speaking in the spirit of Alexandrine and Rabbinical Judaism. The attitude to the Law here described is inconsistent with the general tenor of the Sermon. Verses 21–48 are clearly intended to explain and illustrate the way in which Christ fulfilled the Law. But they describe a fulfilment which consists in a penetrating insight into the true moral principles underlying the enactments of the Mosaic code, and verses 34, 39 directly traverse two propositions of the Law. Fulfilment in this sense is something very different from the fulfilment which rests upon the idea of the permanent authority of the least commandment of the Law.' Mr. Allen is too conservative, however, to regard 18 and 19 as the composition of the editor. For he goes on to say 'It seems probable therefore that 18 and 19 did not originally

belong to the Sermon, but have been placed here by the editor, who has thus given to fulfil (= to bring into clear light the true scope and meaning) a sense (viz., to reaffirm and carry out in detail) which is foreign to the general tenor of the Sermon. Verse 18 finds a parallel in an artificial context in Luke xvi. 17. It is therefore a well-authenticated traditional utterance of Christ. Both it and 19 may well have been spoken by him on different occasions, and under circumstances which made his meaning clear, as hyperbolical expressions of respect for the authority of the general tenor and purport of the Law.'

More probably neither 18 nor 19 is authentic. They not only seem inconsistent with the attitude of Jesus to the Law taken as a whole, but they reflect (see above) later disputes. For 18 one may compare the words of Philo in his life of Moses, ii. 14 (Mangey, i. p. 136 *fin.*) 'The Laws of Moses have endured unchanged since they were written down, and will, as we hope, endure for all future time, so long as sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe.'

18. *Cp.* Luke xvi. 17. 'Verily.' 'Αμήν, 'Amen.' Apparently a true record of a verbal habit of the historic Jesus. It is a substitute for an oath which he would not use; it is stronger than 'verily.' It has no exact parallel in the Rabbinic literature. 'Most emphatically I say unto you.' It is never ascribed to any one else, or used by any one else, in the N.T., and must be regarded as a personal trick of speech faithfully preserved by Christian tradition. *Cp.* Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. pp. 185–187.

'Till heaven and earth pass away.' The words are not to be taken too literally. They are a popular way of saying 'never.' As verse 18 is also (in a somewhat different form) in Luke, it probably comes from Q. So Harnack holds that the opinion about the Law expressed in this verse was the actual opinion of Jesus. There is no parallel to it in Mark. There, on the contrary, we have xiii. 31 ('Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away'). Harnack adds: 'If we compare the one saying with the other, there can be no doubt which is secondary' (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 145). As to the wording, Harnack holds that the text of Matthew is correct as against Luke. [W. has just the opposite opinion.] Luke says that the Law shall last longer than (the present) heaven and earth. 'We see Luke's genuine Hellenistic reverence for the Old Testament, a reverence which could be so sincere since it was theoretical, and had no relation to practical quarrels' (p. 43). But the last words, 'till all be fulfilled,' were probably added, he thinks, by Matthew, partly because fulfilment had been spoken of in the previous verse, and partly by reminiscence of Mark xiii. 30. The second 'until'

is certainly awkward. The words 'till all be fulfilled' should rather be rendered 'till all happens;' the Greek has not the same verb as in 17. It runs ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. The exact meaning of the words is uncertain. Do they refer to the Law and mean: 'till all that the Law demands shall be accomplished? Or, 'till all the things concerning myself in the Prophets shall have been accomplished?' Or, 'till this world's life is over, till the Judgment'? Perhaps the words are 'a gloss, due to the similar expression in xxiv. 34 (Mark xiii. 30, Luke xxi. 32) which refers to the portents ushering in the Last Day' (McNeile).

'One jot,' ἰῶτα ἕν. That is one *Yod*, the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet. It has, however, been pointed out that in the Hebrew writing of the time *Yod* was not smaller than *Vau*, but that it was very small in Aramaic writing, in which script the Old Testament must then have been transcribed. Perhaps Matthew added ἰῶτα (i) as the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet.

κερέα is supposed to refer to the small strokes or hooks which at that time served to distinguish letters which otherwise closely resembled each other (*i.e.* ו and ב *v* and *b*, or ב and כ *b* and *k*, or ה and ח *h* and *ch*). Other views are that 'the smallness of the alteration in the Law is perhaps connected, not with the size of the letter *Yod*, but with the fact that in many words it can be dispensed with—"not even a *Yod*, which is only demanded by correctness of spelling, shall pass away." And κερέα is treated similarly, if (as Burkitt conjectures) it can mean the "hook (letter)," *i.e.* *Vau*, which is as frequently dispensed with as *Yod*. But Luke's omission of ἰῶτα ἕν suggests a further conjecture. If in an early Aramaic document, in which *Yod* and *Vau* were indistinguishable, the words were written as "one ו," different translations might represent them by ἰῶτα ἕν and μία κερέα, the latter being used in Luke, the former in Matthew; ἢ μία κερέα may then have been a later harmonizing addition in Matthew' (McNeile).

19. There are some who think that 18 is authentic (or, at any rate, that it represents the actual view and teaching of Jesus) but that 19 is not. 'The verse is possibly a gloss since no "commandments" have been mentioned to which τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων can refer; the use of λύσῃ after καταλῦσαι (17) is also noticeable' (McNeile). Some see in it a polemical reference to certain followers of Paul. They are not excluded from the Kingdom, but they are to occupy the lowest place. The Kingdom is, perhaps, not the eschatological Kingdom of the future (as in 20), but the Christian Church. λύσῃ seems to mean the same as καταλῦσαι in 17. The same English verb, whether 'cancel,' 'destroy,' or 'abrogate,' should perhaps be used in both verses.

Pfleiderer is still, perhaps, worth hearing upon 17–19. He hinks that 19 is probably a later addition, but that 17 and 18 are, f not in the actual wording, genuine expressions of Jesus's actual eaching. That 18 occurs also in Luke xvi. 17 shows at any rate hat it must rest on pretty old tradition. Moreover, the oldest Church' before Paul followed a rule of life in accordance with it. 7 and 18, or their original form, were meant by Jesus quite simply o indicate the perpetual binding force of the Mosaic Law. The Evangelist meant to indicate something different. He meant that he Law was to be 'fulfilled' spiritually and morally. He wants, ike Luke, to preserve the due mean between antinomianism on he one hand and *ceremonial* legalism on the other. 'Fulfil' and destroy' are Pauline expressions, and were doubtless employed y the Evangelist in a Pauline sense (*Urchristentum*, Vol. I. p. 564).

It may be noted that even 17 could not have been spoken except t a fairly late period in the ministry. Who would have thought t first that Jesus came to destroy the Law? In fact the verse ives one the impression of being a fine theoretic reflection of a ater thinker upon Jesus's attitude. Jesus himself was hardly o theoretic. He took his line towards the Law as occasion deanded. Wellhausen says: 'The point of view which the new aw-giver took up towards the Law of Moses was the burning question n early Christianity. In Mark x. 1–10 Jesus only occasionally ouches upon this question, but when he does so, he is quite unmbarrassed. In Matthew, in the very first speech, he grapples ith the question theoretically, but with much less simplicity' (*viel efangener*). But it should be noticed that the passage is much ltered in the second edition.

20. This verse is probably Matthew's own, and intended as an ntroduction to what is now to follow (see above, from Bultmann). ome would connect it with 17; 18 and 19 being interpolated. Or gain it might be a sort of qualification to 18 and 19, added on by omebody who disliked the point of view of these two verses and anted to minimize their tendency. The 'righteousness' of the ospel is contrasted with the presumed 'outward' righteousness f the Scribes. The 'for' connects better with 17 than with 19. he teaching of Jesus deepens and intensifies the moral teaching f the Law. The 'righteousness' demanded by the Law is indequate to secure admission into the Kingdom of heaven, into ne bliss of the world to come. Or, perhaps, the sort of fulfilment f the Law which the Rabbis inculcated is not enough to secure dmission. Even the sensible Scribe of Mark xii. 28 was only near' the Kingdom (xii. 34). Or, if 20 is really independent of 17, nen we may interpret it to mean, not that the Law in itself is

inadequate, but that the way in which the Pharisees and Rabbis fulfil it is inadequate to secure for them admission into the Kingdom of heaven. Yet the compiler of Matthew in adding 20 to 19 must have had, one must suppose, something in his mind as to the relation of 20 to 19. Perhaps he put 'for' when he would have liked to put 'but.' If that be so, 20 would be intended to soften the effect of 19. To enter the Kingdom a man must fulfil the Law in that deepened completeness of it which Jesus is about to teach.

The higher righteousness of Jesus, his new commandments, are, as J. Weiss rightly says, intended for men who are soon to appear before the judgment seat of God. The sermon is spoken from the point of view of an expected and near 'end of the world.' The crisis is at hand. Hence the Sermon contains no programme for the improvement of this world and its institutions. It has no thought of a human race who are to live upon the earth for centuries upon centuries, but it is spoken to a small band of men who are to turn their backs upon earthly matters, and to expect and prepare for a new 'heavenly' order. We can find in the Sermon no solution of our 'social question,' no plans upon which to organize the society of later ages. To the question, 'How are we best to order the life of mankind?', we receive no answer; what is answered is the question which an earnest and tender conscience must always put to itself: 'What must I do to be saved?' It is this quality of the Sermon—here rightly, if perhaps too one-sidedly, emphasized by Weiss—which makes a certain distinction between the ethics of Jesus and the ethics of the prophets. We can see how the teaching of Jesus could be misinterpreted to justify, and to lead to, a selfish individualism. For the question 'What must I do to be saved?' ('Was muss ich tun, dass ich selig werde?') could lead to unsocial asceticism, or to a careless and egoistic charity which has increased the evils which it professedly would cure. 'What must I do to be saved?' is a question which to some Jewish ears has a selfish and over-personal sound. It has been said by some Jewish critics that distinctively Jewish ethics say: 'What is my duty towards others for their benefit?' and that distinctively Christian ethics say: 'What is my duty towards others that I may save my own soul?' The antithesis is really a false one, and the teaching of Jesus, taken as a whole, is free from all egoistic taint. Nevertheless, just as Rabbinic religion has its peculiar dangers, so perhaps also has the religion of the Synoptic Gospels.

Meanwhile, Christian commentators continue to repeat one after the other the old theory that Jesus taught and proclaimed a 'new righteousness,' that he taught and demanded this new righteousness consciously and deliberately, and that his claim was true. So, *e.g.*, with emphasis and iteration Heinrici in his essay on the Sermon

on the Mount 'begriffsgeschichtlich untersucht.' I believe both assertions to be false. They are obtained by an exaggeration of the ethical perfection and comprehensiveness of the Sermon, on the one hand, and by unjustified depreciation of 'Jewish' teaching, upon the other. In spite of the 'antitheses' of the Sermon, I do not believe that Jesus had any deliberate intention of teaching a new religion or a new 'righteousness.' He was well content with Micah's 'What does the Lord require of thee,' and with the love of God and neighbour demanded by the Law. And Rabbinic righteousness was vastly higher, purer, and more inward than Heinrici and his like know or allow. Till it is realized that each side has its good points and its weaknesses, that there are agreements and overlappings as well as differences in the teachings of one and the other, a completely historic, a coldly judicial, assessment and appraisement will never be obtained.

21, 22. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (A) Of Anger

(Matthew only)

'Ye have heard that it was said to the men of old time, Thou shalt not murder; and whoever murders shall be liable to the court. But I say unto you, That whoever is angry with his brother shall be liable to the court: and whoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*, shall be liable to the high court; and whoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire.

21. We now are shown in detail how the new 'gospel' righteousness must exceed the old 'legal' righteousness and differ from it. Five or six times it is said, 'Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, so and so, but I say unto you'—something finer and deeper, something more inclusive, completing, and profound. The opposition, 'Ye have heard that it was said to the men of old—but I say unto you,' is only found in Matthew. But most, though not all, of the material which is collected under the antithesis is not found in Luke. So we cannot conclusively argue from its absence in Luke that the antithesis is not authentic. It may or may not be. It is interesting to note that the formula chosen carefully avoids the use of the word 'Moses.' Jesus does not say, or is not made to say, 'You have heard that it was said to Moses,' but only vaguely, 'You have heard that it was said to the men of old time.' And again the wording chosen carefully avoids the use of the word 'God.'

It does not say 'You have heard that God said to Moses,' which would have been the real truth. 'Moses,' says Wellhausen, 'soll offenbar aus dem Spiel bleiben.' But he might also have added: 'Gott soll auch offenbar aus dem Spiel bleiben.' But the artifice of the omission and of the substitute 'the men of old' does not succeed. For clearly the references are to the Decalogue and to the Mosaic Law. It was God who said to Moses and 'to the men of old,' 'Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery,' and to Moses, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' A good deal depends upon the view taken of 18, 19. If these verses, or if verse 18, be authentic, one can hardly believe that Jesus would in one breath have taught the immortality and binding force of the Mosaic Law and in the next have set himself up as the new Lawgiver in opposition to the old. But if 18 is not authentic—and this is more probable—we have a freer hand. And, perhaps, all that Jesus really meant was, not to overthrow the Law, but to deepen its range, to show the real inclusiveness of its commands. The trouble is that this interpretation of the 'contrast' works well for some of the examples, but not for all. Thus Dr. Schechter proposed a hypothesis, based upon a profound and also instinctive knowledge of Rabbinic and Hebrew usage, which is wanting to the Christian commentators. Dr. Schechter shows that the Rabbis were accustomed to give enlarged interpretations of Biblical utterances, and were wont to argue that more was intended and included by a given command or saying than the mere letter would imply. There is a fairly close Rabbinic parallel even to the very phrase of Matthew, 'Ye have heard—but I say,' which runs, 'You might understand a given passage or law to mean, or to mean only, so and so, therefore there is a teaching to say that,' etc. But Dr. Schechter's interpretation, suitable for the first two examples, is unsuitable for the last two, and rather awkward though not impossible, for the middle two examples. It may, however, be that the antithesis has been added by the Evangelist or an earlier redactor to the last two and perhaps even to the third (divorce). In the fourth example it might perhaps be said that the command not to swear falsely implies the higher rule: swear not at all. (Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 214, n. 1; 'Rabbinic Parallels to the New Testament,' *J. Q. R.* Vol. XII. p. 427, April 1900; and see also Abrahams, *Studies*, I. p. 16.)

Perhaps in the list of contrasts some things only go back to Jesus, and some are due to later writers who were more hostile to the Law than Jesus was, and more deliberately opposed to Judaism. Wellhausen observes: 'Presumably the words of the Law are supposed to be the same thing as the Jewish religion, and yet the Jewish religion had, in many respects, advanced as much beyond the

literal words of the Law as the Christian religion. The foil is darkened, that the light may shine more brightly. We have the echo of a temper which was produced among the disciples by the crucifixion and by the persecutions which they had to undergo. As a Jerusalem scribe, Matthew is much more Jewish (*steckt viel tiefer im Judentum*) than Jesus of Galilee, but he nevertheless criticizes his hostile fellow-countrymen, and especially their spiritual leaders, more sharply. He oscillates between two opposite poles.'

The passage is suppressed in the second edition, and the following is substituted for it: 'Es liegt hier nicht eine zornige Polemik gegen den Pharisaismus vor, wie in Kap. 23, sondern eine grundsätzliche Unterscheidung zwischen Legalität und Gesinnungsmoral. Dabei darf unberücksichtigt bleiben, dass doch auch das Judentum nicht am Buchstaben des Gesetzes kleben blieb.' It would also make good sense to insert 'nicht' after the word 'darf' and before the word 'unberücksichtigt.'

It is not quite easy to believe that Jesus would have put his teaching (for that is what it comes to) in contrast to the Decalogue. He would scarcely have wished to depreciate the Decalogue by the higher nobility of his own teaching, or wished his disciples to believe that the Decalogue was a poor and meagre sort of law, which it was reserved for him to deepen and to enlarge. Shall we, then, upon the whole, conclude that Jesus, as the prophetic teacher of inwardness, wanted to show that the true fulfilment of the Law included and implied an inward and enlarged interpretation of the leading moral enactments? He did not mean to rail against the very Decalogue itself, by depreciating it in contrast with the new law which he was giving to his disciples. There seems all the more reason to think that this was the original form and intention of this section of his sermon, inasmuch as the greater part of his interpretations are so thoroughly Rabbinic in character and tone.

A further point to remember is that the Pentateuch occupied a sovereign position among the Jews, so that the conception of 'the Law' or 'of law' as opposed to some higher principle of religion was unknown to them. 'Torah' to the Rabbis is not merely 'law,' but 'teaching.' They freely use the word Torah even where they base their views and teachings upon Biblical passages outside the Pentateuch. Again, the Rabbis were quite aware of the difference between the letter and the spirit of the Law; only they used different terms to denote letter and spirit. To illustrate both these points, take the Rabbinic terms *shurot ha'din* and *lefanim meshurot ha'din*. The one means 'the strict letter of the Law,' the other 'beyond the letter, *i.e.* the spirit, of the Law.' Thus: 'R. Jochanan said, Jerusalem was only destroyed because they gave judgments according to the letter of the Law' (and not

according to the spirit). Or this story : ' Some labourers broke the wine-barrels belonging to Rabba bar Chanan, and he took away their clothes. They came to Rab and told him what had happened. He said to Rabba, " Give them back their clothes." Rabba said to him, " Is this the Law ? " Rab said, " Yes, it is, for we read in *Proverbs*, That thou mayest walk in the way of good men." Rabba then gave them back their clothes. But they said to him : " We are poor, and have toiled all day ; we are hungry, and have nothing." Then Rab said to Rabba, " Go and give them their wages." Rabba said to Rab : " But is this the *Law* ? " Rab said to him, " Yes, it is, for it says in *Proverbs*, And keep the paths of the righteous " ' (Baba Mezia, 30 *b* and 83 *a* ; Wuensche, *Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandteilen*, II. 2, pp. 61, 85).

21. ' Ye have heard.' The simplest interpretation is that the ' hearing ' refers to readings of the Law or expositions of the Law given in the synagogues. The words, ' Whoever shall murder shall be liable to the tribunal ' are not in the Old Testament. Jesus may have had a passage like Deut. xvi. 18 in his mind. What is ἡ κρίσις ? It depends on the interpretation of 22. The ordinary interpretation is that it means the local court as contrasted with the ' supreme court,' the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. Or it may mean merely ' judgment.' The murderer is ' liable to the judgment,' *i.e.* guilty, and so condemned by the properly constituted authorities. Or it may mean ' the law,' ' judicial proceedings.' But whatever the meaning, the whole phrase is exceedingly odd. One would expect : ' he who murders shall be put to death.' The odd wording, odd too in its mildness, was probably chosen as an artifice for the sake of what is to follow.

22. First let us suppose that all the verse was written at one and the same time, and as the sequel of 21. What then can be its meaning ?

(*a*) One view is that Jesus distinguishes between three grades of sin, (1) Feeling of anger, (2 and 3) Two grades of abusive language. The signification of *raka* is uncertain : Matthew, perhaps, did not know and left it untranslated. It is probably the Aramaic *rayka* found in the Talmud, meaning ' empty-headed,' ' scamp.' ' Fool,' in Hebrew or Aramaic, would mean ' impious one,' ' scoundrel.' Or ' fool,' μωρέ, may stand for the Hebrew word *shoteh*, which means ' fool,' ' madman ' in our sense of the terms. Jesus hardly means that a disciple or member of the new brotherhood is literally to be brought up before a local court, if he is angry with his brother. What he means is that in *his* teaching, with its increased demands, anger is as great a sin as murder was under the Law. And to call

your brother *raka* is even worse than murder, while to call him fool, deserves the special punishment of God. The intensifications and order must not be literally pressed. We must not take it as the deliberate opinion of Jesus that if a man, say in hot blood, calls his neighbour a fool, he is likely to be sent after his death into Gehenna and 'eternal fire.' If that were the literal meaning, it would be intolerably harsh.

(*b*) But there are many difficulties in the first view. Why should two unkind *words* be punished so much more heavily than the *feeling* of anger, the angry *heart*? And what is the terrible difference between 'raka' and 'fool'? How can the difference in abuse, if there be such, justify the great difference in degree of punishment? So it is supposed that 22 has got confused, and that the second part also contains Jewish teaching to which Jesus opposes his own teaching in the last or third part of 22. 'The Rabbis say that murder is liable to judgment, but I say that anger, its equivalent, is liable to (divine) judgment. And (the Rabbis say that) abusive language such as *raka* is punishable by the local court, but I say that abusive language such as *môre*, its equivalent, is punishable by the fire of Gehenna' (McNeile). If this view be true, κρίσει in 21 must mean 'judgment' generally, and not 'local court.' And then too τῷ συνεδρίῳ in 22 means not the supreme court at Jerusalem, but the local court of any town or congregation. And κρίσει in 22 means 'judgment' as in 21, yet not human judgment (as in 21) but the judgment of God.

Certainly (*b*) is more probable than (*a*), but more probable still is the view that 22*b* (after 'court,' or 'judgment,' κρίσει) is a later gloss. Jesus speaks of murder and anger quite generally. The command 'Do no murder' does not merely mean 'do not murder'; it condemns also all angry feelings. The gloss might have arisen from a misunderstanding of the word κρίσει which was taken to mean 'local court,' and then the extra gradations were added.

In a fresh re-examination of the problem by Konrad Köhler (*Z. N. W.*, 1919, pp. 91–94), he comes to the conclusion that the words ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ μωρέ are a mere marginal explanation of ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ῥακά (he who calls [his brother] *raka*). When this explanation got put into the text, a conclusion to it was given in the words ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ. The original saying gave two examples of sin which is as bad as (or worse than) murder. These two examples are not to be contrasted with each other. 'But' should be 'and.' 'I say to you that every one that shows anger'—not 'feels anger' says Köhler—'to his neighbour is liable to the judgment [of God], and he who says to his brother *Raca* [or calls his brother *raca*] is liable to the Fire' [*i.e.* of Gehenna]. Köhler establishes this as the

original reading on the basis of the citations from the Church Fathers and an elaborate examination of their readings.

In 22 the ordinary text reads, 'Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause,' but the Greek word for 'without a cause' (εἰκῇ) is probably a later insertion. The original 'was an austere prohibition of all wrath, for within the Kingdom all men were brethren. It seemed a demand too great for human attainment, and so the Church took away its difficulty by limiting the doom to him who was angry with his brother *without* cause' (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 24). But Merx is keen that 'without cause' is right, and original, and his arguments are strong. Jesus would then according to Merx, not have broken his own command in Mark iii. 5; his 'wrath' would not have to be explained away.

In these verses Jesus appears to regard the feeling of anger as no less terrible a crime than murder. Such paradoxical equivalences were quite usual among the Rabbis. But they must not be pressed too far, just as to feel anger and to control the feeling is obviously a less sin than to give free play to it. The teaching of 21 and 22 is Rabbinic, and contains nothing that is new. No sin was more atrocious to the Rabbis than putting your neighbour to open shame, to make him blush in public. That is why to abuse him and call him 'fool' was so deadly a sin. It is quite likely that Jesus took the same line, as, indeed, the whole of this passage contains Rabbinic commonplace. For it is false that Rabbinic ethics knows of nothing but 'actions.' It is false that Jesus, in saying that God's law has to do with *Gesinnung* (inward disposition, motive, character), was opposed to the whole spirit of Judaism. It is false that in Judaism religion was mere outward obedience; it is false that the relation of man to God was conceived of only as one of action and reward, and that character remains wholly out of account. It is false that the Law was an outward taskmaster, which evoked fear and not love. No one can understand the Rabbinic religion with these presuppositions. There is no such fundamental contrast between it and the religion of Jesus. The Law was not a mere external law, fulfilled from fear of punishment and for hope of reward. It was the Law of the all-wise and all-righteous God, given to Israel as a sign of supremest grace. It was a token of divine affection, and in its fulfilment was the highest human joy.

23–26. On Reconcilement

(*Cp.* Luke xii. 57–59)

23 'If then thou bring thy offering to the altar, and thou remember
24 there that thy brother has ought against thee, leave thy offering

there before the altar, and go, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and bring thy offering.

25 'Become friends with thine opponent quickly, whilst thou art still on the way with him; lest thy opponent deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast
26 into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the last farthing.

23, 24. Some think that we have in 23, 24 and again in 25, 26 two applications of the principle that to harbour anger is sin. Others, more probably, think that all four verses (whatever their source and provenance) break the connection. They would fit in better after vi. 15. It is held by some that the passage is rather suited for inhabitants of Jerusalem than for Galilæans. The verses in any case imply that the Jewish state and Temple are still in working order. The teaching is again perfectly Rabbinic and usual. Whether the verses are based upon Mark xi. 25 is doubtful. A common source may be the origin of both. Or both may have been said by Jesus on different occasions. In Mark xi. 25 it is the person addressed who is 'angry;' in Matthew v. 23 it is his 'brother.' But, *perhaps* (it is not certain), the fact that the brother has something against 'thee' is meant to imply that 'thou' on thy side hast done something to justify his anger. If the verses are authentic, they would show, as Loisy points out, that Jesus did not dream of freeing his disciples from observing the legal sacrifices. Perhaps rather it should be said that the Temple and the sacrifices are merely used as a conventional setting for the moral teaching. But Jesus does not usually use the Temple in this way: Loisy is inclined to ask whether the adage was not born in that Judæo-Christian 'atmosphere, where the saying was composed which canonizes all the ordinances of the Law.' Whether Jesus ever offered any sacrifices since the beginning of his ministry is uncertain. 'It seems that he did not: he prayed and taught in the Temple, but it does not appear that he took part in any sacrificial act' (*E. S.* i. p. 573). Wellhausen says: 'As they are preserved, the words *vv.* 23–25 cannot have been uttered by Jesus himself, for they do not suit the Galilæans to whom he was talking. They must have been formed in the Jerusalem community, and can only be explained if this community continued to practise and take part in the sacrificial service in the Temple' (*Einleitung*, p. 62, n. 1, ed. 2).

In his interesting, novel, and suggestive little treatise, *Die Bergpredigt im Lichte der Strophentheorie*, the distinguished Semitic scholar, Dr. D. H. Müller, points out that the teaching carries the Rabbinic command as to robbery one step further. For according

to the Rabbinic law a man must first restore what he had stolen before he could bring his sin-offering. And if he had brought the offering, and it was discovered that the theft had not been restored, the sacrifice had to be destroyed as illegal, and the priest was not allowed to use it sacrificially. It had to be burned outside the temple.

25, 26 (Luke xii. 57–59). These two verses are by no means very clear. If there is no allegorical sense to be assigned to the judge and the prison, etc., they merely urge the practical advantages of early reconcilement. If there be an allegoric fuller meaning, the judge would be God, and the prison hell. The 'way' would be the life on earth, and the officer might be—though this is unnecessary—the angel of judgment. Such may be the meaning to Matthew. Perhaps the original meaning was that one must be reconciled with one's neighbour quickly so as not, perchance, to have to appear before God unreconciled with one's neighbour. God only forgives those who have forgiven, or who have sincerely sought reconcilement with, their neighbour. Another view is that of Loisy, who suggests that originally what may have been intended was an implicit comparison. 'When one has a bad case, it is best to come to an arrangement before one is condemned; similarly, as regards salvation, it is wiser to settle accounts with God by a sincere repentance than to await the great Judgment which will also be eternal punishment' (*E. S.* I. p. 574). It is not meant by 26 that the punishment of *hell* is only temporary.

'Become friends with.' *ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ.* 'It is strange that the offending party should be exhorted to "be favourably minded" towards his opponent. Luke has *δὸς ἐργασίαν ἀπηλλάχθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* ("to be quit of him"); and since the cause of complaint, as "the last *quadrans*" (*v.* 26) shews, is an unpaid debt, *εὐνοῶν* may have arisen from a mistaken rendering of שלם ("pay back"), as though it meant "make peace"' (McNeile). Can *εὐνοῶν* (only here in the New Testament) be rendered as Moffatt does by 'make terms with'?

Between 23, 24 and 25, 26 the connection seems, as Mr. Allen says, to be 'literary and artificial.' The verses are 'clearly a warning against the risk of appearing before God at the Judgment Day unreconciled to Him. He is alike prosecutor and judge and executor of judgment. Luke has the saying in a context to which this meaning is more applicable.'

27, 28. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (B) Of Adultery

(Matthew only)

7 'Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery:
8 but I say unto you, That whoever looks on a woman to desire her has committed adultery with her already in his heart.

This is the second example of the deepening of the letter of the Law. The seventh Commandment follows upon the sixth. The woman must be, some say, the wife of another. For the adultery is committed against her husband. It is said that according to Jewish and antique conceptions, fornication with an unmarried woman even by a married man is not adultery. But I doubt whether Jesus had these limitations in mind. I am more inclined to think that Jesus would have said that if a married man coveted an unmarried woman, or an unmarried man coveted a married woman, he was equally guilty of this inward adultery. The doctrine that desire is sinful is quite Rabbinic, and can be readily paralleled in the Talmud.

Wellhausen acknowledges that the Old Testament had advanced beyond the mere letter of the Law: 'Jesus, in spite of Matthew, does not go beyond Job xxx.' The Rabbinic parallels are oddly close. Indeed no simple Rabbinic Jew who read the utterance of Jesus for the first time would find in it anything startling, except the implication that there was any opposition between the old Law and the new. At the same time what Jesus says is not the whole truth.

'Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus,
Another thing to fall.

There is some willingness on the part of many Christian theologians to recognize the similarity of teaching between Jesus and the Rabbis on such a question as lustful desire, but the recognition is still a little half-hearted. What are we to make of a note like this on verse 28? 'The Rabbis had legislated for actions, not for thoughts' (McNeile). But who can *legislate*, in the literal meaning of the word, for 'thoughts'? The Halachah deals with actions, as any other system of codified law must. But in their *teaching*, the Rabbis dealt with 'thoughts' no less than Jesus.

29, 30. Of Temptations and Stumbling-blocks

(*Cp.* Matthew xviii. 8, 9 ; Mark ix. 43-47)

29 'And if thy right eye cause thee to stumble, tear it out, and
throw it from thee : for it is better for thee that one of thy members
should perish, rather than that thy whole body should be thrown
30 into hell. And if thy right hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off,
and throw it from thee : for it is better for thee that one of thy
members should perish, rather than that thy whole body should
come into hell.

29, 30 are found in Mark ix. 43–47 and are repeated in Matthew xviii. 8, 9. Here they seem to have been inserted. The eye is in place as the seat and cause of lustful desire ; the hand is not. But verse 30 is wanting in the S.S. and in D. The 'right' eye is odd. We see with both eyes. But in a passage in which man was urged that rather than yield to sin it were better to cut off the most precious member of his body, the *right* hand, as the more valuable of the two, would be in place : the eye would then have been assimilated to the hand. Self-mutilation is not intended. The language is metaphorical.

There seems in this passage to be a distinct ascetic tinge. Nor can it be alleged that the ascetic element is wholly wanting in the teaching of Jesus. There is a tendency to regard abstention as higher than temperate enjoyment, just as it is considered higher to have no money than to use money well. There is a tendency to put celibacy above marriage ; there is a tendency to suggest that the highest religious life necessitates the abandonment of ordinary family ties. The result of this tendency has been seen, in its full fruitage, in the monastic institutions and life of the Roman Catholic Church. No student of history, no observer of facts, can deny the noble characters which this tendency has produced. But, at the same time, none can deny its dangers and its evils. Yet asceticism is a necessary element in every idealist religion. And the current objections to asceticism in modern Judaism tend to have the evil result of making religion too comfortable. 'Reasonable enjoyment' ; 'God meant us to be happy' ; 'the gifts of God, even his material gifts, are to be temperately used and enjoyed' ; 'this is no vale of tears,' etc., etc., etc. These statements are sensible enough, but just a little too sensible. They conform too well to the ordinary feelings and wishes of the ordinary man. They leave little room for the heroic. Yet, on the other hand, it is dangerous to confine religion to the ascetic life. The phrase 'to

live in religion,' meaning to live outside the family, is not in accordance with Jewish conceptions of religion and morality. Judaism asks that lust should be tamed and sanctified. Lust is to become love. But the holy satisfaction of natural passion in married life is, according to the main stream of Jewish teaching, a higher thing than celibacy. In the age of Jesus there was, however, an ascetic branch of Jewish doctrine. The Essenes were ascetics. Some have thought that Jesus was influenced by Essenism. A remarkable parallel passage is quoted by Fiebig (*Jesu Bergpredigt*, 1924, p. 54) from Niddah 13 *b*, and a further one from Sabbath 108 *b*. In the first passage, and in the Mishnah passage on which it is based (Niddah 13 *a*), the punishment of having the hand cut off is to be the penalty of a man who is guilty of certain unclean acts. When R. Tarphon is asked whether, under certain circumstances where life might be in danger, such an act might not be justifiable, he replies, 'It is better that his body should burst rather than that he should go down into the pit' (*i.e.* Gehenna or Hell). I suppose that the expressions are all metaphorical. In spite of Deut. xxv. 12, there was, I presume, no question of a man's hand being actually cut off for any of the offences suggested. Besides, how could they be known? The sayings and phrases, therefore, show how vivid and severe Oriental hyperbole could be. *Cp.* Matt. xix. 12. The Talmudic passages appear to strengthen the view that nothing literal is meant in Matt. xix. 12 any more than in v. 29, 30.

31, 32. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (C) Of Divorce

(*Cp.* Luke xvi. 18)

31 'It has been said, Whoever would divorce his wife, let him
32 give her a bill of divorce: but I say unto you, That whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity, causes her to commit adultery: and whoever marries a woman that is divorced commits adultery.

So far nothing has been said which is not Rabbinic and orthodox. The New Teaching, so far, is in complete conformity with Rabbinic teaching, except, perhaps, in the passage about Temptations and Stumbling-blocks. There is nothing in the sayings about Anger, Appeasement, Reconciliation, Lustful Desire, which would be new or surprising to a Rabbinic Jew. But now we *do* come to something new. The passage about Divorce (*cp.* Mark x. 1–12; Matt. xix. 3–9; Luke xvi. 18 and the notes) is the first really *original* utterance

in the series of contrasts, as compared with the best Rabbinic teaching.

It is also the first real or apparent conflict with the letter of the Mosaic Law. In Luke the sentence about divorce follows immediately upon the sentence about the immutability of the Law. Luke, apparently, was conscious of no contradiction between the one utterance and the other. The second statement may be supposed to explain the first. The abrogation of divorce is only a 'fulfilment' of the Law which permitted divorce; the permanence of the Law only meant its permanence in the higher 'fulfilment.'

Whether Jesus himself thought like this is more doubtful. The excuse which he gives in Mark x. 5 for the opposition between the Law and his teaching is more likely to be historical. Divorce was merely permissive; God, through Moses, did not *order* the Israelites to divorce their wives, as he ordered them not to eat rabbits. Knowing the hardness of their hearts, he merely *permitted* it. One can imagine that Jesus could honestly have thought that his war against divorce was in no wise a war upon the Pentateuchal Law. And though the teaching about anger and adultery 'fulfils' or 'completes' the Law in an easier and less subtle a sense than the teaching about divorce, still it is by no means impossible that Jesus did regard his prohibition as a 'fulfilment' of the concession made in old days to the weakness of human nature and the hardness of men's hearts.

'Causes her to commit adultery,' *i.e.* by marrying another man. To marry a divorced woman is adultery, because this woman is still the wife of another man. The form of the saying in this verse, except 'save for unchastity,' may have been exactly as it stood in Q. Luke's version may have been influenced by Mark. Matthew's is independent of Mark.

It is to be noted that the two cases mentioned in 32 are different from the two cases mentioned in Mark. There (1) the man who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, (2) the woman who divorces her husband and marries another commits adultery. Here the cases are (1) of the divorced woman who commits adultery if she marry again, (2) of the man who marries that divorced woman.

The words 'except for unchastity' (or 'fornication') are probably a later addition, with the object of mitigating the uncompromising universality of the denunciation. But it is by no means certain that they change the intended sense. For even if the words are an addition of Matthew's, and were not in Q, they *may* only bring out the original meaning. For it may be argued that adultery on the woman's part of itself dissolved the marriage. *Cp.* the Notes on Mark. M. Loisy suggests that, when every disciple of Jesus is

even forbidden to allow an impure thought to arise in his mind, 'the hypothesis of adultery being committed by an aspirant to eternal life need not be discussed' (*E. S.* I. p. 579). But Christians were no more proof than Jews against human temptations and sins. The case of adultery speedily arose, and so, a redactor, by adding the words, 'except for fornication,' brought back the old law, at least for men, as applicable to Christians under special aggravated circumstances.

The extreme attitude, possibly taken up by Jesus, that under no circumstances is divorce permissible, is untenable and objectionable; but the implied attack upon the inferiority of women in Oriental society, and upon the unjust power of divorce given to men, was of the highest importance and value. Thus, upon the whole, we have to recognize that his words have been of service towards a higher conception of womanhood. Loisy says rightly: 'So far as one can judge, Jesus condemned divorce as contrary to the law of love, without however reflecting on the social reasons which one may put forward for or against the practice' (*E. S.* I. p. 235).

The whole question now, with the equality of men and women, has assumed a different complexion. To take the words of Jesus as literally authoritative is a terrible burden and mistake. That an innocent man should not marry an innocent woman because she has been divorced from a scoundrel, or should not marry her with all the rites of religion, is to my mind shocking. No less shocking is it that a man or woman should be legally tied for life to a hopeless maniac, and other clear cases, over and above adultery, can be imagined, and do actually occur, where divorce should unquestionably be allowed. Some of these cases are more or less provided for by the Rabbis where the victim is the woman. But that Jesus came out strongly against Hillel and for Shammai, and that he apparently also saw the cruel injustice of the unequal position of man and woman in the divorce regulations of his time, was a permanent contribution to civilization and to morality.

33-37. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (D) Of Oaths

(Matthew only)

33 'Again, ye have heard that it has been said to the men of old
time, Thou shalt not swear falsely, but shalt perform unto the Lord
34 thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by the
35 heaven, for it is God's throne: nor by the earth, for it is his foot-
stool: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King.

36 And swear not by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white
37 or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; nay, nay: for whatever is more than these comes from wickedness.

33. The reference is probably to a combination of Pentateuchal passages and not only to one. *Cp.* in addition to the ninth Commandment, Exodus xx. 7; Lev. xix. 12; Numbers xxx. 2 and Deut. xxiii. 21–23.

34. Did Jesus himself ever swear? Some regard Matt. xxvi. 63, 64 as such an oath. So, for instance, Holtzmann, who would explain the inconsistency by saying that it only shows that 'the Sermon on the Mount wishes to regulate the communal life of the members of the Kingdom, without, necessarily, placing them in opposition to the existing order of society' (p. 212). But more probably there is no oath in the trial before the high priest. Jesus is 'adjured' to swear, or to answer upon oath, but he replies by a simple affirmation or assertion. It is possible that the odd use of 'Amen,' *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*, so often put in Jesus's mouth in Matthew and found also in Mark, was Jesus's favourite and original substitute for an oath ('Amen I say unto you,' usually rendered, 'Verily I say unto you'). Though he condemns oaths, he has to coin something in their place, a solemn affirmation instead of an appeal to God.

The most probable interpretation of 34 is, therefore, that all oaths of every kind and on every occasion are forbidden for the disciples and the members of the coming Kingdom. This would be in accordance with the practice and ethics of the Essenes. Others suppose that Jesus's words have nothing to do with oaths rendered before a court of justice, but only with idle oaths in conversation and ordinary social intercourse. I do not see that the interpretation of the passage is carried much further by the remark that 'Jesus does not abrogate or modify the law: he simply goes behind it, pointing to the better way, and laying down a general principle' (Box, p. 119, and in almost the same words, McNeile). The question remains: Are the Quakers the true interpreters of the passage and its teaching, or are they not? I am inclined to think that they are.

35. The point apparently is that all these substitutes for the name of God are mere evasions. God is really brought in all the same. The throne of God and his footstool are taken from Isaiah lxvi. 1; 'the city of the great King' from Psalm xlviii. 2.

36. To swear by oneself or one's own head is ridiculous, for our lives are not really our own: they are given by God and remain in his hand. This last example is somewhat different in form and

idea from the others. It does not so much bid us respect the majesty of God as point out the absurdity of a creature swearing by his own head who has no power *over* himself and no proprietorship *of* himself. It has been suggested that this example is more likely to be authentic than the others with their scriptural quotations.

37. 'Let your speech be, Yes, yes; no, no.' It is doubtful whether the saying of Jesus is accurately reported. Jesus would seem to give here a sort of affirmation formula. In James v. 12 the saying is quoted in the form: 'Let your yea be yea and your nay be nay,' which is much more intelligible and much more likely to be authentic, and for which there is an exact Rabbinic parallel. Ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. The adjective is probably neuter, and the words probably mean: 'is the result of the evil which is in the world.'

There was a tendency among severer Jewish and Gentile teachers to inculcate a certain fear and horror of all oaths; so among the Essenes. As regards the Rabbis, the Rabbinic *laws* about oaths must be distinguished from the Rabbinic teaching about the *morality* of oaths. Apart from legal distinctions, discussions, and pronouncements, the Rabbinic teaching, in its higher and highest moments, does not greatly differ from that of Jesus. It is amusing how many Christian commentators are ready enough to use the developed Talmudic regulations and discussions about oaths as evidence of 'Jewish morality' in the age of Jesus, while similar evidence against the perfect accuracy of any Gospel statements are at once countered on the score of date.

38–42. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (E) Of Retaliation

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 29, 30)

38 'Ye have heard that it has been said, An eye for an eye, and
39 a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not wickedness;
but whoever smites thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other
40 also. And if any man want to go to law with thee, and to take
41 away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whoever forces
42 thee to go one mile, go with him two. Give to him that asks thee, and from him that wants to borrow from thee turn not away.

We here come to the most striking, and not the least famous, of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. But 'famous' does not necessarily mean 'authentic in all its details.'

If it was not easy to speak of a ' fulfilment ' of the Law as regards divorce and oaths, it is still more difficult to speak of fulfilment as regards ' tit for tat.' For Jesus here apparently tells his disciples deliberately that a certain principle or method of punishment laid down in the Law is wrong, and that the very opposite principle should be adopted instead of it. It is hard to see how ' resist not evil ' can be regarded as the fulfilment of ' eye for eye.' All one could say is that Jesus fulfils the Law by correcting the Law. If the highest level, or the essence, of the Law, for example, is contained in the command, ' Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' the principle ' eye for eye ' conflicts with this ' essence,' and Jesus, by laying down the principle ' resist not evil,' corrects and completes the Law as a whole. But it is difficult to believe that this is what Jesus meant or that this was in his mind.

38. The literal application of the so-called *Lex talionis*, or tit for tat, Exodus xxi. 24, etc., had been abolished by the Rabbis, probably as early as the age of Jesus, though this cannot be definitely proved. If a man in a quarrel knocked out another's tooth, the tooth of the evildoer could not be knocked out as a punishment. All that happened was a monetary fine, quite in accordance with modern ideas. The principle, however, of measure for measure, or of tit for tat, is one which has sunk deep into the human heart, and it cannot be denied that it sank very deep indeed into the Jewish heart and into the Jewish mind. A correspondence between desert and good fortune seemed just; and that God allows the good to suffer and the bad to prosper seemed always the gravest problem. ' God requites every man according to his doings,' seemed the principle most consonant with divine justice, and the future life enabled this principle to be upheld, however this life contradicts it. If measure for measure was the right rule for God, it could not be the wrong rule for man. Jesus does not hesitate to use the principle on due occasion. He too thinks that God will reward the righteous after death and punish the wicked. But he also believes in another principle both for God (Matt. xx. 1–14) and for man. And the Rabbis believed in this other principle too, though they did not formulate it so sharply and vividly as it is formulated and illustrated in the Sermon on the Mount. It is not, I think, unfair when Dr. McNeile says that Jesus did not abrogate the principle of measure for measure, but that he penetrated behind it. ' His disciples are to be so free of self that they do not even desire human justice. He " fulfils " the ἀκριβεία of the Law by the ἐπιεικεία of the Gospel. As before, He teaches the principle, without limitations by means of concrete instances; and if modern Christians took His words *ad literam*, they would be doing precisely what He

deprecates : they would be exalting the letter at the expense of the principle. To decline legal justice would often involve injustice to others ; St. Paul did not scruple to appeal to it.' ' Resist not evil ' and ' turn the other cheek ' are, at bottom, the same teaching as Prov. xv. 1, ' A soft answer turns away wrath,' expanded, systematized, glorified, and idealized. But such a view assumes that part of the object of the injunction, ' Resist not evil ' is to convert the evildoer, and so to destroy the evil. It is, however, held by some that what the teaching as we have it in Matthew has in view is solely the agent himself. He is not to resist ; he is not to stand upon his rights ; he is to be concessive, yielding, forgiving, generous, for his own sake ; such is to be the temper, such the disposition, of the disciples of the new order and of Jesus. The effect upon others is not considered one way or the other. The example given in 41 would seem to confirm this view. If the soldier orders you to carry his baggage one mile and you carry it two, you will not help toward the abolition of the *corvée* or morally benefit the soldier. And if Jesus really meant in the fullest literal sense that evil must not be resisted at all, then the instance given, just because of its moral uselessness, is highly significant. And, accordingly, some interpreters suppose that the object of the teaching throughout is not to convert the sinner, but simply to show the martyr's temper. Jesus demands the utmost abnegation, the completest renunciation and self-denial, from those who would enter the nearing Kingdom. The disciple is, for his own sake, to be so devoid of every thought of retaliation that he would even be prepared to suffer the same injury all over again. This view seems rather exaggerated. Why should not the author of the teaching have considered the object as well as the subject ?

On the other hand, Jesus was not thinking of public justice, the order of civic communities, the organization of states, but only how the members of his religious brotherhood should act towards each other and towards those outside their ranks. Public justice is outside his purview. Moreover, he believed that the old order was coming soon to a catastrophic end. What would even be the *use* of the old methods for the cure of evil ? Wickedness can only be cured by goodness, or annihilated by the intervention of God. It is indeed a difficult question how far we ought throughout the Sermon on the Mount to remember the eschatological background. There was little time to be lost. If you wanted to save your soul, the saving brooked no delay. If the end of the world is soon to arrive, the short interval is undoubtedly a time for extreme measures in every sense of the word. There is every justification for the *utmost* self-denial, the *utmost* exercise of love. The new order was at the door.

39. 'Resist not evil.' Is τῷ πονηρῷ, masculine or neuter? Probably neuter. 'Resist not wickedness' is a better translation. Klostermann renders: 'You shall not defend yourselves against injustice.'

It is clear that Jesus does not mean his injunctions to be taken literally. That would be to limit them. He is not thinking of the state, but only of the individual. He puts in as striking and picturesque a form as possible the doctrine that vengeance or requital is always evil. One can never cure injustice and wickedness by violence. The only chance is to cure it by long suffering and goodness. To hit a man back who hits you will morally benefit neither you nor him. The 'resist not evil' doctrine has been sometimes adversely criticized. But it is doubtful how far the adverse criticism is correct. There is, at all events, no doubt that there are hundreds of cases where the doctrine is justified and desirable, and where good people, of all religions, actually carry it out. Not to answer rudeness by rudeness, to suppress a retort, to forgive an injury—what are all these things and dozens like them but not resisting evil?

On the other hand, to make the injunction include the work of the police or defensive war is out of place. For these spheres the injunction is, to my mind, wholly inapplicable and false. Jesus did not bother his head about the state. In spite of 'Give unto Cæsar,' the days of Cæsar were limited; in the new order there would be no need for force or for policemen, for all the wicked would be safely prisoned in hell, and those who would live upon the regenerate earth would be all happy, righteous, and peaceful. It was a simple, comforting belief which Jesus shared with so many prophets of his own race and of others. Our own conditions and beliefs are less simple; and therefore our own principles and rules of conduct have to be less simple too.

'The right cheek.' Why right? It has no special signification: it is due merely to the instinctive tendency to name the right limb before the left. 'One cheek and the other' would have done just as well: *cp.* Luke vi. 29. It may, however, be that 'right cheek' is original and significant. To strike a man on the cheek with the back of the hand, according to the later codified Rabbinic law, is twice as serious an offence as to hit him with the flat of the hand. Now if one strikes a man with the *back* of the hand, one would naturally hit the right cheek, and the man must turn his head in order easily to hit the other cheek. (Weisman in *Z. N. W.*, 1913, p. 175.)

Fiebig ('Jesu Worte über die Feindesliebe,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1918, p. 48) points out that both objection to, and defence of, 'right cheek' are old; the objections are mentioned by Origen and Augustine, to whom Wetstein in solemn Latin

replies : ' At parum videntur isti critici attendisse, eum, qui subito excandescit, solere via brevissimum, hoc est, non vola manus explicitae, sed dorso sive parte opposita et exteriore alapam infligere.' But Burney shows that for metrical reasons ' right ' and ' would go to law with thee ' are probably additions, and that Luke's version is probably more original (p. 114, n. 1).

40. The second instance of non-retaliation is even more paradoxical, taken literally, than the first. We have always the same two main points to remember : (1) the situation as Jesus conceived it, namely, the imminent end of the old order of society. Was it a time for lawsuits ? Surely not. It was a time for the saving of one's soul. (2) The Oriental hyperbole of his language. Did he mean this example to be taken any the more literally than the injunction to gouge out one's eye ? A man must not stand upon his rights, say the Rabbis. Jesus said so too, only with much greater vehemence and force.

If we break the butterfly upon wheels, we should of course have to say that though the complete surrender of one's rights may be the means of making one's opponent realize his injustice, yet to maintain one's rights—*e.g.* to prosecute a man who has robbed you, rather than to let him off—may be a benefit to society. Jesus looked at the matter as if there was no such thing as an ordered society. He only thought of the two individuals.

And of the two individuals, he thought more of the sufferer. The man is to do what costs him most moral effort. The natural impulse is to go to law and prevent the wrong ; the natural impulse is to hit back ; the natural impulse is to resist the *corvée*, if one can. Jesus wants us to adopt the harder course ; the one which involves most moral effort. The disciple must have complete self-control ; he must be utterly indifferent to personal wrong and injury. He must have utterly conquered the desire for retaliation, for revenge. He must turn his back upon the world and think only of the coming Kingdom of God. (To prosecute might for us to-day be often more in the spirit of Jesus than to let the offender off.) He wants us to be as perfect as we can. To forgive a theft, and even to make an additional present to the robber, makes the hardest moral demand upon us ; it conflicts with the ' natural man ' most. It is least like what a mere tit-for-tat sort of man would do. Therefore Jesus bids us do it. The effects upon the thief are not considered, unless Jesus means that the robber's heart may be touched ; the effects upon society are ignored. Jesus is giving counsels of perfection for those who are, or want, to enter the ' Kingdom.' He is not providing rules for ordinary society. He is telling what men must do in or amid the greatest crisis in the world's history, how they must behave in order

to endure that crisis, and then to become members of a kingdom in which the need and the occasion for such conduct will no longer exist.

If the Rabbinic teaching is, on the whole, more sober and less enthusiastic than the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, it has the advantages of its defects. The Rabbis considered consequences more than Jesus. They had more common sense, if less genius. They had regard to the effects of a gift upon the recipient as well as to its effects upon the giver. They would scarcely have said, without any reserve or qualification, 'Give to him that asks thee.' They had a more 'Charity Organization' cast of mind and temper than Jesus. They did not forget society in their injunctions to the individual. And yet on fresh reflection I am not sure if this is not going too far. There is no ethical quality more characteristic of old Rabbinic Judaism than 'Rachmonuth'—pity. The beggar whose point of view is that *you* ought to thank *him* for allowing him to give you the opportunity for showing 'Rachmonuth' is a characteristically Jewish figure.

It is quite likely that the world is the richer for both kinds of ethical teaching. The paradoxical enthusiasm of Jesus has helped the world, but it has also needed the cool, deliberate counsel of those 'who have looked before and after,' measured consequences and weighed the pro and con. We can never know how much hot anger has been quelled, how much lust for vengeance has been suppressed, how much self-sacrifice has been evoked, by the paradoxical, stimulating, and picturesque doctrine of the 'other cheek,' and of the 'coat and the cloak.'

41. The third instance of not resisting evil is taken from the *corvée*. The Greek verb ἀγγαρεύω is formed from the noun ἄγγαρος, a Persian word, meaning a mounted courier. These couriers were kept ready at regular stages throughout Persia to carry the royal despatches, etc. They had the power to impress horses and men for their requirements, who should bear burdens, act as guides, and so on. Hence the example says, 'If you are impressed to go one mile, rather go two than resist the [unjust] requisition.'

As I have already pointed out, this instance is the one which deals most exclusively with the agent (or the sufferer). Here it cannot possibly be urged that the object of the injunction or of the action required is to convert the sinner. Nevertheless, we have, I think, no right to rule out the sinner altogether from the purview of the whole passage.

42. This fourth instance does not fit in well. The other three instances dealt with evil, and illustrate the general maxim

given at the opening of 39. But the fourth instance does not. Even 40 has little to do with the *lex talionis*; while 42 has nothing to do with it. This verse, according to Dr. McNeile, is one of the clearest instances of the necessity of accepting the spirit, and not the letter, of the injunctions of Jesus: 'Not only does indiscriminate almsgiving do little but injury to society, but the words must embrace far more than almsgiving.' And Prof. Box says: 'While the maxim seems to sanction indiscriminate almsgiving, it really has a wider application. Here again it is to be remembered that Jesus is laying down a principle, which can be applied in many ways, but is not to be regarded as a rule.' This is true enough, but it is doubtful whether Jesus had any such reservations in his mind. For him such a saying as 'indiscriminate almsgiving does little but injury to society' would hardly have been intelligible.

Like most paradoxical moral teaching, these striking verses of the Sermon on the Mount seem only partly true. They emphasize one aspect of the truth, they ignore another. Righteousness is not tit for tat. To requite may produce no good moral result, whether for the doer or the sufferer of the original wrong. The good bishop's method in *Les Misérables* would not be always successful. The runaway convict repays the bishop's hospitality by stealing his candlesticks; when seized and brought before the bishop, the latter, in the true spirit of Jesus, says, 'I gave them to him.' This 'noble lie' as Plato would call it, is the cause of the convict's moral restoration. He is literally touched to the *soul*. But perhaps one needs to *be* the bishop in order to use the episcopal methods with likelihood of good results. If 'to resist not evil' may be one aspect of righteousness, to resist evil is no less so. In such a matter as the traffic in women and children, who would not say that only second and third to the righteous labour of prevention and redemption is the righteous labour of punishment? 'Heaven' is the source of love, but even Heaven wields a sword.

Paulsen points out in his *Ethics* (II. p. 128) that 'one of the most painful gaps in the ethics of the New Testament' is that it has no adequate place for the knightly virtue of actively redressing wrong. 'To work and suffer for others is familiar to New Testament ethics, but the duty of *fighting* against injustice and violence for the protection of the injured is almost ignored. What ought the Samaritan to have done if he had arrived on the scene a quarter of an hour earlier, and, finding the robbers at their work, had realized that he could only save their victim by killing them? I acknowledge that from the Gospel point of view I do not rightly know how to answer this question. Moses who slew the Egyptian gave an unequivocal reply.' Hoekstra (*Zedenleer*, III. p. 214) attempts to rebut this criticism of Paulsen, but not quite successfully.

Marriott discusses the 'non-resistance' problem with a good deal of common sense. But he urges that in interpreting the sayings in the spirit rather than in the letter, one must not whittle them away. 'Very possibly our Lord, in giving these precepts had in mind the effect which such behaviour on the part of His followers would have in leading to the conversion of the offender. And perhaps a very literal observance of His injunctions would prove a more powerful influence in this direction than is commonly recognized. But considerations other than this may have been also present to our Lord's mind. He may, *e.g.*, have thought of the effect on others which such conduct would produce; of the witness before the world which His followers could thus give. The practice of non-resistance is arresting; it impresses mankind, and thus has a missionary value. He may also have had in mind the effect of such conduct upon those who practise it. It is a form of self-denial which deepens the religious life, and intensifies our trust in God and our dependence upon Him. Probably, then, there is a larger place in the truly Christian life for the literal observance of the rule of non-resistance than is commonly supposed. Too often it has been so far explained away that little or no room has been left for its literal fulfilment' (p. 156).

43–48. The Old Law and the New Teaching: (F) 'Love your Enemies'

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 27, 28, 32–36)

43 'Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy
44 neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your
45 enemies, and pray for them who persecute you; that ye may become the children of your Father who is in heaven: for he makes his sun to rise on the wicked and on the good, and sends
46 rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye? do not even the tax-collectors the
47 same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more
48 than others? do not even the gentiles the same? Ye, then, shall be perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.

This is the greatest section of the whole. It is also the most important. There are several questions in regard to it which must be kept distinct. (1) The alleged citation from the Old Law; its authenticity; its meaning. (2) Meaning and value of the new teaching given by Jesus. (3) How far is it, or is it not a contrast to (*a*) average Jewish teaching, (*b*) all Jewish teaching

c) Rabbinic teaching? Jewish criticism of this section has not usually been of a very satisfactory kind. It is indeed no wonder—for many reasons no wonder—that the section, and the usual Christian comments upon it, should arouse Jewish susceptibilities. The very fact that the section apparently starts with an untruth, inasmuch as it nowhere says in the Law, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy,' is quite enough to put up the backs of Jewish readers. It seems a deliberate attempt to prejudice the case from the start. The result is that Jewish critics do not approach the section with that absolute freedom from prepossession and that perfect judicial calm, which are so necessary in enquiries of this kind. Here, if anywhere, is supposed to lie the essence of the teaching of Jesus, and here if anywhere its novelty is claimed to be. So here, if anywhere, does the Jewish critic put forward all his strength to show that the teaching, so far as it is good, is not new, and so far as it is new, is not good. But the results are, I fear, only obtained by a certain unintentional, but no less real, misrepresentation of the meaning, which, on the one hand, makes it signify what it does not, and, on the other hand, makes it signify something less than it does. The meaning of the teaching must be set forth and its value assessed quite apart from the question whether the introduction to it (43) is accurate or false, and apart also from the question whether and how far the teaching was new.

43. It is nowhere ordered in the Pentateuch, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy.' On the other hand, in previous sections of the Sermon there have been statements that such and such words had been 'said' which are not literal quotations from any Old Testament passage. 'Whosoever does murder shall be liable to the Court.' And the words, 'Whoever would divorce his wife, let him give her a bill of divorce' do not quote Deut. xxiv. 1 literally, or even quite fairly, for Deut., at all events, does not go so far as this. Hence the mere *use* of words which are not in the Pentateuch is of no great matter; the point is: do they fairly sum up, or give the gist of, actual Pentateuchal legislation? And, after that, one may ask: do they fairly sum up, or give the gist of, the Rabbinic interpretation of, or the Rabbinic additions to, the Pentateuchal Law? For it may be said that even if the words 'thou shalt hate thine enemy' are not textually found in the Pentateuch or in the Hebrew Bible or in the Talmud, the equivalent of it *is* found, and that the spirit of it rules and reigns there.

Here one must distinguish. There is first of all the attitude of the Jew to the Jew to be considered, and then the attitude of the Jew to the non-Jew.

As regards private enemies, the best teaching of the Rabbis is

not in spirit opposed to, or unlike, the teaching of Jesus. All one can justly say is that Jesus puts the teaching in a more inspired and enthusiastic way, and carries it to the extremest lengths. But it would be utterly false to say that *the Rabbis* taught a man to hate his private and personal enemy.

The very Law itself does not teach this. Think of Exodus xxiii. 4 and 5, of which a great deal is made in the Talmud. Think of the Law, 'Thou shalt *not* hate thy neighbour in thy heart,' and again, 'Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people.' The teaching of Proverbs xx. 22, xxiv. 29, xxv. 21, 22, may not be perfect, but it enjoins the very reverse of tit for tat. And much of the Rabbinic teaching is on the same lines and goes further.

Attention may also be called to certain passages in Apocalyptic literature, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Gad*, vi. 1–7, iv. 1–7, vii. 1–7; *Secrets of Enoch*, l. 3, 4, li. 3. A commentator has cited Numbers xxxv. 19, but this law (which was obsolete in the age of Jesus) does not really do more than make the Avenger of Murder the administrator of the justice of the state. It should not be brought into the discussion one way or the other.

As regards the attitude of the Jew to the non-Jew, the facts are different. Here the enemies of Israel are usually supposed to be the enemies of God, and the enemies of God are hate-worthy. 'Do I not hate them that hate thee,' says one of the greatest of the Psalmists. One can notice in the Pentateuch passages like Deut. xxiii. 6, xx. 13–18, xxv. 17–19. And for the rest of the Old Testament one can easily find other passages which show a hatred of national foes: *cp.* Mal. i. 3, Psalm cxxxvii. 7–9. It is on these lines that some commentators to-day would explain the words of Matthew. *Cp.* Walker, *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of his Age* (1923), pp. 237, 238, who quotes many salient passages from the Apocrypha and the Apocalyptic literature, but makes some dubious statements of his own. Dr. McNeile speaks of the words of Matthew as an 'inference which the Rabbis might draw from such passages as Deut. xxiii. 3–6. The Law drew a distinction between Israelites and non-Israelites, which, however, was far from constituting a command to "hate" enemies; the verb probably has a comparative sense (see vi. 24).' (The last idea is too easy a way of getting out of the disagreeable difficulty: 'hate' may indeed have a comparative sense in vi. 24; there is nothing to suggest, and indeed everything to invalidate the suggestion, that it has a comparative sense here. A vivid contrast between love and hate is clearly intended.) Prof. Box says: 'The whole clause "Thou shalt love thy neighbour *and hate thine enemy*" clearly has in view some current scribal interpretation. This is more particularly represented by the

additional words "*and hate thine enemy*." These words certainly do not correctly represent the later Rabbinical teaching. They probably do, however, reflect the spirit of some contemporary Shammaites, who were fanatical and bigoted in their attitudes towards opponents, and later took the lead with the Zealots in uncompromising and passionate hatred of Rome.' However this may be, and whether Prof. Box is right about the Shammaites or not, the real difficulty is that in the Sermon and in this passage Jesus was thinking and speaking of personal and private enemies, not of public and national ones. Fiebig denies this, not very successfully. He seeks to argue that the comments of the Mechilta on Exodus xxiii. 4, 5 show that the 'enemy' was regularly regarded as both the private enemy and the national enemy. And Jesus alludes in verse 47 to the 'gentiles.' 'The greatness of Jesus consists in his demanding unlimited love of man as a clearly defined principle. Compare also the parable of the Good Samaritan' (*Jesu Bergpredigt*, 1924, p. 93). So too Marriott. 'It is of the man of alien race and religion that the words are to be understood' (p. 192). I doubt this. As to the Good Samaritan, that parable has its own difficulties, and cannot be properly used here. Seeing that *ex hypothesi* Jewish 'hatred' of the Gentile was common and severe, what could have been easier, if Jesus had 'gentiles' definitely in his mind, than to have added: 'You think that you must only love your fellow-Jews, and that the gentiles are your enemies. But I say unto you, love the gentiles also.' Or: 'Love your enemies, even the gentiles.' Then one *could* have spoken of 'a clearly defined principle.' It is impossible to do so now. But the really painful part of the matter is that even as regards personal and private enemies there is little trace on the part of Jesus that he practised what he preached. Of love towards the Pharisees and Rabbis who opposed him there is no trace. Nor did his disciples ever interpret the loving of enemies to mean more than private enemies. They too, from Paul onwards, found nothing in his teaching which made them think that they ought to love the enemies of their faith, such as Mahommedans, or heretics within their own borders. Jews and Christians live in glass houses alike, and the thickness of the glass in each of their houses seems about the same. If Jesus meant that Christians were to love non-Christians—his disciples, those who refused to admit his claims—it is singular how completely and persistently his commands have been disobeyed, and how flagrantly many Christians still obey them.

What is anti-Semitism but an awful exhibition of hatred? If Christianity possesses a higher teaching, what odd and serious flaw is there in it that it has so very rarely seemed capable of putting this teaching into practice?

'It is not too much to say that for the infinite wrongs committed on the Jews during the Middle Ages, and for the prejudices that are even yet rife in many quarters, the Church is mainly, if not wholly, responsible. It is true that occasionally she lifted up her voice in mild remonstrance when some massacre occurred more atrocious than usual; but these massacres were the direct outcome of the hatred and contempt which she so zealously inculcated, and she never took steps by punishment to prevent their repetition' (Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, Vol. I. p. 36).

True it is that the universalism of Paul was never attained by Rabbinic teaching. True it is that the Old Testament is, *on the whole*, particularistic, and identifies the enemies of the Jews with the enemies of God. Even the internal enemies of the community were thus identified, just as the various sects of Christianity have made similar identifications about each other. It is also true that the outburst of the great Psalm cxxxix. has, upon the whole, represented the *theoretic* attitude of the Jews to the enemies of their religion and their race. 'Do I not hate them that hate Thee? I hate them with perfect hatred.' But those who know the history of the Jews best, from the age of Jesus on, will admit that their practice has often risen superior to their theory.

It is not only possible, but even probable, that Jesus never declared that it had been said that 'thou shalt hate thine enemy.' The words may be an interpolation. Jesus may have said, 'The Law says, Love your neighbour, and I tell you that this commandment really includes the bidding to love your enemy.' More important it is to notice that the whole scheme of the antitheses is wanting in Luke. On the basis of a minute analysis of the texts of Matthew and Luke Alberz comes to the conclusion that the antitheses are not authentic. (Alberz, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche*, 1921, pp. 146–150.) In any case, however, whether all the antitheses, or this particular antithesis, or the mere addition of the 'hate' clause, be unauthentic, one may feel fairly sure that Jesus never said these unfortunate words.

44. 'Love your enemies.' The verb is *ἀγαπᾶν*. What does 'love' mean? It means 'desire their well-being'; 'do good to them'; 'pray for their salvation.' It does not mean: 'Feel for them an emotion such as you feel for your wife, your sister, or your father.' *Ἀγαπᾶν* is not *φιλεῖν*. Wellhausen says that *ἀγαπᾶν* is not 'so strong a word as the German or English love.' And this observation, if it be accurate, would dispose of a good deal of rather foolish modern Jewish criticism about the command.

'Pray for those who persecute you.' A magnificent and sublime utterance, and, perhaps, all the more noticeable and valuable

if it is, as seems probable, later than Jesus. For he can hardly have known anything of Persecution. There is no evidence that his followers were subjected to any persecution before his death. But if, soon after his death, there was any persecution on the part of the Jews, and if the command in 44 *is* the product of such persecution, then one must, indeed, acknowledge that it is a most noble application of the Master's injunction. It represents a most noble, but, alas, a most transitory, attitude of mind, an attitude of mind which was entirely changed and abandoned when the opportunity arose to put the excellent sentiment into homely and utilitarian practice. Certainly the Jews could have forgone a ton of theoretic ἀγαπᾶν for an ounce of practical ἀγαθοποιεῖν (Luke vi. 28). Whether the Christians felt the former no one can tell; they certainly, from the first opportunity forward, never showed the latter. Nevertheless, whether the injunction was ever put into practical force and translated into action or not, its nobility and sublimity remain the same. Surely it is a good thing to possess a document which contains such a command, and the disciples of Jesus may justly be proud of it.

There is an old form of 44 which was current at an early date, and which perhaps may best reflect the original. 'Love your enemies and pray for them who hate you.' In that form the words could be authentic. Did Jesus himself ever pray for his enemies? His Jewish enemies were the Pharisees and the Rabbis. For them he is never recorded to have uttered any prayer. The famous passage in Luke (xxiii. 34) is of doubtful authenticity, and probably refers to the Roman soldiers. But Stephen (Acts vii. 60) prays for those who slay him.

45. 'Sons of God,' in a moral sense; *i.e.* like unto Him. This idea is quite Rabbinic. The motive or justification of the conduct enjoined is very fine. A nobler ὅπως (in order that) was never penned. Not to gain reward are the disciples to act thus, but that, through such action, they may become like unto God. 'Be ye holy,' says the legislator in Lev. xix., not in order to gain reward, but 'because I the Lord your God am holy.' The Gospel and the Law have both reached the highest levels of idealism.

For the whole conception of the Imitation of God in Rabbinic and Jewish literature see Abrahams' fine essay in *Studies*, II. pp. 138–182.

'God is good even towards the bad; therefore be thou good even towards thy enemies.' Such is the teaching. Nevertheless, God's goodness towards the bad is very temporary, according to the Gospel! Does He not send them, after their life on earth, to hell-fire and gnashing of teeth? So, in the Talmud, we hear a great

deal of God's long-suffering and mercy to the wicked, but, according to modern ideas, what we hear is, like the Gospel teaching, quite inadequate. In the Talmud, too, the wicked are sent to hell or are annihilated.

The idea of the sun and the rain being of use to both bad and good is also found in the Talmud.

46. God's reward is reserved for those who do not act according to the rule of measure for measure. The commentators say that the reward intended here 'is to become God-like.' This is doubtful. The reward is more general: it is the bliss of the Kingdom. The present tense (ἔχετε) is probably wrong. The future is intended.

47. A greeting in the East is a token of goodwill. 'In order to grasp the full meaning of this last example it is necessary to remember the significance and importance of a greeting among Orientals: it is a witness of respect and affection, accompanied by blessings and good wishes' (Loisy, *E. S.* 1. p. 589). The verse is wanting in S.S. and may be interpolated. It seems to interrupt the connection and to fall into a lower sphere. The supreme test and instance of the 'perfection' demanded is to love one's enemies. 'Brethren' would seem to mean here 'fellow-Jews.'

48. 'Perfect' (in Greek τέλειος) is found in the Gospels only here and Matt. xix. 21. Luke has οἰκτίρμονες, pitiful, which Wellhausen and Marriott think is more genuine. Mr. Allen thinks, on the contrary, that 'perfect' is the original adjective; *cp.* Deut. xviii. 13, Septuagint, 'Ye shall be perfect with the Lord your God.' It is not quite easy to say what exact signification the author of v. 48 attributed to 'perfection,' whether in the Greek or in the Aramaic. Did he mean the utmost of righteousness and love that can be conceived by man? 'Ye shall aim, therefore, at the very highest; and this highest is God.' So we might, I think, paraphrase the word. The Hebrew in Deut. xviii. 13, Genesis xvii. 1 means something not merely outward; it includes moral righteousness; but yet 'perfect,' in all probability, has a deeper meaning, a more passionate or far-reaching or ideal meaning, here than the corresponding terms in Gen. xvii. 1 and Deut. xviii. 13. Perhaps we may better compare 'perfect' here with 'holy' in Lev. xix. 2, for assuredly the meaning of 'holy' in Lev. xix. 2 has much more than a mere ritual reference. 'Holy' in Lev. xix. 2, as the noble moral commands which follow clearly show, means moral purity and moral righteousness as well; in fact, God is essentially 'holy' because He is loving and good. When Jesus bade his followers be perfect even as God is perfect, he did not mean anything essentially

different from the author of Lev. xix. 2. For that writer too meant that the Israelites were to aim at the highest moral perfection which he was able to lay before them. The holiness of Lev. xix. does, it is true, include ritual and external holiness from which Jesus had shaken himself free. But it comprises moral holiness as well. Nor must its value be assessed at a low figure.

It includes :

(1) The reverence of parents.
(2) Charity to the poor.
(3) Truth of word and deed.
(4) Justice in all business transactions.
(5) Honour shown to the aged.
(6) Equal justice before the law to rich and poor.
(7) No tale-bearing or malice.
(8) The love of one's neighbour.
(9) The love of the resident alien.

It does not seem to me that this moral code need fear comparison in holiness with any other teaching. Has the Christian world greatly advanced beyond it in practice as well as in theory ?

Nevertheless, the note of passion in the teaching of Jesus and in the Sermon has always to be remembered. It is this touch of passion and enthusiasm, this strain of ' the utmost for the highest,' which have sometimes moved the world.

Let us look back upon the command, ' Love your enemies,' and upon the assertions and controversies to which it has given rise. Was it a completely new command ? (I am not referring here to Stoic or Indian parallels ; I am only thinking of Judaism.) Was it in line with, and a ' fulfilment ' of, the best Old Testament teaching ? Again, how does it compare with the teaching of the Rabbis ? Is it—if compared with their teaching, and omitting all question of dates—good teaching, but not new, or is it new, but not good, or is it both good and new ? The right answers would seem to lie between what is to be read in the Christian commentaries on the one side and the Jewish books on the other. The Talmudic teaching is better and finer than any one would gather, for instance, from Dr. McNeile's note : ' The teaching of the Talmud, as a whole, hardly goes beyond that of verse 43 : it enjoins patience under injuries, kind treatment of others in order to receive an equivalent, love of proselytes and of those who are well disposed towards the Law ; but of love to enemies it says nothing.' Much of such a note could be effectively criticized : (*a*) ' As a whole.' That, I suppose, means that one must not take out the *best* and say, ' That is the teaching of the Talmud.' But we *may* take out the best of the Gospels and the New Testament and say, ' That is

the teaching of Jesus and the Gospels.' We *may* omit the 'vipers' and the 'children of hell' and the 'accursed'; and we *may* omit the fact that Jesus never shows any practical love for *his* enemies; we *may*, in fact, assess the New Testament one way and the Talmud another way. (*b*) 'Verse 43' including, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy.' One can but say that this seems hardly fair and not entirely accurate *as a whole*. (*c*) 'Kind treatment of others in order to receive an *equivalent*.' Again, hardly accurate. To do good *lishmah*, because God orders you to do good, and because you love God, and love to do what He orders, is the familiar Rabbinic ideal. The loving practical compassion which is a feature of Rabbinic ethics was certainly not a cheap, calculated 'do ut des' as Dr. McNeile seems to imply.

Taken 'as a whole', the quotations of S.-B. are much better than their summary. It is not the purpose of my commentary to quote parallels, but in their own way the Ethics of the Rabbis have little to suffer by comparison. They are not exactly the same as the ethics of the New Testament or the Gospels; but we are the richer for having both. Each has its own excellence, its own charm.

'Thou shalt love thy neighbour.' Not quite in place is the usual statement of the Christian commentator that in Lev. xix. 18 the word 'neighbour' meant 'fellow-Jew.' Suppose it did. It was followed by the still more sublime command to love the resident alien. But how about the 'foreigner,' says the delighted critic? The main answer is that the Law dealt with the two classes of persons with whom the ordinary Israelite came into contact. If the command to 'love the resident alien' were observed to-day, the world would be a very different place from what it is. It would not matter much that the theoretic foreigner was omitted. The next answer is that neighbour (*rea*) had gradually or largely lost its meaning of fellow-Israelite. When a Rabbi taught his pupils about the love of neighbour being the chief injunction of the whole law, he had not the antithesis of Jew and foreigner in his mind. He meant fellow-being, brother-man, in a general sense. No doubt when his feelings of antagonism were aroused, he would have expressed himself with bitter words against the Romans, but this sort of hatred is not inconsistent (such is human frailty and weakness) with a usage of the word 'neighbour' as meaning more than 'fellow-Jew.' On the other hand, Jesus never distinctly teaches that 'neighbour' is to mean 'fellow-man' and not merely 'fellow-Israelite,' except in the parable of the good Samaritan. That parable is only in Luke, and the Samaritan is probably a later insertion, and in any case the single instance is not enough to prove 'on the whole.' That Jesus was not concerned either to correct a

common and narrowly false interpretation of 'neighbour' or to teach a new universalism is shown by this very passage. What he has to say about Lev. xix. 18 is not that 'neighbour' must be made to equal fellow-man, but that it must be made to include 'enemy.' But by 'enemy' he meant fellow-Jew-enemy, the private enemy, not the national foe. Had he thought about the foreigner he would have said, 'But I say unto you, Love the foreigner.' Jesus is not the teacher of universalism, and his teaching on this subject does not go beyond the teaching of Jonah and the Prophets. I venture to differ here not only from the usual Christian commentators, but even from Dr. Rashdall, who insists that the teaching of Jesus was consciously and deliberately universalistic (*Conscience and Christ*, pp. 108–114, and other passages). Dr. Rashdall seems to me to wish this so greatly that he stretches a few utterances in the Gospels beyond what they can bear. On the other hand, he ignores how much there is to be said for a greater measure of *implicit* universalism in many sayings of Hillel and of other Rabbis. The word 'creatures' cannot by any possibility of misapplied ingenuity be regarded as meaning 'fellow-Jew.' It can only be interpreted to mean fellow-man. Now Hillel said: 'Love peace and pursue peace; love thy fellow-creatures and draw them near to the Torah.' This is quite as universalistic a saying as anything in the Synoptics. Again, just as the Samaritan is used as an example of compassion, putting the Israelite to shame, so for an example of the ideal honouring of parents, the Talmud uses a certain heathen. *Cp.* Abrahams, *Studies*, I. pp. 20, 151; II. pp. 36–40. Nevertheless, conscious, deliberate universalism, which means *definitely saying*, 'Not merely the Jew, but all men,' is not taught till we get to Paul, and even with him, while the particularism of race is nobly and grandly broken down, the particularism of creed begins to be set up. The most universalist passage in the Rabbinical literature is, perhaps, that famous passage in the Sifra quoted in Abrahams, *Studies*, II. p. 35, and often by myself.

On the other hand, the Jewish writers have to be criticized as well. They exalt the Old Testament and the Talmud too much. For these documents, like the Gospels, have their moral inadequacies as well as their moral excellences, and these are not to be avoided or evaded. Of these inadequacies the hatred of national enemies, the ascription of hatred to God of Israel's foes, the hatred of the internal heretic and sometimes even of the opposite party, are conspicuous. Secondly, the injunction 'Love your enemies,' sensibly interpreted, is a noble and inspiring ideal. The usual Jewish criticism of the injunction 'Love your enemies' is that it is paradoxical, impracticable, and absurd. One seldom opens a Jewish book or pamphlet which deals with Jesus or the New

Testament without finding this criticism. Thus, in a criticism of Harnack's *Essence of Christianity* by Dr. Eschelbacher we read :

'The Jewish law enjoined help and aid to be given to our enemies when in need. It says : "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again." Its sages urged : "Say not, I will do to him as he has done to me ; I will render to the man according to his work." And again : "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat ; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink." But Judaism has not ordered us to *love* our enemies. It has regarded such a command as unfulfillable. It has considered that the emotion of *love* towards those who curse, hate, revile, and seek to destroy us is impossible. The very demand for such a feeling is, perhaps, not even good. For even self-denial has its limits ; to fight is sometimes not only a necessity, but also a duty. One can only legitimately ask that such a fight should be exclusively directed towards wicked, threatening, and powerful antagonists ; there must be no attack upon the conquered, the weak, and the needy. These, on the contrary, must be rendered every helpful support and assistance. Such good deeds may then lead on to friendly feelings and reconciliation. And the Christian command to "love the enemy" has not led to any higher, nobler deeds towards him than these' (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Vol. XLVII. p. 144, 1903).

It is in fact contended by Jewish critics that the defect in the ethical teaching of Jesus is that it is strung so high that it has failed to produce solid and practical results just where its admirers vaunt that it differs from, and is superior to, the ethical codes of the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the Rabbis. The old codes said : 'Bear no grudge' ; 'do not revenge' ; 'if your enemy is in distress, and you can help him, do so.' The Jewish critics contend that human nature *can* go as far as this, and that if you so order and urge men, they will not wholly and markedly fail ; whereas if you go further, and say, '*Love* your enemies,' you ask what cannot be given. Hence your command is neglected, and the result of this unpractical injunction is that things are worse than they were. The bow is so bent that it snaps altogether. The history of Christianity is, so the Jewish critics say, a proof that their criticism of Jesus's teaching is accurate. For how often, they tell us, do we hear Lessing's statement repeated, in one form or another, that Christianity has been tried for 1900 years, but that the religion of Christ remains to be tried ? What does this mean but a confession that the teaching of Jesus, in its most novel and striking features, has remained virtually untried ; that its injunctions are a dead letter ? And the history of Europe confirms, so it is alleged, the complaint of Lessing. For the adherents of no religion have hated

their enemies more than Christians. The atrocities which they have committed in the name of religion, both inside and outside their own pale, are almost unexampled in the world's history. Toleration is, upon the whole, a product of scepticism, by no means a direct issue of Christianity or of the teaching of Christ. Thus we see that the injunction, 'love your enemies,' is an injunction which has failed to produce a result. It was violated by Jesus himself, who, if he had loved his enemies, would not have called them vipers, or predicted their arrival in hell; it has always been violated by his disciples. And the very existence of it has caused men to forget and ignore, and comfortably to violate, the old useful commands which *were* practicable, and which could be obeyed: 'Bear no grudge; do not revenge; help your enemy when he needs your help and when you are in a position to help him.' Thus upon the side of public enemies and the enemies of religion, Christians, with their brand-new command, 'love your enemies,' have hated their enemies and persecuted and tortured them quite as much as could conceivably have happened under the 'dispensation' of Pentateuch, Prophets, and Rabbis, while upon the side of private enemies, there is no reason whatever to believe that Jews have not acted up to as high an ethical standard as Christians. What, then, are we to say of a teaching which has so conspicuously failed in practical result? 'By your fruits ye shall be judged,' said Jesus, and by its fruits his new and superfine teaching stands condemned.

Does this criticism miss the point? It largely does so, if Wellhausen's note on the true meaning of the verb ἀγαπᾶν in this passage be correct. And Jesus can hardly have meant that we were to have the same emotional feelings of affection for the 'enemy' as for a bosom friend. He included all that is taught in the passages quoted by Dr. Eschelbacher from Exodus and Proverbs. He idealizes; he is filled with enthusiasm. He generalizes, and he rivets attention by his brief, fine generalization. He means that active and helpful love must know no limits. Above all, it must have nothing to do with requital and tit for tat. It must look for no reward except from God. We are to wish no man evil, and (so far as it lies in our power) to do all men good. This is the meaning of the word 'love.' We must never avoid the chance of doing a good turn to the man who hates us and has done us an evil turn. We must rather even seek out the chance for good, and conquer hatred by love. Thus interpreted, his teaching, though it may soar higher, and strike a more passionate and fuller note, seems to be in accordance with those best sayings of the Rabbis which Jewish apologists are never weary of quoting again and again. The main difference is that the injunctions of Jesus (even as traditionally reported) are given in a form which, in every language and translation, arrests

attention, and stimulates the heart and the mind in the highest possible degree.

J. Weiss urges that the demand of Jesus was intended to be an ideal of perfection, an ideal to which men can strain, but which they can never attain. Hence he strongly prefers Matthew's 'perfect' to Luke's 'pitiful,' contending that the 'love of the enemy' does not fall under the idea of compassion. A test of our capacity for such 'love' is to be found if we can honestly 'pray' for our enemies. I agree that a passionate ideal is urged, something more than not to show revengefulness in petty details of ordinary life, something more than to do a good turn to a man who has done us a casual injury. Jesus, in his enthusiasm and idealism, pushes the doctrine of love to the furthest possible extreme. It would need a similar religious fervour, a similar passion of idealism, to follow out his injunction in the greater crises. As we know, he did not follow it himself. He rather reviled the Scribes than prayed for them; he returned their antagonism with antagonism, and his denunciations show anything rather than love. Yet the ideal is not useless; though often impracticable, it is nevertheless inspiring. The Armenian could hardly be expected to pray for the Kurd who had massacred his children. Could the Russian Jew be expected to pray for the Christian who had just violated his wife and dashed his child's brains against the wall? There seem to be limits beyond which human nature cannot go.

I have not quoted the Rabbinic passages about not hating and about love of neighbour. Many of them are not unfairly collected together and translated by Fiebig in his pamphlet on the *Bergpredigt*. The words in Siphra on Lev. xix. 18 are both noble and disagreeable in one.

לא תקום ולא תטור את בני עמך נוקם אתה ונוטר לאחרים
ואהבת לרעך כמוך רבי עקיבא אומר זה כלל גדול בתורה בן עזאי
אומר זה ספר תולדות אדם זה כלל גדול מזה:

Here certainly it is said that the Jew may be revengeful and bear a grudge against 'others,' *i.e.* non-Jews. And yet the unity of the human race appears to be taught by the saying of Ben Azzai. ('Rabbi Akiba said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself is the greatest and most inclusive rule (כלל) in the Law, whereas Ben Azzai said, This is the book of the generations of Adam [Genesis v. 1] is greater even than that other.')

It would be an interesting, if painful, task to look up articles and sermons by Lutheran theologians during the war which deal with the Love of Enemies. One would find some curious things. I have read one article which justifies a certain kind of hatred as not inconsistent with universal love and with the love of enemies, and the

following quotation from Fiebig (*Studien und Kritiken*, March 1918. p. 64) might have been used by the author of Psalm cxxxix. or by any other of those Old Testament and Talmudic writers on whose inferiority to Jesus he so emphatically insists. I leave it in the original German. 'Die Gesinnung der Jünger Jesu ist schrankenlose Liebe, Liebe auch zum Feinde, zum Undankbaren und Bösen. Diese Gesinnung ist das Ideal, von dem nichts abgebrochen werden darf . . . Wie es im einzelnen durchzuführen ist, ist uns überlassen. Der Gott der Liebe ist gleichzeitig der Heilige, der Richter. So können auch wir inmitten von Krieg und Blutvergiessen die Werkzeuge seines Gerichts sein, das Er aus seiner Liebe heraus volzogen wissen will. (Wir verstehen, wie sich Hindenburg wiederholt mit Recht als Gottes Werkzeug bezeichnet hat.)'

Nevertheless, when all reasonable deductions have been made, there can be no doubt that an ideal like 'love your enemies,' must have often produced many practical results of value. Many an insult has been forgiven; many a possible 'tit for tat' has been forgone because of this injunction. It must have had in numerous cases excellent effects. A moral ideal should always be above our complete accomplishment. Let it ask an ell, and man will produce an inch. Let it ask an inch, and man will not even produce the inch. That the ideal is impracticable is by no means a true criticism against it. Every ideal is, and must be, impracticable in its completeness. But we can struggle nearer and nearer towards it, and, through its constraining power, a great deal can be accomplished. The impracticable ideals of the Gospel have probably produced a large amount of moral good. It may also be noted that the practical love of former enemies, an attempted curing of hatred by love, is sometimes put into operation to-day even by collectivities. We may even hear of it without realizing, or calling to mind, that the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount is being obeyed. And yet it is. In a letter or telegram to *The Times* about Spain and Morocco (Aug. 12, 1926), I read these simple words; 'The abandonment of reprisals has opened a new era for Spain in Morocco.' Is not this abandonment of reprisals a practical carrying out of the morality enjoined by the Sermon on the Mount, and is it not claimed that it is being marked by practical success?

What the adherents of all religions have found peculiarly difficult is to love, or even to forgive, the enemies of their own peculiar tenets. Rabbinic Judaism could and did order its adherents to forgive private injuries and wrongs. One's own personal enemies one is not to hate, but the enemies of the whole people, still more the enemies of the faith, one may hate. The following passage from the Aboth of Rabbi Nathan is very instructive: 'Man must never

say, he loves the teacher and hates the disciples, or that he loves the disciples and hates the ignorant. Thou must love all, but the heretics, the apostates and the informers—these thou mayest hate. As David said, "Do I not hate them, O Lord, that hate Thee? I hate them with perfect hatred." For as the Lord bade thee love thy neighbour as thyself, thou art only enjoined to love thy neighbour, when he walks in the way of thy people, but if he goes astray, then thou art not bound to love him.' There is no question that the injunction of the Gospel, 'Pray for them that persecute you,' is superior to the teaching of the Aboth of Rabbi Nathan. The only criticism that one can make upon it is that it would perhaps have been better if Jesus had added examples to his broad generality. I wish he had added: 'For instance, let us pray for, and let us love, the Pharisees and Rabbis who are opposing us.' But this he would have found it hard to say, because at once religious passions would have come in. It was, and always has been, easier to call *religious* enemies hard names than to pray for and to love them.

The value of unattainable ideals is admitted and even emphasized by philosophers who are by no means ordinary Christian believers. Thus Prof. Taylor writes: 'The distant ideal is the source of our direst mental tortures, and yet without it existence would be unendurable. . . . As moral beings we can never exist without some still unreached ideal to serve as a spur to our activity—can never, like Faust, rest on our oars and say to the present, "Be thou my eternity"; yet even when most irresistibly hurried forward in the chase of our distant ideal, we know quite well in our hearts that we shall only approach it to see it recede still further away from us. . . . An end that is to be permanently felt as worth striving for must be infinite, and therefore infinitely remote, while any end that is infinite is *eo ipso* out of reach of attainment, and as far from us after a life of devotion to it as it was at first. . . . The collective wisdom of mankind has long ago discovered that our ideals, whether of sensual gratification, or of knowledge, or of beauty, or of moral improvement are, one and all of them, unattainable. So that if indifference to the demand for a practicable ideal be [as has been urged by an assumed antagonist] the mark of a dreamer or a fanatic, contentment with a final and practicable ideal is no less undeniably the mark of an *esprit borné*' (*Problem of Conduct*, 1901, p. 401). Jewish teaching has to beware of becoming (in its opposition to and side-glances at Christianity) the teaching of an *esprit borné*. The teaching of Proverbs (apart from i.–ix.) and of Ecclesiasticus is not adequate for man. We need the correction of the Gospel. We need the ideal of perfection, the unattainable ideal. Especially when without the moral stimulus of persecution, Jews must greatly beware lest they tend to become tinctured with Philistinism and (in the

bad sense) with bourgeois respectability. You may often hear from Jewish pulpits (with the usual side-glance and silent hit at Christianity) that the heroes of the Old Testament are useful exemplars to ordinary men and women, because they were not immaculate plaster saints, but had their temptations, their succumbings, and their failures. The argument is of very doubtful worth, and one feels quite sure that if the so-called plaster saint happened to be included among the Old Testament worthies, he would be greedily and delightedly used for homiletic purposes by Jewish preachers. The ideal of the saint who is immensely above us in moral and religious worth possesses the same kind of attraction and stimulating force as the abstract ideal of moral or of religious perfection. Would those Jewish preachers not allow that the Imitation of God is an ideal that can stir and move the emotions, the reason and the will? If so, the hero of the Gospel narrative, even in the ideal form in which he is conceived by Christianity, can also stir and move the heart and the conduct of man. In fact we know that historically this has been the case, and that the imitation of Christ and of his believed perfection has been of immense and far-reaching effect in all classes of society and in every age. The Jews must be very careful not to lessen the content, the infiniteness and the paradox of the ideal. They will otherwise infallibly lessen the beauty, the greatness, the originality, the *abandon*, and the grandeur of the moral and religious characters, which only such ideals can produce and sustain.

Dr. Rashdall published in 1916 a deeply interesting volume called *Conscience and Christ*, and he did me the honour of quoting therein, sometimes with approval and sometimes with dissent, several passages from the first edition of this commentary. I write now under the vivid sense of the terrible loss which liberal religion has sustained by the death of that great theologian. Where *he* approved, I am pretty sure I must be right; but where *he* dissented, I hesitate. Now, he dissented from things I said and have repeated in the preceding paragraphs, and I would like to quote what he said in full, as a tiny tribute to his memory. There was never a theologian with whom (in spite of differences) I felt in such fundamental sympathy as with him. Immensely below him in knowledge and capacity, I am yet proud to think that we looked at many things in the same sort of way. This is what he says: 'Mr. Montefiore, from the standpoint of liberal Judaism, condemns severely the attacks by Jesus on the Pharisees both as being unjustified in themselves and as inconsistent with His own teaching. To use the language of severe denunciation does not appear to me ethically unjustified or inconsistent with the spirit of the teaching which, in general, Mr. Montefiore approves: and what Jesus

denounces in the teaching and conduct of the Pharisees certainly deserved such condemnation. It does not appear to me at all self-evident that Jesus, "if he had loved his enemies, would not have called them vipers, or enthusiastically predicted their arrival in hell" (*Syn. Gospels*, II. p. 524). The adverb, of course, is Mr. Montefiore's.' [I regret the adverb, and I have withdrawn it from this edition.] 'That there was another side to the teaching perhaps of those very Pharisees whom Jesus denounced, and certainly of other Pharisees, Mr. Montefiore is quite entitled to point out, and Christians ought freely to admit the fact. But it is hardly fair to speak of such denunciations as merely calling "religious enemies hard names" (*ib.* II. p. 526). It was not the theological doctrine of the Pharisees that Jesus denounced, but (1) the immorality of their teaching and (2) their hypocrisy—the contrast between their exacting teaching and their lives of what seemed to Him easy, self-complacent religious exclusiveness. In the very same page on which this criticism occurs, Mr. Montefiore has some reflections—too well deserved—on the intolerance shown by Christians towards Jews which, though expressed in a more modern dialect, mean much the same thing as the denunciations of Jesus. That we have learned better to understand the psychological causes of such aberrations as those of the Pharisees may be admitted by any Christian who does not assert that Jesus was omniscient. If some of the Pharisees were not justly chargeable with all the bad motives which Jesus attributed to them, or if there was more good in them than He supposed, that is a question of fact. It may be admitted that the historian's judgment about the matter should not be based on these sayings alone. But the important thing for us is whether He was right in severely condemning certain elements in their teaching and the state of mind from which He supposed it to spring. I do not see in these denunciations any defect of ethical principle. The denunciation of the Friars *as a class* by men like Wycliffe and Luther seems to me a fairly parallel case, and was equally justified, though, of course, there were good Friars even in the worst periods of mediæval history. That there has been a further and fuller development of that principle of Universal Love which Jesus taught should be fully admitted. The principle of religious toleration was not actually taught by Jesus, though He taught nothing contrary to it. It is a further development of the principle which He did lay down, and yet, after all, this question is not much in point in this particular connection, for there was no question of persecuting the Pharisees.

'I am not competent to discuss the question whether Mr. Montefiore does not as much overrate the Pharisees as some Christian Theologians (liberal as well as orthodox) have unjustly

depreciated them ; I will only say that he himself in his indignant protests against the onesidedness of Christian Theologians seems occasionally to forget the admissions that he elsewhere makes. That there was much in the teaching and conduct of the Pharisees which was justly rebuked by our Lord, could be proved out of Mr. Montefiore's own writings. Moreover, he is (if I may venture to say so) too apt to assume that all that is best in the rabbinic teaching of all ages must be supposed to have been equally characteristic of these particular Rabbis and Pharisees with whom our Lord had to deal. On the face of it, it is probable that the Pharisees in the day of their political ascendancy would show the characteristic vices of a dominant clergy more frequently than in the days of national humiliation and persecution. It would be grossly unjust to the French clergy of to-day to say of them what might justly be said of their predecessors in the time of Louis XIV. Nor can I discuss the question of reflex Christian influence on the later rabbinic teaching. It is improbable that the teaching of Christianity (however little illustrated by average Christian practice) should have produced no influence on their Jewish critics. It would be equally absurd to assume that the views about toleration or the relative unimportance of ritual now adopted by the best Roman Catholics owe nothing to Protestantism.'

On this passage I would only like to observe that, while willingly admitting the soundness of much which the great scholar put forward, and while hoping to profit by it, I hardly think I have ever gone so far as to say that 'there was much in the teaching and conduct of the Pharisees which was justly rebuked' by Jesus. The more prevailing Pharisaic teaching about divorce was justly rebuked by Jesus ; a not infrequent exaggeration of the doctrine of tit for tat was justly rebuked by him. I cannot remember anything else. That some Pharisaic doctrine lent itself to ethical and religious perversion I have freely allowed, but that is not the same thing as describing the doctrine itself as immoral. Again, about Pharisaic conduct as a whole I do not think I have ever said anything depreciatory. That there were doubtless several bad Pharisees and bad Rabbis in the days of Jesus I have always admitted ; what I have denied is that the best and most likely way to have converted them was to treat them and to speak of them in the way that Jesus spoke of them and treated them. I do not think that the teaching of the New Testament produced any influence for good on the Rabbinical teaching. It must have been very little known.

CHAPTER VI

1–4. Of Almsgiving

(Matthew only)

1 ‘Take heed that ye perform not your righteousness before men,
to be seen by them: otherwise ye have no reward from your
2 Father who is in heaven. So then, when thou givest alms, do not
sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the syna-
gogues and in the streets, that they may be glorified by men.
3 Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. But when
thou givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand
4 does: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father, who
looks upon what is secret, will reward thee.

The Sermon now proceeds to deal with three special acts of the religious life—almsgiving, prayer, and fasting—and it shows in what ways these must be practised to possess any religious value. It is disputed whether any portion of Chapter vi. formed part of the original Sermon. Loisy thinks that vii. 1 followed originally on v. 48; Chapter vi. is partly made up of passages from Q, and partly of additions from the Evangelist himself (7, 8, 14, 15). Weiss, on the contrary, supposes that 1–6 and 16–18 are integral portions of the original Sermon.

For various reasons given at great length in his painstaking book, Mr. Marriott does not think that any portion of Chapter vi. formed part of Q's original Sermon.

1. This verse may, perhaps, be introductory to the three sections on Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting. Each of them is a meritorious action: each of them a part of ‘righteousness,’ but to make them of value, to make them really ‘righteous,’ they must not be ‘done’ openly, or they ‘deserve’ and will receive no reward. But some suppose that the Greek word δικαιοσύνη (righteousness) stands here for ‘almsgiving.’ It is, they think, a translation of the Hebrew

tzedakah, which, literally meaning righteousness, was used in later Hebrew to signify almsgiving.

There is no novelty for Jewish readers in the excellent remarks about almsgiving. They are characteristically Rabbinic. Doubtless there were 'hypocrites' in the age of Jesus, as in every subsequent age and among all creeds. Doubtless some of the Pharisees deserved a castigation. There would be no possibility of the Jewish critic forgetting so extremely probable a fact if the Christian critics contented themselves with maintaining it. We, on our part, should never be tempted to exaggerate, if Christian criticism were limited to the insistence that there must have been many bad Jews—bad Pharisees, bad Rabbis, bad Scribes—in the days of Jesus. But Christian criticism goes much further. It attacks the Rabbinic religion as such; it attacks Judaism as such. It is this constant suggestion of moral and religious inferiority in Judaism as such, which, be it remembered, is a word that connotes, not a dead religion of 1900 years ago, but a living religion of to-day—it is *this* which no doubt makes us sometimes throw stones and exaggerate in our turn. 'The externality of Jewish "righteousness" is expressed,' says Dr. McNeile, 'by the verb ποιεῖν': he probably makes the remark not only with the utmost sincerity, but without a thought that to Jewish readers his words cause acute resentment. What would he think if he were to read a Buddhist book in which the adjective 'Christian' was often used with a stigma of religious inferiority? True Jewish righteousness was, and is, no more external than true Christian righteousness. It may be argued that 'Jewish' is here only a shorthand expression for: 'The externality of a certain false "righteousness," as displayed by certain bad Pharisees in the age of Jesus, is expressed by the word ποιεῖν.' I admit that what I have taken eighteen words to say, Dr. McNeile by his shorthand says in five. But sometimes one can only be short at the cost of accuracy on the one hand, and of hurting people's feelings upon the other. And one can sometimes only be short at the cost of prolonging a needless controversy, and of causing other people to exaggerate in their turn. And so the bad ball keeps rolling, or being tossed, from one side to the other.

Dr. Büchler (in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. x. No. 38, Jan. 1909, pp. 266–270) has given a fresh interpretation of Matt. vi. 1–4, 16 based upon Rabbinical literature. The usual view of verse 2 is that the word σαλπίσῃς (sound a trumpet) is used purely metaphorically, while the rest of the verse refers to public collections for the poor made on Sabbaths in the Synagogues. Dr. Büchler believes that the allusion to trumpets and to praying and almsgiving in the streets (2 and 5) points to the particular and only occasion when such practices prevailed. This was on public fast-days for rain, held

usually in seasons of drought during October and November. Perhaps Matt. vi. 1–4, 16 may have been spoken at this very season. Jesus would seem to deprecate the public giving of alms and the public fasting which then prevailed. At all events there is no other allusion to praying in the streets in the Rabbinical literature. Jesus would mean, Do not let the public trumpet herald your almsgiving and call it into prominence. ' The Mishnah tells us that on these days of public fasting on occasion of a drought, the scene of the service was the street or market-place (*Taanith*, II. § 1 *seq.*); the leaders of the community gathered there round the Ark containing the Law ; and after an address by one of the Rabbis, who reminded the assemblage of the example of Nineveh and called his hearers to genuine repentance, the prayers for rain commenced. Here, then, we have the only prayers recorded as being recited in the streets, and of the many present it may well be that some joined with no true humiliation in their hearts, but to be seen of men in the assembly, and some stood at the street corners praying with questionable sincerity. The people as a whole are not, it is true, represented as praying at these public fasts ; they merely respond Amen. But we read how they broke into tears when Rabbi Eliezer addressed them and recited the prayer composed by himself (T.B. *Taanith*, 25 b). But it is especially to be noticed that on such occasions the ram's horn (*shofar*) was blown after each of the six additional benedictions at the end of the prayers. The overseer (*hazan*) of the congregation gave the direction, " Blow, ye priests, blow (the horn)," and again, " Sound, ye sons of Aaron, sound." We have, at all events, the precise statement that this was the mode of procedure in Sepphoris in the age of Halafta and Hananja ben Teradjon. Now it was well understood that on such days, when God's mercy was besought, men must themselves exercise mercy practically in the form of almsgiving. Thus we read (T.B. *Synhedrin* 35 a) : " R. Eliezer says, whoever postpones over night the distribution of the alms in connection with the fast is as though he shed blood." This implies that on fast-days alms were promised, but not always given on the spot. The same teacher deduces from Is. lviii. 5 *seq.* that almsgiving is the primary condition of the acceptance of the worshipper's prayer on fast-days (T.J. *Taanith* II. vi. 65 b, line 14 *seq.*). And a characteristic story is told (in Genesis Rabba xxxiii. 3 ; Leviticus Rabba xxxiv. 14), how that Rabbi Tanhuma once decreed a public fast during a calamitous drought. When the rain still failed to descend, though the fast was thrice repeated, the Rabbi rose and said, " My children, be full of mercy towards one another, then will God have mercy on you." The people thereupon distributed alms. This practice seems to me to underlie the reproach against the public distribution of alms in Matt. vi. 2.'

'They have received' is a right translation. Ἀπέχω in 'koine' speech—in the ordinary speech of the Greek-speaking world in the age of Jesus—was used to mean 'I have received.' It was a form of receipt. Ἀπέχω τέλος, 'I have received tax' (*i.e.* the tax due to me, a tax-collector) (Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., 1923, p. 88). The reward which they have already received is what they have desired and sought to obtain: it is praise and reputation from men. Therefore they cannot expect that God will reward them also.

Jesus uses simple eudæmonistic motives quite naïvely and comfortably. He had not the least idea that there was anything immoral or irreligious in them as such, or that they were the odious mark of an odious legalism! The heavenly Father would certainly reward his children with heavenly beatitude. The rain may benefit the sinner; but 'heaven' is for the good. Disinterestedness, purity, inwardness, etc., are all compatible with the doctrine of reward. No Theistic religion can say that goodness shall *never* be rewarded, whether in this world or in another. No Theistic religion can regard the permanent combination of virtue and misery as *always* and *eternally* right, desirable, and true. Nevertheless, the 'legal,' as well as the Pauline, religion can teach people to be and to do good for the sake of goodness. The difficulty which some theologians find in this combination Jesus happily did not find. It is not found, moreover, by any simple religionist, whether Christian or Jew. He expects and hopes for a reward; but he does not love God, and he does not act righteously, for the sake of a reward.

4. 'Thy Father who looks upon what is secret.' The Greek is usually translated 'who sees in secret,' and is supposed to refer to the invisibility, and yet omnipresence, of God. He is unseen, but sees. Wellhausen, however, more probably, takes the words ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ as the object of βλέπων. An Aramaic and Hebrew idiom has been misunderstood. The meaning then is: 'Thy Father, who looks at (or regards) what is secret'; *i.e.* God can and does see your secret deeds, and He will reward you. So, too, in verse 6.

The text on which the A.V. was based added 'openly,' of which the right explanation is given by Dr. Carpenter. 'Should not the world know that love and piety received their reward? In the interests of religion it was desirable that the blessing should be visible to all, and accordingly an amended version of the promise ran, "Thy Father, who sees in secret, shall recompense thee *openly*"' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 24).

The open reward will be given in the Kingdom, or after death in 'heaven,' or at the resurrection of the dead.

5, 6. Of Prayer

(Matthew only)

5 'And when ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen by men. Verily I say unto
6 you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter thy chamber, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father, who looks upon what is secret, will reward thee.

5. Jesus again preaches sincerity, inwardness, and humility.

6. He is not thinking here of synagogal worship, and certainly not depreciating it. But he is anxious that his disciples should practise what he himself cherished and practised: the habit of private prayer. The 'chamber' may be meant literally or figuratively. The words of 6 are partly taken from Isaiah xxvi. 20 (LXX). *Cp.* also 2 Kings iv. 33.

'Thy father who is in secret'; who is invisible. The sense is improved if with some MSS. and versions we omit τῷ: 'pray in secret to thy Father.'

For Rabbinic views on prayer, which supplement, but do not contradict, the teaching of Jesus, see Abrahams, *Studies*, II. chap. xi., 'Some Rabbinic Ideas on Prayer.'

7–15. The Lord's Prayer

(*Cp.* Luke xi. 1–4)

7 'And when ye pray, babble not vainly, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.
8 Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knows what
9 ye need, before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye:
10 'Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so also upon earth.
11, 12 Our daily bread give us to-day. And forgive us our debts, as we too
13 have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.
14 'For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father
15 will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men, your Father will also not forgive you your trespasses.

The Lord's Prayer did not we may presume form part of the original Sermon. And vi. 6 was originally followed by vi. 16. But Matthew uses this opportunity to introduce the Prayer which he found in his source (Q). The prologue (7, 8) and the epilogue (14, 15) seem both to be the work of the Evangelist. But there is no reason why these verses should not have been said, on one occasion or another, by Jesus. They seem more likely to be his than Matthew's.

7, 8 thus form the special introduction for the Lord's Prayer, which the Evangelist desired to insert in the Sermon. In Luke the prayer has a different place and a different introduction, which may be older than that of Matthew.

7. Before, the disciples had been warned not to imitate hypocritical Pharisees. Here they are warned not to imitate the heathen.

What *βατταλογεῖν* means is not certain. It only occurs here in the New Testament, and appears to be only found besides in Simplicius's fine commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus (end of chapter xxx.). 'I must turn,' says Simplicius, 'to the other chapters of Epictetus's book, and I must not forget my purpose, which was to explain Epictetus, while I now babble about duties.' *περὶ καθηκόντων βατταλογῶν νῦν.* The etymology is unknown. Klostermann thinks that it is most probably a hybrid, a verbal transliteration of the Aramaic אמר בטלתא to speak emptiness or vanity. It may include idle babbling, magical formulæ, wearisome repetitions. God cannot be compelled to hearken, by force of lengthy supplications and verbal bombardments. He knows our needs before we open our mouth. Some of the *best* Rabbinic sayings are in full accordance with this teaching. 'Your Father knows what you need before you ask him.' How simple, fine, and telling the words are.

9. The form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke is shorter and perhaps more original. The *seven* petitions in Matthew are characteristic, for that holy number is a favourite with him.

The Prayer has many Rabbinic analogues and parallels. It is needless for me to deal with them at length, for they are so easily available; moreover, there is a very full, learned, and interesting essay on the Prayer in Abrahams' *Studies*, II. pp. 94–108, to which I would refer every reader. There is nothing in the Prayer which seems in the least unfamiliar to Jews; there is nothing new or original about it as there is in Matthew xx. 1–16 or in Mark vii. 14–23.

Partly because the Lord's Prayer is not in Mark, Wellhausen regards it as later than Jesus. In Mark Jesus urges his disciples

to pray, and even tells them before, or when, they do so to forgive those 'against whom they have anything' (xi. 22–25), but he gives them no formulary, for they are not yet a regularly constituted community. The prayer probably arose in the same period as the Christian worship generally, that is, after the death of Jesus, like fasting and baptism. Against this view Harnack energetically protests. A short form of the prayer may well be authentic; was it not the regular custom for early Rabbinic teachers to have or compose his own favourite prayer? It is a common prayer, but not a prayer of a community. Why should not the disciples have been given a common prayer? But Harnack reduces the short prayer to even shorter proportions still. Originally it only consisted, according to him, of the three petitions, (*a*) 'give us to-day our bread for the morrow, (*b*) forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors, (*c*) lead us not into temptation.'

Harnack's views are put clearly and popularly in his Essay, 'The Original Text of the Lord's Prayer' in his volume entitled, *Erforschtes und Erlebtes*, 1923, pp. 24–35. Streeter shows that for 'Thy kingdom come' the words, 'Thy holy spirit come upon us and cleanse us,' is a very ancient variant, and is probably the original reading of Luke, but that Matthew's version is here more original. On a survey of the whole evidence he concludes that the Lord's prayer in Matthew came from M, in Luke from L. In neither did it come from Q, which did not include the prayer. 'The rare word ἐπιούσιος remains as a remarkable point of contact between the two versions. I think it not impossible that its presence in Luke is due to an assimilation to Matthew which has infected all our authorities' (p. 277). Burkitt does not think that the 'holy spirit' saying is genuine even in Luke. 'For "thy kingdom come" represents an idea which is certainly Jewish, probably eschatological: a prayer for the cleansing descent of the Holy Spirit is definitely Christian, ecclesiastical. Is it to be supposed, if Luke had himself penned "Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," that so edifying a petition would ever have been dropped? I can understand that "Thy kingdom come" might have been inserted into the text of Luke, but not that it should be allowed to oust a petition for the Holy Spirit if such a petition had been there from the beginning' (*J. T. S.* Vol. xxvi., April 1925, p. 289).

In the familiar Matthew form the prayer, though not original in its ideas, worthily ranks by the side of the many admirable short prayers of the Rabbis, some of which are given by Abrahams in the *Studies* (chaps. xi., xii.), and others by me in my *Old Testament and After*. The choice of ideas, the grouping and phrasing are alike felicitous. There is a very interesting essay on the Lord's

Prayer by the distinguished Jewish scholar G. Klein in *Z. N. W.*, 1906. Klein thinks that the prayer in its Matthew form is original, and in true accordance with Jewish views of what a prayer of this kind should consist of. His arguments are well worth consideration and study.

'Our Father who art in heaven.' A very familiar Rabbinic appellation of God, which we often hear in synagogue. Luke has simply 'Father,' which apparently was also used by Rabbis of the New Testament period.

'Hallowed be Thy name.' The opening of the Kaddish may aptly be compared. The meaning is: May God be universally acknowledged and revered on earth. His right worship is His sanctification. The name of God is an equivalent for God Himself. The prayer is eschatological. It is on the same lines as the prayer: 'Thy kingdom come.' When the kingdom has arrived, then will the name of God be universally sanctified.

'Thy kingdom come.' Again, a familiar prayer to us; citations are needless. S.-B. and others provide them. Harnack elaborately argues that Luke had here originally, 'May Thy Holy Spirit come (upon us) and purify us,' and that the authentic prayer of Jesus contained neither the one clause nor the other.

'Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth.' Not in Luke. The meaning is much the same as the former petition. In 'heaven' there is no evil or sin; there God's will is executed completely. May such a consummation be also attained upon earth in the Messianic age. The words interpret the preceding prayer. May that condition of things arrive in which God's will (for justice, goodness, etc.) is as perfectly carried out on earth as it already is in heaven. There is no exact Rabbinic verbal parallel.

11. The prayer, having dealt with the future, now deals with the present, with the human needs of everyday life.

The physical side of life is not forgotten. God is asked to give us sufficient for our support—that the body may have enough, in order that the soul may do His will. The word ἐπιούσιος is only found here and in Luke, and its meaning has been much discussed. There is a long and interesting note about it in McNeile. 'If it is not a corrupt form, it is probably to be connected with ἡ ἐπιοῦσα ἡμέρα. In liturgical use "bread for the coming day" could denote either "bread for the day then in progress," or "bread for the morrow," according as the Prayer was used in the morning or in the evening' (McNeile).

'Give us our daily bread' is an adequate translation for ordinary purposes. For if we ask to-day for our bread for to-morrow, we practically ask for our bread day by day. It has been urged that

to ask God to supply us with our necessities for to-morrow is not in contradiction with the injunction not to be *anxious* for the morrow. Prayer is the antithesis to care. By asking God to provide for to-morrow's wants, by throwing the burden upon God, anxiety is dispelled. That the formula 'God will provide' can be productive of improvidence and carelessness lies outside Jesus's point of view. Prof. Box says: 'Not improbably the source of the passage is Exod. xvi. 4, where in the account of the giving of the manna it is said: "The people shall go out and gather *a day's portion every day*."' On these words one Rabbi observes: 'The man who has (sufficient) to eat to-day, and asks, "What shall I eat to-morrow?" belongs to those of little faith, for the Scripture proceeds (with the words) "that I may prove them." On the other hand, R. Joshua interpreted the words to mean that a man should gather from one day to another (= Luke's "day by day"). A similar difference seems to have divided the schools of Hillel and Shammai (*Beza* 16 *a*). Thus the two evangelists represent two interpretations: Matthew ("this day") agreeing with R. Eleazar and the school of Hillel, and Luke ("day by day") with R. Joshua and the school of Shammai. For Matthew's interpretation *cp.* vi. 34 ("Be not mindful for the morrow," etc.), which is not represented in Luke, but clearly reflects the mind of Jesus' (Box). There is no exact verbal parallel in Rabbinic prayers. But the substance is familiar enough.

I see no need, with Eisler, *Z. N. W.*, 1925, pp. 190–192, to give a Messianic interpretation to the petitions in 11–13. Though the first two verses of the Prayer (9, 10) deal with the Messianic future, the petitions need not do so likewise. And Eisler's interpretation of the vexed word ἐπιούσιον seems to me very strained and unlikely. Nor is πειρασμός likely to mean the 'testings and trials' prior to the Messianic Era, as if the words meant, 'may we be allowed not to have to undergo these trials.' Why is not the old Talmudic prayer an adequate parallel and explanation, 'Lead us not into the power of sin or of temptation'? On the other hand, it would seem quite likely that the 'evil' of verse 11 is the evil *yetzer*, even as the same old Rabbinic prayer goes on to say, 'Let not the evil inclination (the *Yetzer ha Ra*) have sway over us.' See below.

12. 'Forgive us our debts.' 'Debts' means 'sins,' which Luke has. It is true that in the Amidah there is no allusion to man's forgiveness of his fellow-man. 'Liturgically,' says Dr. Abrahams, 'the Synagogue did not make man's repentance a precise *condition* of God's pardon. Still less did it make man's forgiveness a condition. The unforgiving man does not deserve pardon, but who does? The unforgiving, we can hear the older

Jew saying, is most in need of forgiveness, precisely of his own hard-heartedness' (*Studies*, II. p. 97). But does the Greek of Matthew mean to imply a condition? Luke has 'for we also forgive.' Perhaps the Greek of Matthew means no more than: 'Forgive us, even as we, following Thy commands, seek to forgive those who have wronged us.' Dr. Abrahams adds: 'On the whole, no Jew feels himself out of sympathy with the Prayer, except with regard to the condition regarding forgiveness apparently imposed in Matthew's form, which has no Jewish liturgical parallel whatever. It is not here suggested that, on a valuation of significance, Matthew is higher or lower than the Jewish sentiment. But he is not at the same standpoint' (*Studies*, II. pp. 97, 98). I do not feel quite sure. Surely the thought is Jewish and familiar enough. *Cp.* Sirach xxviii. 2 and such Rabbinic sayings as, 'He who has no pity on his fellow-men, on him God has no pity'; 'Sins against a fellow-man are not forgiven by God on the Day of Atonement till the sinner has been reconciled to his fellow-man.' 'The thought, which is thoroughly Jewish, seems to be, a man can only hope for the divine forgiveness (of sin) if he has first bridged the gulf that divides himself from his fellow-man by making amends for the wrong done to his neighbour' (Box). Only if we forgive others, have we a right to ask God for forgiveness. Would not that be quite a Jewish idea?

13. 'Lead us not into temptation.' A prayer extremely familiar to Jewish readers. Box quotes from the Jewish prayer-book the daily morning prayer which it is needless for me to reproduce here. 'Temptation' means severe trials, such as the trials of the flesh, or of any special circumstances which are likely to lead to sin. A direct special temptation by God is probably not alluded to. 'Lead us not,' *i.e.* 'Bring us not within the influence of temptation.' 'Cause us not to come into circumstances when temptations will befall us.' Harnack thinks the temptation refers specifically to sufferings which might induce apostasy and sin. Spare us sufferings which would cause temptation. In Luke xxii. 28 'temptations' means, probably, 'sufferings.' *Cp.* 'Zwei Worte Jesu' in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1907, 1–6, and also the essay in *Erforschtes und Erlebtes*, p. 25, where temptation is said to be used in the sense of 'eines Strafleidens oder einer Glaubensanfechtung oder einer Lust.'

'Deliver us from evil.' Not in Luke. It has been lengthily discussed whether one should render 'from evil,' 'from the Evil One,' or 'from the evil.' Some hold that Rabbinic analogies would make it probable that 'from evil' is an adequate translation, and that 'evil is not so much calamity as the inward evil, the *Yetzer ha Ra*'

of the Rabbis, the evil inclination, which is sometimes also half-personified, and regarded as a power of evil as much outside man as within him. Fiebig, on the contrary, thinks that the familiar Rabbinic prayer (Berachoth 60 b, Singer, p. 7) suggests that Evil in the Lord's Prayer should be taken quite generally. 'Deliver us from evil' would then be the correct translation (*Erzählungstil*, p. 147).

A liturgical addition, not found in all MSS., follows. 'For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever. Amen.' For the words *cp.* 1 Chron. xxix. 11, Psalm cxlv. 11, 12. The doxology is wanting in Luke. Harnack learnedly argues that the original version of the Lord's prayer in Luke (before its progressive assimilation to the text of Matthew) ran thus :

> Father, hallowed be thy name,
> May thy holy spirit come upon us and purify us,
> Give us to-day our bread for the morrow,
> And forgive us our sins, for we too forgive every one who owes us aught,
> And lead us not into temptation.

But neither Luke's version nor Matthew's version does he regard as representing the exact words which Jesus said. On the other hand, the following—that which is common to both Luke and Matthew—he does believe to be quite authentic—the exact words which Jesus used. (But Jesus did not tell his disciples to use these words in a stereotyped way. He gave no *law* for prayer. He said : 'In *such wise* [in this sort of way] do ye pray' : he did not say : 'pray these exact words.') [How oddly Lutheran a remark !]

> Father, hallowed be thy name,
> Give us to-day our bread for the morrow,
> And forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors,
> And lead us not into temptation.

It would be interesting to quote and criticize the concluding words of the great theologian's essay, which are probably intended to carry many innuendos, but I have no space for this. That the use of 'Father' for God is 'distinctively Christian' can hardly be allowed. 'The Fatherhood of God is a characteristically Jewish doctrine.' Lake is probably in such a matter as this a more trustworthy guide than Harnack. Burney thinks that the Aramaic original of the Lord's prayer can more or less assuredly be recovered. It was a 'little poem or hymn consisting of two four-beat tristichs. We see at once what an aid the rhythmical form is in assisting the memory. The formula may be said to be 2 (stanzas) × 3 (stichoi) × 4 (beats). Was it accidental that our Lord so composed it, or did He intentionally employ art in composition as an aid to memory ?

Surely the latter conclusion is correct. Comparing this form of the prayer with the mutilated version which we find in the Revisers' text of Luke xi. 2–4, we can hardly hesitate as to which is the more original' (p. 113). It may be observed that while Burney's arguments may often be sound for obtaining the more original text and for distinguishing glosses, et cetera, he seems to prove too much when he wants to use his rhythmical theories and arguments to substantiate the authenticity of all sorts of passages which on other grounds are almost assuredly unauthentic, such as, *e.g.*, Matt. xi. 25–30 and many others, and when he also uses it to prove the substantial authenticity of the speeches in the Fourth Gospel. (The 'difference of audience' is supposed to be a sufficient explanation for the huge difference in subject-matter. P. 84.)

14, 15 are an explanation of 12, and found in Matthew only. (*Cp.* Sirach xxviii. 2). They are quite in accordance with Rabbinic teaching. They are not in Luke, but may accurately represent the usual teaching of Jesus. *Cp.* Matt. xviii. 21–35.

16–18. Of Fasting

(Matthew only)

6 'Moreover when ye fast, look not gloomy like the hypocrites,
for they make their faces unsightly, that they may appear unto
men to be fasting. Verily I say unto you, They have received their
7 reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash
8 thy face; that thou appear not unto men to be fasting, but unto
thy Father who is in secret: and thy Father, who looks upon
what is secret, will reward thee.

16. Here it is assumed that the disciples fast. *Cp.*, and perhaps contrast, Mark ii. 18. The Sermon, after the digression of 7–15, returns to the three 'works' of piety, and now deals with the third. Though we were told in Mark that his disciples did not fast, it is conceivable that Jesus may have laid down a higher rule on the subject for those who should wish to observe this rite. Dr. Büchler supposes that the fasts alluded to are public fasts, ordained specially by the authorities on occasions of drought or of exceptional calamity. There is no reference to the Day of Atonement. But it is not certain that private fasts may not be referred to. In a public fast, during which every one fasted, there would be nothing exceptional to fast. Dr. Büchler thinks that the reference is to the 'exceptional fasts

during October-November when severe pietists fasted on Mondays and Thursdays if the rain failed.' The rule about fasting corresponds with the rule about almsgiving. It urges inwardness. There must be no ostentation and display. This would be in full accord with the best Rabbinic teaching. Dr. Abrahams (*Studies*, I. chap. xvi. 'Fasting') says that the Shulchan Aruch declares that 'he who fasts and makes a display of himself to others, to boast of his fasting, is punished for this.' The teaching of Jesus would be on such lines, and is, as usual, put in a hyperbolic and picturesque form. It is conceived on true prophetic lines. (*Cp.* Isaiah lviii.) The meaning of the injunctions in 17 is that no one is to know that the man is fasting. To all outward appearance he might be going to a banquet. Not to anoint the head and not to wash were the usual outward accompaniments of mourning and fasting.

ἀφανίζουσιν : φανῶσιν. The play upon words is untranslatable. 'They make their faces *unsightly*, that men may have *sight* of them.' 'They disfigure their faces.' 'By ashes, or by leaving face and head unwashed' (Box).

18. If one fasts, one fasts to God, and not to man. Therefore let God alone know about it. As in verse 4, it gives better sense if the τῷ before the first ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ be deleted, and we translate thus : 'That thou appear not to men to fast, but in secret to thy Father; and thy Father, who looks on what is secret, will reward thee.'

19–21. Treasures on Earth and in Heaven

(*Cp.* Luke xii. 33, 34)

19 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth
20 and rust destroy, and where thieves break through and steal : but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust destroys, and where thieves do not break through or steal :
21 for where your treasure is, there also will your heart be.

This passage, and the sections to the end of the chapter, do not seem to be part of the original Sermon ; they occur in other connections in Luke. The editor has inserted them here for reasons which one can hardly discover. The heavenly reward mentioned in 18 may have suggested that here was a fit occasion for inserting 19–21. Luke's parallel verses may be the more original. The opening of Luke xii. 33 seems to imply : the end is near.

The right use of terrestrial treasures is to use them as means

for the acquisition of 'heavenly' treasures. The doctrine is Rabbinic. Several close parallels could be given. Jesus fully admits the principles of retribution so far as the life to come is concerned. A direct aim of our earthly life must be to obtain entrance into the 'life to come,' and by our actions here (almsgiving, etc.) we can secure that entrance. Only, the almsgiving must be of the right kind: it must depend upon the heart. If that is pure and set Godwards, all else follows. The doctrine of Jesus can be called indifferently 'justification by faith' or 'justification by works.' If one's faith is right, one's heart is right; if one's heart is right, one's works are right; and if one's works are right, that can only be because one's heart and faith are right. This seems simple doctrine and true.

20. 'Rust.' But the Greek word βρῶσις more probably means 'eating,' the devouring of farm produce stored in barns which is done by mice or other animals.

22, 23. The Internal Light

(*Cp.* Luke xi. 34–36)

22 'The lamp of the body is the eye: if thine eye be sound, thy
23 whole body will be light. But if thine eye be bad, thy whole body will be dark. If, then, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great the darkness!

Another detached remark, without close connection. *Cp.* Proverbs xx. 27. The original place of the saying is perhaps better kept by Luke xi. 34, where it follows the verse which corresponds with Matt. v. 15.

The eye is to the body what the heart is to the spiritual life. If the eye is clear and unobscured, the body, which in itself is dark, receives light; if the source of the light is obscured, the body is doubly dark. The metaphor is not very happy. So if the heart ('the light in thee') is not light but dark, how great is the darkness. For the only guide to light and truth in the spiritual world is the heart. Unless your heart is sound, no number of laws and rules and rites will help you. Mr. Allen gives a totally different explanation. He supposes that the 'eye' in the second clause of 22 is already the spiritual eye. 'The idea is the naïve one that the eye is the organ through which light has access to the whole body, and that there is a spiritual eye through which spiritual light enters and illuminates the whole personality. This spiritual eye must be kept

sound, or else light cannot enter, and the inner man dwells in darkness. But how can it be kept sound? The contrast ἁπλοῦς—πονηρός suggests the answer, by liberality and almsgiving. Treasure is not to be hoarded, but given away. In Jewish idiom a "good eye" is a metaphor for liberality, "an evil eye" for niggardliness. We should therefore rather expect here as a contrast to πονηρός (wicked), ἀγαθός (good), rather than ἁπλοῦς (sound). But (1) the phrase a sound eye may have had in the original saying a wider meaning than that of liberality, which is here imparted to it by the context. There is no such limitation in the passage as it stands in Luke. (2) ἁπλοῦς may have been chosen because it interprets ἀγαθός as = "liberal." According to this interpretation 23 means that if you are miserly and grudging, then spiritual light cannot penetrate unto you, and such light as you have becomes even darker, till it ceases to be light, and becomes darkness.'

24. God and Mammon

(*Cp.* Luke xvi. 13)

24 'No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will cleave to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

The verse seems to have been removed from its context, which is found in Luke xvi. 1–13.

Perhaps the verse has been put here in reference to 19–21. You cannot have both 'treasures' on earth and in 'heaven.' Whole-hearted service is demanded for God. It is not to be a question of more or less, or of preference. The same slave cannot (truly) serve two masters, for if he does, one or other must be neglected. Even so, a man cannot be the slave of both God and riches, for, if so, the one must be neglected when he serves the other. A slave is to be at the entire disposal of his master.

The opposition of hate and love is here comparative; if a man has two wives, the one he prefers is 'loved,' the other is 'hated.' (*Cp.* Deut. xxi. 15; Gen. xxix. 31–33; Luke xiv. 26).

Jesus and the writers of the Synoptics are not afraid of using the metaphor of slave and master for the relation of man to God. They were unaware that it would be said by the commentators that the Jews served God as slaves, in fear and through lust of reward, while, for the first time, the disciples of Jesus served Him as sons, in love and without desire of reward. These oppositions are not only inaccurate; they are the creation of partisans.

Jesus had an acute sense of the moral dangers of wealth and of the sins to which wealth or the love of money may give rise. As Pfleiderer points out, he agreed with most ancient thinkers in supposing riches to be not a means for productive moral action, but a mere source of pleasure and enjoyment. With many other pious Jews of his age, he saw in the rich, as a social class, the oppressors of the poor, the children of 'this world,' the enemies of the divine Kingdom (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 650). What M. Loisy says seems entirely accurate: 'The incompatibility between the service of God and the pursuit of riches is absolute. It would be arbitrary to understand the text in the sense that a man ought not to serve God and Mammon at the same time, or that it is permissible to seek or keep riches, on condition of not being a slave to them. The possibility of such a condition is just what it is desired to exclude. In this sentence, as everywhere else, and especially in the discourse which follows, Jesus puts himself at the ideal point of view of evangelical perfection, as it ought to be found in those who are waiting for the coming of the Kingdom of heaven and preparing themselves for it. Such persons are not only spiritually separated from riches, they ought also to be actually separated from them. It is impossible for him whose thoughts are occupied with earthly wealth to belong entirely to God' (*E. S.* I. p. 614).

J. Weiss says that Jesus must have thought that he saw in riches a sort of demonic power, hostile to God, and the concentrated essence of the 'world' as opposed to the Kingdom. 'No reformer of the moral life of the world speaks here, but a prophet, who has finished with this world to prepare the way for a higher and different order.' (*Schriften*, I. p. 282, 3rd ed. 'Nicht innere Freiheit im Besitz, sondern völlige Loslösung wird gefordert'.)

'Mammon.' The word does not occur in the Old Testament. But it is 'found in the Hebrew original of Sirach (xxxi. 8) and it is frequent in the Targums as the equivalent of various Hebrew words, chiefly בצע, gain.' It is also found frequently in Rabbinical literature, both in the Hebrew and in the Aramaic form, where it means property, money. The Hebrew word is 'preserved probably because wealth is personified' (McNeile).

25–34. Worldly Anxieties and Occupations

(*Cp.* Luke xii. 22–31)

5 'Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what
ye shall eat; nor for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the
6 life more than food, and the body than clothing? Look at the

birds of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather
into barns; and your heavenly Father feeds them. Are ye not
27 worth much more than they? Which of you by anxious care can
28 add one cubit unto his height? And why are ye anxious about
clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they
29 toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you that even
30 Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But
if God so clothe the herbs of the field, which to-day are, and to-
morrow are thrown into the oven, shall he not much more clothe
31 you, O ye of little faith? Be not then anxious, saying, What shall
we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, With what shall we be
32 clothed? For after all these things do the gentiles seek: for your
33 heavenly Father knows that ye need all these things. But seek
ye first his kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things
34 shall be added unto you. Be not then anxious for the morrow:
for the morrow will take care of itself. Sufficient for the day is
its evil.

The right position of this passage may have been preserved by Luke, who makes it follow the parable of the Foolish Rich Man (xii. 16–21). The disciples and those who are preparing themselves for the coming Kingdom must not only not 'serve' riches, but they must not have any care or concern for the ordinary material needs of life. Thus 25–34 go beyond 24. They seem to say not merely that one is not to be *anxious* as to the earning of one's bread and clothing, but that one is not even to *attempt* to earn them. 'To say that we are not freed from the *obligation* to work, but that we must trust to God for the *result* is to weaken the thought of the text in order to adapt it to the actual conditions of life' (*E. S.* I. p. 617).

One has to remember that if Jesus said all these words, he said them believing that the great crisis of the world's history was at hand. He thought that the world was soon coming to an end. If one reads Luke xii. in its entirety, one sees this clearly. If the world was coming to an end, why labour to get worldly goods? God would provide for His elect till the great crisis came. We who do not live under this belief can observe and value, at most, the spirit of the counsel here given. As M. Loisy says:

'Jesus recommends to those who have devoted themselves to the service of the Gospel this absolute trust in Providence. But it is impossible to see in this counsel a rule which can be applied, without discrimination or qualification, to all men and all times' (*ib.* p. 619).

Many commentators, both ancient and modern, suppose that Jesus distinguishes between 'providing' and 'worrying.' 'Labor exercendus est, sollicitudo tollenda,' says Jerome. But this is a doubtful distinction. Doubtless too, over and above the coming crisis, Jesus had a dislike to the passion for acquisition. Man can live on little in the East. The disciples could easily obtain all they wanted from admirers and sympathisers.

Without this paragraph, and others like it, should we have had St. Francis of Assisi? But we should, perhaps, on the other hand, have also been spared certain evils.

25. The best MSS. omit R.V.'s 'or what ye shall drink.' 'Therefore.' Luke, with another connection, also has this 'therefore.' So it must have been in the source, and perhaps referred to some sentence such as 'God will look after you.' In Matthew it must mean: anxiety about material things would be a service of Mammon. Therefore be not anxious.

'Life.' The argument is that our lives and even our bodies, which God has given us, are more valuable than food and clothing; if, then, God has freely given us what is more valuable, He will freely add what is less valuable.

26. The argument seems unsatisfactory. For (*a*) birds do labour for their sustenance and their nests; and (*b*) many of them are often *not* provided for, but die of want and hunger. But the idea that God provides for animals is found both in the Old Testament (*e.g.* Psalm ciii.) and in the Talmud. Jesus forgot the other side of his picture or shut his eyes to it.

27. The commentators are divided as to the meaning. If ἡλικία means 'stature,' 'one cubit' seems a too large addition; if it means 'age,' to add a 'cubit,' instead of an hour or day, seems an odd expression. Nevertheless the second seems the better *meaning*. What is the use of all your anxiety? You cannot add an hour to your life by anxiety. All your cares cannot lengthen it when your allotted time has passed. Our 'times are in His hand.' He knows better than we. Let us not worry.

Prof. Box and Dr. McNeile prefer the other explanation. 'The parallelism of the verses suggests that this verse should correspond to 25 *b*, as verse 26 does to 25 *a*; consequently, it must refer to the bodily frame, and 'stature' is the meaning. To add a cubit to the stature would be a marvellous thing, impossible to man, but possible to God. Therefore (verse 28 should be taken in conjunction with verse 27) "Why be anxious about the lesser thing, raiment?"' (Box).

28–30. These famous and exquisite verses are also more convincing than the argument from the birds.

32. It seems plainly indicated here that 'God will provide' without human labour.

And yet Jesus cannot have supposed that clothing, for instance, would be supernaturally produced. There must be a grain of salt to be taken with all these maxims. The great point is the anxiety, making material acquisition the object of life's effort, the end, and not the means, of life.

As to the Gentiles, is the idea that the heathen are covetous, or that in their *prayers* they ask only for material things?

33. The word 'first' is wanting in Luke. But it may be original for all that. It does not mean that in the second place they *are* to search (*i.e.* labour) for food and clothing, but 'first' is here equivalent to 'only.'

'Righteousness' is added by Matthew to the 'kingdom,' *cp.* v. 6. Αὐτοῦ (his) must be taken with both the substantives, and is rather awkward. 'His Righteousness' means the righteousness which is acceptable to Him, the righteousness which in God's eyes is righteousness; or, more briefly, it is being accounted righteous by God at the Judgment. Another form of the saying preserved by some Church Fathers is striking. 'Seek (or ask) for the great things, and the small things will be added to you; seek the heavenly things, and the earthly things will be added to you.'

The saying in this verse is one of those striking utterances in the Gospels which are capable of much development as regards their signification. One hardly knows whether to call them great in themselves, or great just because they are capable of this development. Apparently the saying meant originally: 'Seek, above all things, to qualify to enter into the Kingdom, to be "saved" at the Judgment: if you bend your mind to that, you need not worry about food and drink and clothing. They shall be given to you; you will not be unsuccessful in their attainment.' But much more than this can be read into the verse; it can be used for much wider meanings. In all things let righteousness come first, expediency second. Or, again; it is not system which will save the world; it is neither individualism nor socialism; states can only be saved by righteousness, or by the will to righteousness, or by the changed heart of the men and women who compose them. And so on.

34. Not in Luke. The verse is clearly an addition, and not quite on the same lines as what precedes. 'Though μὴ μεριμνήσετε forms a link with the preceding verses, the thought is different;

the trust in God, enjoined in *vv.* 25–33, involves a happy confidence that no day shall have its evil, because He will provide. The present saying, if a genuine utterance of Jesus, must have belonged to a different context' (McNeile). The verse has several Rabbinic parallels. It relates not to the satisfaction of material wants, but to 'the difficulties of every kind which are met with in life, and about which one must not preoccupy oneself till they actually occur' (Loisy). If a man does not worry himself about the possible evils of the morrow, he will, so it seems implied, be better able to grapple with and disperse the evils of to-day.

The words ἡ αὔριον μεριμνήσει αὑτῆς are not without difficulty in construction and sense. I have adopted Moffat's rendering, which supposes a sort of verbal pun. The *next* day can be allowed to look after itself. But it may be also implied that 'to-morrow will be anxious for itself,' *i.e.* each day will have its own special trouble. But if we limit ourselves to to-day's trouble, we shall be able to overcome it, and so with each day's trouble as it arises. 'Evil' is 'here material evil or calamity; elsewhere in the New Testament it always connotes moral evil' (Box).

J. Weiss has a fine paragraph about this section on 'worry' (μέριμνα).

'Into our modern world with its hurry and its striving, with its desperate struggle for existence, this song about Freedom from Care (*Sorglosigkeit*) comes ringing like a strain from the lost paradise. Probably none of us can heartily accept the sentiment without secret objections, and many a man, who lives a life of need and struggle, will bitterly reject it as not meant for him. Here again it is made clear how impossible it is to apply without modification to later times, other circumstances, and other men, a view of life which was formed under certain definite historical conditions, and was, moreover, an extremely individual view. To the Galilæan wanderer, whose slight needs were supplied by the hands of friends, and who in a rich and fertile country ever found God's table spread for him, life was easier than to the modern townsman who must put forth all his strength to gain a scanty reward. Jesus and his followers had broken the bridges behind them in the convinced consciousness of a near new world, where everything would be different and everything would be perfect; he was dominated by no care for wife and child, and for him there was no dark future to look forward to with anxiety. How different is the position of the man to-day! He cannot take the birds of heaven as his model. That is self-evident. But has Jesus's word therefore no message for us? Once again let us remind ourselves that "to be anxious" (*sorgen*) is not the same as "work and pray." The latter is not affected by Jesus's words. "Not to be anxious" means to have a free heart, to be courageous and active,

to accept our life every day fresh from God's hand and to trust in Him. But such composure of mind is not only not a hindrance, but is even an inexhaustible source of strength for a successful struggle for existence. And how shall we attain such freedom from anxiety? Jesus says to us, "Fill your soul with a great purpose, endeavour after the Kingdom of God, battle for the victory of good in the world, strive after personal perfection, and then what has hitherto oppressed you will appear to you petty and insignificant."'

What is remarkable about the sayings of the Gospels is that they are often applicable to wholly alien conditions, and true even without that belief in the end of the world which underlies so many of them—no surer mark of their genius and first-classness. The same may be said of much in the Prophets and the Psalms.

[There is much which is valuable and important as regards Chapters v. and vi. of the Sermon on the Mount in G. Kittel's pamphlet, *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum*, 1926, pp. 71–140. How far Kittel's views as to the ultimate difference between Judaism and Christianity, and as to the real originality in the teaching of Jesus, may be sound, is an arguable question, but they are undoubtedly challenging and arresting.]

CHAPTER VII

1–5. Concerning Hasty Judgments and Condemnations of our Neighbour

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 37–42)

2 'Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment
ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it
3 shall be measured to you. And why lookest thou at the splinter
that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is
4 in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me
pull out the splinter out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in
5 thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first pull the beam out of thine
own eye; and then wilt thou see clearly to pull the splinter out of
thy brother's eye.

In Luke's Sermon on the Plain the present passage follows immediately the end of Matthew's Chapter v. Such parallels as there are in Luke to Matthew's Chapter vi. are in other Lucan chapters and connections. Hence it is argued that the Sermon in Q went straight on from the end of Matt. v. to Matt. vii. 1.

The section 1-5 does not seem to have anything to do with public justice, but only with judging and condemning in private life. Here, too, as in forgiveness, our forbearance or harshness towards others on earth is to determine, or to go towards determining, the judgment passed upon ourselves by God.

1, 2. There is an awkwardness here unless we translate the first two instances of the verb κρίνειν by 'condemn,' and only the second two by 'judge.' For verse 1 seems to condemn 'judging' altogether, while verse 2 appears to ask for gentle or favourable judgments. If we do not condemn others, God may not condemn us. The reference in both verses is to God's judgment. Jesus does not condemn *all* kinds of tit for tat, and here is a case in which he says that God himself will act upon that principle (*cp.* Mark iv. 24). Marriott thinks that I am wrong. Jesus does not mean 'that God will act towards us in the spirit of the *lex talionis*,

as Montefiore thinks, but rather that our attitude towards our fellows is an indication of our own state of heart. A harshly critical temper in regard to others' faults is inconsistent with true self-knowledge, and so with genuine penitence and humility. It thus betokens a wrong relation to God, and the absence of those fundamental dispositions which are essential, according to the teaching of the N.T., to man's appropriation of His mercy and forgiveness' (p. 259). This interpretation seems to me somewhat too ingenious. I cannot help thinking that Jesus meant what he said, and what all his hearers would have supposed that he did mean. It was a regular Rabbinic teaching that God would act mercifully to you, if you acted mercifully towards your fellows. This teaching may be good or poor, but if Jesus had meant something much more elaborate and considerably different, would he not have made his meaning more clear and definite? Would he deliberately have used words in exact correspondence with the ordinary Jewish teaching of his age?

3. Worst of all is it to condemn a man for the fault which we also possess. Too many of us refuse to recognize our own faults, or to believe that we possess them. There are many close Rabbinic parallels for the ideas, and even for the wording, of this section, which are given in S.-B. and in the commentaries. It may be noted that it is possible that the usual and conventional interpretation of the saying may not be the true one. See Fiebig's pleasant and useful little brochure, *Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien* (1925), pp. 23–26.

5. 'Hypocrite.' The zeal for improvement, or the eagerness to correct, which does not turn first to the improvement and correction of self, is mere pleasure in finding fault.

6. Pearls before Swine

(Matthew only)

6 'Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.'

An obscure and isolated saying. 'The connexion in thought intended by the editor may have been: "I have said, *Judge not*; but discrimination must be exercised by the disciple, otherwise mistakes will be made"' (Box). Similarly McNeile.

'Holy' is no proper parallel to 'pearls.' Hence the idea that 'holy' is a mistranslation of an original Aramaic word *kadasha*, which means 'ear-ring.' Who are the dogs and the swine? Are they the heathen? In that case the meaning is, 'Do not preach the Good Tidings to the heathen' (*cp.* x. 5). Others suppose that the verse means that the disciples are not to impart spiritual truths to those who cannot appreciate them. Some people are bound to misunderstand you. It is idle and useless to speak with them, or to attempt to convert them. Leave them alone. So Marriott. 'Sacred and religious teaching was not to be delivered to persons morally and spiritually unable to appreciate it, lest they should treat it in an irreverent and profane manner, and also be roused to hostility against those who had delivered it to them.' This view seems a little doubtful. If the reference is to the heathen, the authenticity of the verse has been hotly denied. Thus Dr. Martineau says: 'That such an ebullition of scorn and insult should proceed from him who extolled in the alien "a faith which he had not found, no, not in Israel," and who selected a Samaritan as the ideal expounder of the second great commandment, is wholly incredible. The language has its parallel, and doubtless the indication of its date, in the warnings to the Churches of Asia (particularly that of Thyatira) contained in the prologue to the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 18 *seq.*), guarding them against forms of antinomian corruption which had come upon the Church of the second century from the growth of Gnostic philosophy and the misuse of Pauline theology. The verse, wholly unconnected with its context, is doubtless one of the latest interpolations of the most mixed of all the Gospels, and expresses the feeling of passionate disgust which the encroachment of heathen licence upon the purity of the Church awakened in its true pastors and people' (*The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 5th edition, p. 658).

Similarly Dr. Rashdall: 'To see in these words a prohibition to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom to Gentiles would be to attribute to our Lord an attitude unsupported by anything else which He ever said or did. It is certain that not even the most Jewish of the Evangelists would have inserted it in his Gospel if he had understood it in this sense. It is not easy to find a meaning for the saying which is in harmony with the general teaching of our Lord on the assumption of its genuineness. It is far more probably an "ecclesiastical addition." In the Didache it is interpreted to mean "Do not admit the unbaptized to the Eucharist." And something not quite so definite but in the same spirit may well have been the meaning which it bore for the Judæo-Christian consciousness' (*Conscience and Christ*, pp. 177, 178). This is also the view of M. Loisy, who observes: 'The Didache says that

Jesus, in forbidding his disciples to give the holy thing to the dogs, meant to interdict the Eucharist to those who were not baptized. This idea, which cannot be found in the teaching of the Saviour, is nevertheless that which, if it be a little extended, is best suited to the text. It is implied that the disciples are the possessors of a holy thing, the distribution of which they regulate, and which must not be given to everybody; they have pearls which must not be brought out at the wrong time before coarse and brutal men. Just as little as this state of things agrees with the Gospel teaching given by Jesus, just as closely does it correspond to the way in which the Christian community regarded the Eucharistic assemblies. Is it not probable that it was in these communities that the saying was framed, "the holy thing is not for the dogs," perhaps in imitation of the words addressed by the Saviour to the Canaanitish woman, and that the Evangelist has merely picked up a sentence which was already attributed to Christ? In any case, he has in view some kind of Christian mystery, which is not the simple doctrine of the Gospel, and it is this mystery of Christian worship the knowledge and still more the reality of which he forbids to be given to the heathen. He presents as a rule of conduct that which the Didache makes a principle of the law of worship' (*E. S.* I. p. 626).

7–11. Of Prayer

(*Cp.* Luke xi. 9–13)

7 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock,
8 and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asks, receives; and he that seeks, finds; and to him that knocks, it
9 shall be opened. Or what man is there among you who, if his
10 son ask him for bread, will give him a stone? Or if he ask him
11 for a fish, will give him a serpent? If then ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

Further loosely added exhortations, this time touching once more upon the subject of prayer. The original place and connection may be preserved in Luke.

Doubtless Jesus assigned to prayer a higher power than we can assign it to-day. M. Loisy promptly brushes aside the quibble that while Jesus says that every honest prayer ('ask, seek, knock,'

are all metaphors for prayer) will be *heard*, he does not imply that God will grant the realization of every particular request. In the full magnificence and simplicity of his faith, Jesus declares that every prayer will be answered. The case of a man asking for follies or absurdities or evil is not considered or thought of. Jesus therefore, makes no restrictions; he does not wish one to add: 'It is understood, of course, that you ask for what is good for you.' Such a proviso would upset his whole theory, for whatever prayer is unanswered and unfulfilled can be regarded as a prayer the fulfilment of which would not have been 'good' for the man who prayed. 'Faith knows nothing of the scruples of theology' (*E. S.* I. p. 631). Or, rather, the faith of Jesus knew them not. One can, let us hope, have faith, and yet not have this wholesale belief in the efficacy of unrestricted prayer.

The passage, says J. Weiss, is another illustration of the optimism of Jesus. He judges the world by himself and from his own experiences. He must have known good people, and have had happy experiences of the goodness of his heavenly Father and also of his earthly father. For actual experiences of human asking and giving are the basis of the picture which supplies the key for the interpretation of the general order of the world.

11. Even good men are wicked as compared with God.

12. The Golden Rule

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 31)

'All then that ye would that men should do to you, so do ye also unto them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.

12. This maxim (the so-called Golden Rule) seems in a good connection in Luke. Some think that Matthew has put it here 'for the purpose of forming a general conclusion to the sermon proper, what follows being in the nature of an epilogue.' 'This is the Law and the Prophets' is wanting in Luke, and may be an addition of Matthew's. It is a parallel to Hillel's words: 'This is the whole Law.' In the negative form the Rule is found in Tobit iv. 15, and in the famous saying of Hillel. Almost all the Christian commentators declare with one accord that the positive form (for which there is no exact Jewish or classical parallel, so that it would seem original to Jesus) is 'of course immeasurably superior to the negative form.' The truth is, as Dr. Abrahams has shown in his essay on the 'Greatest Command,' that no such 'immeasurable superiority' exists; each form has its value (*Studies*, I. pp. 21–25). I should like to quote the whole of the passage; it is such a model

of impartiality, rebuking alike the Christian with his 'immeasurable superiority' and the Jew who wishes to show that the negative form is the same as, or better than, the positive form. I may cite a small piece: 'the negative form is the more fundamental of the two, though the positive form is the fuller expression of practical morality. Hillel was asked to summarize the Torah, and he used that form of the Golden Rule from which the Golden Rule itself is a deduction. The axiomatic truth on which the moral life of *society* is based is the right of the unimpeded use of the individual's powers, the peaceful enjoyment of the fruit of his labours, in short, the claim of each to be free from his fellow-man's injury. When we remember how great is our power of evil, how relatively small our power for good, how in Sir Thomas Browne's words, "we are beholden to every man we meet that he doth not kill us," how "the evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones," it is at least a tenable theory that the negative Rule goes deeper into the heart of the problem. "Do as you would be done by" is less fundamental than Hillel's maxim, just as it is less full than the Levitical law of neighbourly love, for love is greater than doing. This criticism does not dispute, however, that the Gospel form is a splendid working principle which has wrought incalculable good to humanity. The persistence, however, of the negative after the pronouncement of the positive form, itself argues that the former is more basic.' It is rather amusing to compare Heinrici and Bultmann about the Golden Rule in its positive form. Says the former, in his usual glorifying and hyperbolic manner when a saying of Jesus is in question, 'All the noblest and highest teachings which lead to the acquisition of a pure heart and to the awakening of genuine love for man are contained in it (*i.e.* in the "maxim" of the Golden Rule)' (p. 88). Says the cold and sceptical Bultmann: 'It is, indeed, a self-deception to imagine that the positive formulation of the Rule is characteristic of Jesus in contradistinction to the negative form pronounced by the Rabbis: the positive form is merely accidental, for the saying in either form only embodies the morality of a naïve egotism' (p. 62).

13, 14. The Narrow Gate

(*Cp.* Luke xiii. 23, 24)

13 'Enter through the strait gate: for wide [is the gate] and broad
is the way that leads to destruction, and many there are who enter
14 in thereby. For narrow [is the gate], and strait the way, which leads
unto life, and few there are that find it.

The Sermon, as Matthew arranged it, closes with some reflections on the difficulties and tests of goodness and salvation.

The horrible doctrine that many go to 'destruction' and few to 'life eternal' was not invented by Jesus, but it seems to have been accepted by him. One wonders how any man could hold it, and yet believe in a loving God; but the human mind is capable of the oddest inconsistencies. Harnack is anxious to keep this paragraph for Jesus with the rest of the Q passages that are common to Luke and Matthew. If I were as concerned as he is to claim for Jesus a unique position in the sphere of religions, I should like to rid him of the responsibility of such painful utterances as these.

Two metaphors seem combined. The first is that of the popular 'Two Ways,' which was common at that date in Jewish preaching. (*Cp.* for the phrase Jeremiah xxi. 8.) The second metaphor of the narrow gate or road is independent. (*Cp.* 4 Ezra vii. 12, 13.) One good MS. and some versions omit the second and third mention of the 'gate.' (*Cp.* R.V. M.) And Luke speaks of the 'door' and not of a 'gate.' Streeter thinks that Luke's version comes from Q, while Matthew has conflated Q's version with one from M, which only spoke of the two ways (p. 283). Two thoughts seem combined. The first is that the way of life, the way which leads to 'life eternal,' is hard, but that man can and ought to try to find it and walk along it. The choice of ways is free and his own. This was the older Jewish view. Through repentance and righteousness man can enter into life eternal. (*Cp.* Deut. xxx. 19.) The second thought is that the way of life is narrow, because few *are* to find it, because many are predestined to 'eternal death,' a few only to eternal life. This later, gloomier, pessimistic, and irreligious view is prominent in the apocalyptic Fourth Book of Ezra. The Evangelist, more or less consciously, seems in this passage to allude to the second view as well as to the first. The metaphor of the narrow gate is assumed to be familiar, and it probably was.

The odious doctrine of the many who will be 'lost' and of the few who will be 'saved' is neither specifically Jewish nor Christian. It is common to both. It appears to have been pretty widely held in the first century. How far did the Church teach that Hell was more populous than Heaven? Or how far did the Synagogue teach it? And which gave up the horrid doctrine earlier? One thing is clear: neither can cast stones at the other. But Jesus never seems to have said a word of protest against Gehenna, and in spite of all the efforts of modern theologians to show that he never taught, and did not believe, that any human soul would not eventually be saved, it seems very dubious whether he reached the modern position which would indeed mark him out beyond all the teachers of his

age. A word against Hell would have been worth twenty Golden Rules, good as the Golden Rule undoubtedly is.

We must not, if we are true to the canons of history and criticism, deal with this matter in a spirit of partiality. Since (*a*) everybody then believed in hell, and (*b*) there is much definite teaching about hell on the usual lines in the sayings ascribed to Jesus, we cannot suppose that he held views about hell unlike the ordinary views, *unless* definite statements to that effect can be produced. But such definite statements are lacking. Nor can the trouble be got over by arguments as to αἰώνιος not meaning 'everlasting.' There is no reason to make us suppose that Jesus, any more than any other Rabbi of his age, believed that an unrepentant unbeliever, a sinner, having got into hell, ever got out again. At the best we *may*, perhaps, suppose that he believed in annihilation, for some other Rabbis did believe in that. Nor can we get over the trouble by modern arguments to the effect that the consequences of human freedom are inevitable, that if a man chooses on earth to cut himself off from God, if he chooses to make his will wicked and defiant unto the end, if he chooses to say, 'Evil, thou art my good,' then he is unsaveable and unhelpable and unredeemable. All such modern shifts and evasions do not help in the least degree. Jesus was not a modernist or a philosopher. God had absolute power to redeem and save whether from hell or any other evil. If a sinner is left in hell or is annihilated, it is because God chooses, *i.e.* considers that it is just and right, that he should be so left or so annihilated. God had much less to do then than He has now. The world was ever so much smaller. There were, indeed, only the few inhabitants of one single planet who had to be looked after (except, perhaps, some rebellious angels and demons). Jesus would never have dreamed of supposing that God was only responsible for the initial gift of freedom, and that afterwards He had nothing to do with what happened to the human soul, that it was all man's doing and not His. God was Father: God was also Judge. It is He who casts into hell; it is He who has arranged that from hell there is no redemption. It is true that He only says, 'Depart into the fire,' to the unrepentant unbeliever and sinner, but it is not the sinner who *keeps* himself in hell, it is God who keeps him there; it is God who has arranged that in hell there is no repentance or no effective result of repentance. Now if any Christian friend says to me, 'But if this be the doctrine of Jesus, is it not quite as much, or even more, the doctrine of the Talmud and of the Rabbis?', I reply at once, 'Yes, of course it is. But the difference is this, that I am in no wise concerned to prove or allege that the teaching of the Talmud or the Rabbis was perfect teaching, whereas you are always declaring, and dinning into my ears, that

the teaching of Jesus is perfect, immaculate, and incapable of improvement or amendment in any point whatever. And that is why I find my position as a liberal Jew so eminently comfortable and satisfactory. I am free. I can praise Jesus and the Rabbis when they deserve praise. I can criticize them when they deserve criticism. I can see both their strength and their weaknesses; where Jesus is a child of his age is no more trouble for me to understand than it is for you and me to see where the Rabbis are the children of theirs.'

15–20. The False Prophets, and how to know them

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 43–45)

15 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing,
15 but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. Ye will know them by
their fruits. Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from
16 thistles? So every good tree brings forth good fruit; but a
18 rotten tree brings forth bad fruit. A good tree cannot bring
forth evil fruit, neither can a rotten tree bring forth good fruit.
19 Every tree that brings not forth good fruit is cut down, and cast
20 into the fire. So then by their fruits ye will know them.

15. This warning against false prophets is wanting in Luke. Such people are predicted in xxiv. 11, 24. Here they already exist. Probably they are heretical, immoral, or unrecognized Christian teachers, and the sentence is later than Jesus.

16. In Luke the words have a more general signification. Here they are applied to the wicked or to heretical teachers. For the metaphors, *cp.* Psalms i. 3, Jeremiah xvii. 8.

19. This verse is taken from iii. 10. It means here that the false prophets are to be cast into hell. What was originally a comparison or parable is here by Matthew turned into an allegory. In Luke there is no parallel to this verse.

21–23. The Good Life the only true Mark of the True Disciple

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 46, xiii. 26, 27)

21 'Not every one that says unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into
the kingdom of heaven; but he that does the will of my Father

22 who is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord,
have we not prophesied through thy name? and through thy name
have we not cast out demons? and through thy name have we not
23 done many miracles? And then I will declare unto them, I never
knew you: depart from me, ye workers of lawlessness.

The excellent doctrine here preached was, alas, not maintained by the Church, for whom correct doctrine became more important than good works. The passage is probably later than Jesus, but characteristically Jewish and Rabbinic. The superb passage xxv. 34 *seq.* is its proper complement. Originally κύριε (Lord) may not have meant more than 'master' (*marana*), but in this connection it has a more theological signification.

The people referred to here may be (not disciples as in Luke, but) the same people as in 15–20. It is noteworthy that it is not denied that these men may have expelled demons and wrought miracles. But they have not fulfilled the *ethical* commands of Jesus. Just in the same way as Jesus here repudiates the miraculous as a test of discipleship, so would the Rabbis have repudiated it as an authorization to violate the Law. No amount of demon-curing could have made them accept Jesus as a divinely commissioned teacher, if his teaching ran counter to a Law which, according to the first dogma of their faith, was, like the God who gave it, perfect, immutable, and divine.

21. For the second part of the verse, *cp.* Mark iii. 35. As the first part of the verse occurs also in Luke, the fact emerges that Jesus is already called 'Lord' in the common source, which here is probably Q. In Mark he is only so called by the heathen woman, vii. 28. Hence Wellhausen would make an inference for the relative date of Q. Moreover, while Jesus lived, there were no people who had an interest in giving themselves out as his disciples. But it may be contended that κύριος, 'Lord,' as applied to Jesus during his ministry, had the same meaning as 'Master' and that it is in this sense that it is used by Q. Matthew will have given to it a larger meaning. Thus 21 may be old and genuine; while the next two verses may reflect a later age.

22. 'On that day,' *i.e.* the Day of Judgment. Here Jesus speaks openly as the Messiah and the Judge.

23. ἀνομία. The term 'lawlessness' is characteristic of the strain or strand in Matthew which we have already noted in v. 18, 19. But it is taken over from the Greek version of Psalm vi. 8 (Heb. 9),

from which the words 'Depart from me, ye workers of lawlessness,' are quoted. Luke has ἀδικία, wickedness. The complicated question of the relation between Luke and Matthew is well illustrated by these verses. Matt. vii. 21 corresponds with Luke vi. 46. Scholars are agreed that here Matthew preserves an older form of the same source, whether this be Q or no. Matt. vii. 22, 23 corresponds with Luke xiii. 25–27. Here Luke seems more original and older than Matthew, though a common source lies behind both.

24–27. The House on the Rock

(*Cp.* Luke vi. 47–49)

'Whoever then hears these words of mine, and does them, shall be likened unto a wise man, who built his house upon the rock: and the rain fell, and the streams came, and the winds blew and beat against that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon the rock. And every one that hears these words of mine, and does them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand: and the rain fell, and the streams came, and the winds blew and struck against that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.'

The essential necessity of 'works' is once more and finally urged by a sort of half metaphor, half parable. To hear and not to do shows that a man has only half heard. He is no true disciple whose faith does not issue in works. He *has* no *true* faith whose faith is not shown in his life. A man who 'hears' and does not 'do' is as foolish, and will come to as bad an end, as he who builds his house upon the sand. He who hears and does shows a character as wise and firm as the man whose house is built upon a rock. No storm can move him. He survives in the Judgment, and enters into the Kingdom of Future Felicity. That is the meaning. The practical thought ('not learning, but doing, is the chief thing') is thoroughly Jewish and Rabbinic.

If we regard the Sermon on the Mount as the charter of the 'Christianity' of Jesus, it is immensely striking how completely the Christological element is lacking. The new Law contains no article of faith concerning the person of its giver. It is silent about his Messiahship. There is no word about his divinity. We can seek to live in the spirit of the Sermon, and yet, like every Jew from Jesus's day to this, refuse to acknowledge any Man as our religious 'Lord.'

28, 29. The Impression produced by the Teaching of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark i. 22 ; Luke iv. 32)

28 And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these words, the
29 people were amazed at his teaching : for he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes.

28, 29. The ὄχλοι reappear here, though the Sermon is really addressed to the disciples only. *Cp.* v. 1. The substance of these verses is found in, and is taken from, Mark i. 22. There is no reason for thinking that we have not here an authentic record of the impression which the teaching of Jesus made upon many of those who heard it. Though there are many parallels in his teaching with that of Hillel and other Rabbis, his teaching is more instinct with power and genius than theirs. It is more inspired. It is grander. It is more prophetic. Moreover, it seems to claim ' authority,' just as the prophets claimed it, because they were convinced that their words were from God. Such a consciousness of inspiration Jesus also must have possessed.

Looking back over the whole Sermon, one feels that one may not unjustly regard it as a meeting-ground and bond of union between Christian and Jew. For if the Sermon on the Mount be the charter of Christianity, if it contains the main principles of the religion of Jesus, it also contains nothing which is essentially antagonistic to Judaism. For most of its utterances there are abundant parallels in the Rabbinic literature. With tact and genius it picks out and combines and carries forward. The highest spirit of the Old Law is in harmony with the purest statement of the New.

How far is the religious and moral teaching of the Sermon on the Mount an improvement upon the teaching of the Old Testament ? It is very common in books of Christian theology to speak of the imperfect or transitional or preparatory morality and religion of the Old Testament as compared with the perfect, permanent, or absolute morality and religion of the Gospel and the Sermon on the Mount. The liberal Jew is at no pains to defend every moral and religious statement in the Old Testament. He has not to try to turn black into white at all hazards and by every means. He recognizes that there are many passages in the Old Testament which teach an imperfect morality and an imperfect religion. But, on the other hand, these passages are almost invariably corrected by other passages which teach a morality and a religion that cannot be bettered or surpassed. Again, Judaism has developed on its own

lines. Some of the 'imperfections' in the Old Testament are corrected in Rabbinic, mediæval, and modern Jewish literature, quite independently of the Gospels.

As regards the moral and religious teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, the liberal Jew can by no means subscribe to every word of it, or regard it as perfect and permanent. Passages such as v. 22 and vii. 14 are objectionable; they are as 'imperfect and transitional' as many a passage in the Old Testament. Passages such as v. 20, 34, 38–42, need qualification and restriction. The theology of a passage such as vii. 7 is open to considerable question. We must bring our critical judgment to bear upon the Sermon on the Mount as we must bring it to bear upon the Pentateuch. In some respects we have advanced beyond both.

To the Christian whose knowledge of Jewish literature and tradition ends with the Old Testament, passages such as v. 28, vi. 4, or vii. 5 must seem a splendid addition or 'perfection.' They seem less so to many Jews, to whom such teachings are already familiar. Yet to all men, whether Jew or Christian, the value of so much noble teaching, tersely and beautifully put and easily accessible, cannot be gainsaid.

The purely original portions of the Sermon on the Mount—*i.e.* those which do not harmonize with, or are not easily paralleled by, Rabbinic teaching and passages—are not very numerous. They are mainly: v. 10–12, 32, 38–48, vi. 6, 18, 33. But though not very numerous, they are of immense importance and significance, and mostly of a high greatness and nobility. And yet it may perhaps be urged that the originality and greatness of the Sermon do not lie in any particular part of it. They lie in the whole. How much of it may go back to Jesus must be always uncertain. That the Sermon has grown from smaller groups and separate sayings is most probable. But it remains for all time a religious document of great nobility, significance, and power.

[F. Perles, *Z. N. W.*, 1926, p. 163, says that the Aramaic original of vii. 6 was misunderstood. The verse should read: 'Do not hang ear-rings on dogs, or put your pearls on the snouts of swine.' *Cp.* Proverbs xi. 22.]

CHAPTER VIII

1–4. Healing of a Leper

(*Cp.* Mark i. 40–45 ; Luke v. 12–16)

1 When he came down from the mountain, great crowds followed
2 him. And, behold, a leper came up and did him reverence, saying,
3 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' And Jesus stretched out his hand, and touched him, saying, 'I will ; be thou
4 clean.' And immediately his leprosy was cleansed. And Jesus said unto him, 'See thou tell no man ; but go, show thyself to the priest, and offer the sacrifice that Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.'

Matthew, having now given a summary of the Master's teaching, proceeds to give examples of his wonderful deeds. Ten miracles are enumerated, one after the other (viii. 1–ix. 34).

The story is probably taken from Mark, but the more human touches are omitted. On the other hand, the leper 'worships' Jesus in Matthew, not in Mark.

The order not to mention the healing seems meaningless in Matthew, for the whole affair takes place in public. Matthew omits the healing of the demoniac in the Synagogue in Mark i. 23–28. He seems, as Mr. Allen says, to have disliked the story. The leper story 'becomes the first miracle. The fact that this incident illustrates Christ's attitude towards legal ceremonies may have co-operated in influencing the editor to place it immediately after the Sermon on the Mount' (Allen).

5–13. The Centurion at Capernaum

(*Cp.* Luke vii. 1–10, xiii. 28–30)

5 And when Jesus entered into Capernaum, there came unto
6 him a centurion, beseeching him, and saying, 'Lord, my boy lies

at home paralysed, in grievous torment.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Am I to come and heal him?' The centurion answered and said, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof: but only speak the word, and my boy will be healed. For I too am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go, and he goes; and to another, Come, and he comes; and to my servant, Do this, and he does it.'

When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, 'Verily I say unto you, Not even in Israel have I found so great faith. And I say unto you, Many will come from the east and west, and will sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom will depart into the outer darkness: there will be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.' And Jesus said unto the centurion, 'Go; as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.' And his boy was healed at that hour.

This story is not found in Mark. Perhaps Matthew inserted it in this place to indicate (immediately after the cure of a Jew) how the Gentile world also was within the range of Jesus's care and power. The story symbolizes the call of the Gentiles, and this is plainly indicated by the insertion of 11 and 12. It is one of the few stories which seem to have been included in Q.

The soldier is a heathen, not necessarily a Roman, in the service of Herod Antipas. παῖς (6) may be either servant or son. The latter seems more probable. The story would seem to be a parallel to, or even a variant of, the story of the Syro-Phœnician woman. In each case the parent asks Jesus to help a child; in each his objections are cleverly removed; in each the child is cured in the absence of the healer. We may add that in each case the substratum of history is doubtful. That Jesus also helped heathen sufferers was illustrated by concrete examples. (Bultmann, p. 20.)

7. The interrogative form makes the better sense, and better justifies the reply in 8. It is also more parallel with the hesitation of Jesus in Mark vii. 27.

8. Jesus was under no authority. Yet even the centurion, who was under the authority of his superior officers, receives obedience, and can issue orders, to those under him: much more will the order of Jesus bring obedience: that is, here, success.

11, 12. A separate Logion, used by Luke in another connection

(xiii. 28–29). It is inserted by Matthew here because this is the first occasion on which a heathen believes in Jesus. The Messianic Kingdom under the figure of a meal is common and Rabbinic. The words are here inappropriate because Jesus had so far found nothing but faith in Israel. The ' conflicts ' were yet to come. The verses may, or may not, be authentic. In Matthew's more original form it is not said that all the heathen will be converted ; only ' many.' This does not go beyond some O.T. predictions. 12 is more difficult than 11, but perhaps it does not mean that all the Jews will be excluded ; it may mean that only the bad Jews (*i.e.* the antagonists of Jesus) will be excluded. Or, if not, the meaning must be that the Jews are the sons of the Kingdom in the sense that they had been chosen to inherit and possess it, but though the meal was originally prepared for them, they are to be excluded, and the guests are to be recruited from the big Gentile world.

These philo-Gentile sayings are wanting in Mark : in Matthew they are oddly combined with wholly opposite and contradictory utterances. The metaphors, some explain, must not be regarded as a dogmatic representation of hell. Perhaps not, but it is surely implied that those who are cast out will never be accepted. For the origin of the phrase, ' weeping and gnashing of teeth,' see Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments*, p. 153. It is of Mandaean or Persian *provenance.*

The deductions to be drawn from the varying passages in Matthew —some hostile to heathen and Samaritan, and keen upon the Law and its observance, others of just opposite tendency—are disputed. Some hold that Matthew represents the point of view of the members of the Jerusalem Christian Church. They are the true ' Jews ' ; they sacrifice and observe the Sabbath ; they limit their missionary activity to Jews. Contradictions to this view are either apparent or interpolations. Some, on the other hand, regard Matthew's ' legal ' and ' Judaistic ' utterances as due to his sources ; his wider outlook is his own. The ' narrower ' sayings—*e.g.* v. 17–19 —he himself would not have interpreted narrowly, any more than the Catholic Church after him has so interpreted them. The ' Law ' is for him the moral law. Matthew is neither ' Pauline ' nor anti-Pauline, but he represents a later harmony (*cp.* Streeter, p. 514). How far the ' legal ' and ' narrower ' sentences go back to Jesus, and what, if any do, he meant by them, are quite different questions.

13. ' In that hour.' Precisely the same miraculous ' Wirkung aus der Ferne ' is attributed to R. Chanina b. Dosa. *Cp.* the story in Berachoth 34 b (text with translation is given in Fiebig, *Erzählungstil*, pp. 105, 106).

14–17. Peter's Mother-in-Law

(*Cp.* Mark i. 29–34 ; Luke iv. 38–41)

And Jesus came into the house of Peter, and he saw his wife's mother lying in bed with a fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her : and she arose, and waited on him.

And when evening had come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with demons : and he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all that were sick : that what was spoken by Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, saying, ' Himself he took our sicknesses, and bore our diseases.'

Matthew now inserts the cure of Peter's mother-in-law as the second miracle wrought at Capernaum. He has to make sundry changes in the narrative on account of the change of place and time. So, too, as regards the healings after sunset. The point of the story in Mark i. 32–34 is spoiled in Matthew. In Mark, the cause of the crowd in the evening is that it was Saturday. When the sun set, the sick people were brought. Note that the healing by a mere ' word ' is again emphasized. Moreover, whereas Mark says they brought all and Jesus healed many, Matthew says they brought many and he healed all.

The use of Isaiah liii. 4 is interesting. The ' pains ' are the maladies which Jesus took away (*i.e.* removed), and by ' bearing our diseases ' the Evangelist may possibly think of the trouble and labour which the healing of so many persons at so late an hour caused him. It is likely enough that Jesus's cures may have exhausted him physically. For they demanded concentration of faith and will. But the entire quotation from Isaiah may, however, mean no more than that Jesus took away and removed men's diseases. The Greek translation of the Hebrew of Isaiah liii. 4 is not taken from the Septuagint. It seems to be an independent translation of the Hebrew.

18–22. Conditions of Discipleship

(*Cp.* Luke ix. 57–62)

Now when Jesus saw great crowds around him, he gave commandment to cross over to the other side. And a scribe came up, and said unto him, ' Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.' And Jesus said unto him, ' The foxes have holes, and the

birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has not where to lay his head.'

21 And another of the disciples said unto him, 'Lord, allow me
22 first to go and bury my father.' But Jesus said unto him, 'Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead.'

18. This verse corresponds with Mark iv. 35. Matthew again departs from the order of Mark's narrative. He wants to collect together a series of ten miracles, and so proceeds to tell the story of the storm. But first he inserts a short passage on the conditions of discipleship taken from Q, and put in a different and better place by Luke.

19. 'Whithersoever.' So R.V. But the meaning, according to McNeile, is not that the scribe will accompany Jesus wheresoever his wanderings may take him, but only this: 'whithersoever you are at this moment departing.'

'A scribe.' Luke has merely 'some one.' The man, whether scribe or no, is merely introduced for the sake of the answer. No interest is taken as to whether the man 'followed' or no, became a disciple or was choked off by the reply.

20. The reply is famous. Yet it is only possibly authentic if it was said late on in the ministry, in the course, let us say, of the last journey to Jerusalem, where Luke puts it. Even then there are difficulties about it, for Jesus never seems to have been at a loss for friends or lodgings. 'Son of man' must stand for the personal pronoun, and this suggests a further difficulty. Was the saying originally coined to point to the contrast between the life of the animals and of man to the disadvantage of man? Was it then transferred to Jesus? (Son of man being really 'Man.') (*Cp.* Bultmann, pp. 14, 58.) Klausner assigns the saying to the period of the Northern journey (Mark vii. 24 and 31). At that time Jesus was 'escaping from his enemies,' he was 'persecuted by both the civil and religious authorities,' and 'no saying could be more pathetically apt or more human' (pp. 295, 296).

21. 'Of the disciples' is only found in Matthew. The passage makes better sense without these words. Is a disciple merely asking for 'leave of absence'? And in that case what meaning has 'first'? 'Before I follow you across the lake' is inadequate. Luke's wording would allow one to suppose that the man was not yet a disciple. This is more natural. And it is also more natural, and more in accordance with the words 'follow me,' that the

summons should be first spoken by Jesus, and then only that the man should ask permission to bury his father.

22. The saying, 'Let the dead bury their dead,' has become very famous. Its severity may perhaps be explained, by supposing that Jesus fears that the relations of the petitioner will turn him from his purpose, or that Jesus believes that the real motive of the man's request is his fear of the long journey, or that the waverer may have needed a vivid sting and stimulus. 'Let the dead bury their dead' may mean: 'let the spiritually dead bury the physically dead.' The 'spiritually dead' would be 'those who had not felt the call to follow Christ, and were dead so far as he was concerned.' But it is possible that the words are 'a proverbial saying, meaning, cut yourself adrift from the past when matters of present interest call for your whole attention' (Allen).

More probably the order must be compared with such verses as Matt. x. 37; Luke xiv. 26, etc. The special needs of the hour explain, and perhaps justify, it. It would be unjust and unreasonable to exalt it into a principle for all times and seasons. A man would have to leave his father unburied to join his regiment in war. To proclaim the Kingdom of God (Luke ix. 60) was a still greater need. A great *dénouement*, a tremendous περιπέτεια, was at hand. Ordinary rules no longer apply.

The story is doubtless modelled upon 1 Kings xix. 20. The records of Elijah and Elisha surely exercised a greater influence upon the doings of Jesus as described in the Synoptics than many would allow. Though the famous words are susceptible of an explanation which justifies them, there is no doubt that they, and such a phrase as 'hating one's parents' (Luke xiv. 26) (which has also a justifiable meaning), are, on the face of them, and as read by hostile critics, ready and anxious to pick holes and faults in Jesus's teaching, very offensive to a deep Jewish sentiment. The honouring of parents is so deeply rooted in the Jewish consciousness that these sayings of Jesus, though explicable and even justifiable, have a not wholly Jewish ring. We must, however, remember Deut. xxxiii. 9, which doubtless forms a sort of basis and starting-point and source for them. The verse was, however, practically ignored by Jewish tradition and feeling.

Moreover, it must be allowed that these somewhat un-Jewish sayings of Jesus produced un-Jewish results. 'The ethical precept of filial piety was changed by Christ. His Church was a militant church. He had come not to send peace but a sword. . . . According to Gregory the Great, we ought to ignore our parents, hating them and flying from them, when they are an obstacle to us in the way of the Lord; and this became the accepted theory of the Church.

Nay, it was not only in similar cases of conflict that Christianity exercised a weakening influence on family ties which had previously been regarded with religious veneration. In all circumstances the relationship between child and parent was put in the shade by the relationship between man and God. . . . There are numerous legends and lives of saints in which the desertion of the nearest relations is recorded as one of the leading features of their sanctity, and as one of their chief titles to honour. Some Catholic writers were of opinion that a man might lawfully abandon his parents, even though they could not be supported without him, and enter religion, committing them to the care of God. But Thomas Aquinas says that this would be tempting God, adding, however, that he who has already professed religion ought not, on any plea of supporting his parents, to quit the cloister in which he is buried with Christ, and entangle himself again in worldly business' (Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, Vol. I. pp. 537, 616).

F. Perles has shown that the phrase ('let the dead bury the dead') is probably due to a mistranslation or misunderstanding and misreading of an Aramaic original. The phrase should really read: 'Leave the dead to their grave-diggers' (*Z. N. W.*, 1919, p. 96). Dr. Rashdall's view that the words 'Let me first go and bury my father' mean 'let me wait till the old man dies' would, if correct, hardly mend matters from the Jewish standpoint, for then the son wants to tend and look after his father in the weakness of old age, than which, to the Rabbis, there could not be a duty more urgent or more holy.

23–27. Storm at Sea

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 36–41; Luke viii. 22–25)

23 And when he had entered the boat, his disciples followed him.
24 And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, so that the
25 ship was covered by the waves: but he was asleep. And they
26 came and awoke him, saying, 'Lord, help, we perish.' And he said unto them, 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?' Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a
27 great calm. But the men marvelled, saying, 'What sort of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!'

The story is told with greater freshness and point by Mark than by Matthew. Matthew's curtailments are not improvements.

28–34. The Gadarene Demoniacs

(*Cp.* Mark v. 1–20 ; Luke viii. 26–39)

8 And when he had come to the other side, to the country of the
Gergesenes, two men possessed with demons met him, coming out
from the tombs, who were so violent that no man could pass by
9 that way. And, behold, they cried out, saying, 'What have we to
do with thee, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment
0 us before the time?' And a good way off from them there was an
1 herd of many swine, feeding. So the demons besought him,
2 saying, 'If thou cast us out, send us into the herd of swine.' And
he said unto them, 'Go.' So they came out, and went into the
herd of swine: and, behold, the whole herd of swine rushed down
3 the cliff into the lake, and perished in the waters. And the swine-
herds fled, and went into the city, and reported everything, and
also what had happened to those who were possessed by the demons.
4 And, behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus: and when
they saw him, they besought him to depart out of their territory.

Matthew lets his next story follow the order of Mark. He shortens considerably. The one demoniac is turned into two, either because Mark i. 23–26 is omitted in Matthew, who here, as it were, joins the two cases together, or in order to lessen the contrast between the one human being and the legion of demons. Peculiar to Matthew is the expression in 29, 'before the time,' *i.e.* before the Last Judgment and their final and permanent damnation.

CHAPTER IX

1–8. Healing of a Paralytic

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 1–12 ; Luke v. 17–26)

1 And he entered into a boat, and crossed over, and came to his
2 own city. And, behold, they brought to him a paralysed man,
lying on a bed : and Jesus, seeing their faith, said unto the paralysed
3 man : ' Son, be of good cheer ; thy sins are forgiven thee.' And,
behold, certain of the scribes said among themselves, ' This man
4 blasphemes.' And Jesus perceiving their thoughts said, ' Wherefore
5 think ye evil in your hearts ? For which is easier : to say, Thy
6 sins are forgiven thee ; or to say, Arise, and walk ? But that ye
may know that the Son of man has power on earth to forgive
sins,'—then said he to the paralysed man, ' Arise, take up thy bed,
7, 8 and go home.' And he arose, and went home. But when the crowd
saw it, they were afraid, and glorified God, who had given such
power unto men.

Matthew now harks back to Mark ii. 1–22 and inserts the matter contained therein between his version of the Gerasene pigs and that of Jairus's daughter. The story of the Paralytic is considerably shortened. The reference to ' faith ' becomes less cogent owing to the omission of the crowd and of the incident of the roof.

8. ' Who had given such power unto men.' The wording is very important, and has been used to throw light, not only upon the parallel passage in Mark, but upon the whole interpretation of the Son of man. For here verse 8 seems to contradict verse 6. In verse 6 Jesus speaks as if the power of forgiveness were limited to, or had been only conferred upon, himself. Here the power has been given generally to men. We must, as it would seem, interpret 6 by 8 and not 8 by 6 : see the notes on Mark. In Matthew, as Prof. Box says, ' the point of the narrative seems to be that Jesus effects the cure in order to demonstrate that a new way of forgiveness has been

opened to men. Men have now the power to readmit the sinner, who has been estranged by his sins, into the fellowship of the divine society—man upon earth can represent God in heaven. The power is not inherent but delegated.' But it may perhaps be pointed out that the feeling of the crowd need not specifically refer to the *forgiveness*; it may rather refer to the more spectacular miracle. The crowd marvel that God has given the power to any man to work so amazing a miracle. (*Cp.* Meyer, p. 104, n. 3.) 'The "power" refers to the miraculous healing, not to the forgiveness of sins.'

9–13. The Call of Matthew: Jesus eats with Sinners and Tax-Collectors

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 13–17; Luke v. 27–32)

9 And as Jesus passed by from there, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the tax-house: and he said unto him, 'Follow me.' And he arose, and followed him.

10 And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at table in the house, behold, many tax-collectors and sinners came and sat down with him and 11 his disciples. And when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto his disciples, 'Why does your Master eat with tax-collectors and 12 sinners?' But when Jesus heard it, he said, 'The strong have no 13 need of the physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what it means: I desire mercy, and not sacrifice: for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.'

9. The tax-collector is called Levi in Mark. As to the reason why apparently the same man is here called Matthew, the reader must be referred to the commentaries. 'The custom-house officers would sit by the landing-stage to collect custom dues on exports carried across the lake to territory outside Herod's rule' (McNeile).

13. The words 'Go . . . sacrifice' are not found in Mark, and interrupt the connection. The quotation from Hosea recurs in xii. 7. Nevertheless, the motive of pity here given for Jesus's exceptional conduct is quite in keeping with his character.

14–17. Fasting

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 18–22; Luke v. 33–39)

14 Then the disciples of John came to him, saying, 'Why do we 15 and the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?' And Jesus

said unto them, 'Can the wedding guests mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the
16 bridegroom will be taken from them, and then they will fast. No man puts a piece of undressed cloth on to an old garment, for, if he do, the patch drags away from the garment, and the rent
17 is made worse. Neither do men pour new wine into old wine skins: for, if they do, the skins burst, and the wine runs out, and the skins perish: but they pour new wine into new skins, and both are preserved.'

The questioners in Mark are disciples of John and some 'Pharisees'; in Matthew the former only. Originally, it may be, the questioners were not specially named. 'Some came and asked.'

In 14 the text I follow is indicated in R.V. M.

17. The words 'they pour new wine into new skins and both are preserved' are not in Mark. The necessity of new skins (*i.e.* new forms) is specially emphasized. New doctrine needs new forms. But 'both are preserved' is very curious. As Klostermann says: the words can hardly express the mind of Jesus, 'der gewiss nicht Judentum und Christentum in reinlicher Scheidung nebeneinander conservieren wollte' ('who certainly did not want to maintain both Judaism and Christianity as two distinct religions, sharply marked off from each other, yet continuing to exist side by side').

18–26. The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with an Issue

(*Cp.* Mark v. 21–43; Luke viii. 40–56)

18 While he was speaking these words unto them, behold, a ruler came up, and fell down before him, saying, 'My daughter has just died: but come, and lay thy hand upon her, and she will live.'
19 And Jesus arose, and followed him, with his disciples.
20 And, behold, a woman, who had had an issue of blood for twelve years, came behind him, and touched the tassel of his garment:
21 for she said to herself, 'If I only touch his garment, I shall be
22 healed.' But Jesus turned round, and saw her, and said, 'Daughter, be of good cheer; thy faith has healed thee.' And the woman was healed from that hour.
23 And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the flute
24 players and the people making an uproar, he said unto them, 'Depart:

for the maiden is not dead, but sleeps.' And they laughed him to
5 scorn. But when the people were driven out, he went in, and took
6 her by the hand, and the girl arose. And the report of it went out
into all that land.

Matthew now returns to Mark's fifth chapter, which he had already used in viii. 28–34. Mark's narrative is considerably abbreviated. The reason why Matthew has inserted these miracles and the following two (27–34) may be found in xi. 5. There Jesus says that he has healed the blind and deaf, and raised the dead. Hence examples of such wonders had to be given. Hence, too, the child is said by the 'ruler' to have just died. In Mark, Jairus only says that she is dangerously ill. Matthew desired to emphasize and heighten the miracle. He wants to make it appear without doubt that here was a clear case of restoring the dead to life, and that Jesus was the match of, and superior to, Elijah and Elisha. His methods show a great liberty in the manipulation of the traditional records and stories.

18. 'Note how the president of the synagogue (Mark) becomes simply the president, *ἄρχων*, in Matthew. For the latter the synagogues had won an evil reputation (x. 17)' (Moffat, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. p. 247, n. 1). Mr. Rawlinson (*Mark*, p. 69) aptly remarks: 'It is noticeable that Matthew so modifies the story (of the woman with an issue) as to suggest that the healing followed upon the words of Christ. He seems to have been shocked by this miracle of which Jesus was not the author. But this does not mean that his account is more primitive than that of Mark; on the contrary, the changes which he introduces are the result of later reflection.'

27–34. Two Blind Men and a Dumb Man are Healed

(Matthew only)

7 And when Jesus passed on from there, two blind men followed
8 him, crying, and saying, 'Pity us, son of David.' And when he
had come into the house, the blind men came to him, and Jesus
said unto them, 'Have ye faith that I am able to do this?' They
9 said unto him, 'Yes, Lord.' Then he touched their eyes, saying,
0 'According to your faith be it done unto you.' And their eyes
were opened. And Jesus sternly charged them, saying, 'See that
1 no man know it.' But they departed and spread abroad his fame
in all that country.

32 As they went out, behold, there was brought to him a dumb
33 man possessed with a demon. And when the demon was expelled,
the dumb man spoke: and the crowd marvelled, saying, 'Never
34 yet was such a thing seen in Israel.' [But the Pharisees said,
'Through the prince of the demons he expels the demons.']

These stories, also intended to prove the statement in xi. 5, are made up by anticipating, or, as it were, doubling miracles which are given elsewhere—*i.e.* in xx. 29–34 and xii. 22–24. Compare the parallels in Mark (vii. 31–37, viii. 22–26, x. 46–52). The severe and disobeyed order in 30 recalls Mark i. 43–45, viii. 26. Thus we have here editorial miracles, drawn up to complete the number ten and to prepare for xi. 5.

34. This verse is wanting in some MSS. and versions. It has probably been inserted here to prepare for x. 25. Its proper place is xii. 24 where we meet it again. It is a 'textual assimilation' to Luke xiv. 15 (*cp.* for 34 and for the whole section, Streeter, p. 170).

35–x. 4. The Sending of the Disciples

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 6, 7, 34, iii. 14–19; Luke ix. 1, x. 1, 2, vi. 12–16)

35 And Jesus went about in all the cities and villages, teaching
in their synagogues, and proclaiming the Good Tidings of the
36 kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease. But when
he saw the people, he was moved with compassion for them, because
they were harassed and prostrate, as sheep having no shepherd.
37 Then said he unto his disciples, 'The harvest is large, but the
38 labourers are few; beseech, therefore, the lord of the harvest, that
he send out labourers into his harvest.'

X. 1 And he called unto him his twelve disciples, and gave them
power to cast out unclean spirits, and to heal every sickness and
2 every disease. Now the names of the twelve apostles are these:
first, Simon, who was called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James
3 the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip, and Bartholomew;
Thomas, and Matthew the tax-collector; James the son of Alphæus,
4 and Lebbæus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also
betrayed him.

The ten miracles having been related, Matthew now introduces us to a fresh discourse. He starts his introduction to it with a verse

similar to one he had used just before the Sermon on the Mount (iv. 23). The discourse itself is suggested by what he found in Mark. For, reserving the failure in Nazareth for a later occasion, Matthew came next to the mission of the disciples (Mark vi. 7–13). He had not already told of their election, but he now assumes it, only pausing to give their names (Mark iii. 14–19). Then, after a short introduction, he proceeds to give the discourse which Jesus made to them when he despatched them upon their mission.

35. *Cp.* iv. 23. The opening of the verse depends on Mark vi. 6 : the rest of the verse and 36–38 are not in Mark. But 36 reflects Mark vi. 34.

36. 'He was moved with pity.' In this pity, this profound and yearning compassion, there lies probably a true and fundamental characteristic of the historic Jesus. For cruelty, pride, hypocrisy, and self-righteousness, he had few reservations of language or condemnation ; but for those who were more sinned against than sinning, for the degraded, the outcast, and the shunned, for the flotsam and jetsam of humanity, for those outside the pale of respectability and law, he could make excuses and find compassion. He longed to redeem them ; to bring them near again to their Father and his Father, from whom they seemed so distant, of whom they seemed so rejected, to show them that peace and happiness and redemption from the bondage of sin could freely be theirs. Through human love he revealed to them God's love. Through human sympathy he made them understand the sympathy of God. The redemptive work of Christianity, the labours of faithful women among the outcast and the fallen, are the greatest tribute to the religious power of the Master, the best witness to the beauty of his life and the nobility of his teaching. So far as we can tell, this pity for the sinner was a new note in religious history. Its immense importance and fruitfulness need not be enlarged upon here.

ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐριμμένοι. Moffatt renders : 'harassed and dejected.' σκύλλω is literally to 'flay' ; it is here used in a metaphysical sense, *cp.* Mark v. 35, Luke vii. 6, viii. 49, 'worried,' 'harassed.' ἐριμμένοι, 'prostrate.' *Cp.* Jer. xiv. 16, 'prostrate in the streets of Jerusalem.' For the whole question raised by verse 36 see the special note on the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* by Dr. Abrahams. One remark strikes me. It seems fairly clear that the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* of the Talmud cannot have been a very large class. The Talmud is puzzled about them and gives varying definitions of them. It is noteworthy how many of the sayings which speak of the enmity between the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* and the Rabbis are taken from a single page in Pesachim. If that hatred of which Akiba speaks had lain

between the unlearned multitude and the Rabbis, how can we explain the influence of the Rabbis with that same multitude? The notion which one meets with in some Christian books of a small class of Rabbis and learned men, and a big multitude of despised and unlearned peasants, et cetera, must, I think, be false. The conception suggested by such a verse as John vii. 49 must be, I think, erroneous. Too much stress is laid upon the saying of Hillel which, because it occurs in Aboth, is so extremely familiar. Hillel's *Bôr* must have been not merely illiterate, but what we should call a boor, a coarse person. Such a one we too might say could not be a sin-fearing man. As to what he means by saying that the '*Am ha-'Areṣ* cannot be *Ḥasid* (pious), that is just the question in dispute. Any statement to the effect that the merely unlearned person cannot be pious sounds somehow unlike what we otherwise know of Hillel. Moreover, though the Rabbis undoubtedly magnify their craft, yet that they actually *identified* mere ignorance with unrighteousness sounds doubtful. I doubt whether such identification is in accordance with general Rabbinic teaching or with prevailing Rabbinic spirit. The famous story in Taanith about the men whom Elijah points out as destined to enjoy the beatitudes of the life to come is no doubt not a story the like of which you meet on every Talmudic page. Yet somehow it does not strike me as quite off the Rabbinic line. And certainly Elijah's nominees, jesters, prison warders, and such like, were anything but learned men.

37, 38. Of doubtful authenticity. The opening phrase, 'The harvest is large; the labourers are few,' is clearly an older Jewish saying (with which R. Tarphon's adage in 'Aboth' may be compared), now given a Christian application. The harvest is not here the end of the world or the judgment, as so frequently. The harvest is the populace, who are to be gathered in, so far as possible, by preaching to them the doctrine of Repentance and the Good Tidings, into the Kingdom. It is a little odd that immediately after this somewhat sad and passive saying Jesus sends out his own labourers (Klostermann).

x. 1. Mark vi. 7. In Mark, Jesus only gives the apostles 'authority over the unclean spirits.' But it is possible that diseases were regarded as due to demons, and that the healing of diseases was in Mark implied in the expulsion of demons. More probably in the special source of Matthew and Luke (Q) (which, in a shortened form, Mark perhaps knew also), Jesus gave authority to the disciples to cure diseases, or even both to cure diseases and to expel demons. According to this supposition Matthew has combined both the accounts of Q and of Mark. Another explanation is suggested by

Bickermann in *Z. N. W.*, 1923, 'Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Komposition des Markusevangeliums,' pp. 132, 139. In Mark, the selection of the Twelve is separated by a suitable interval from their despatch upon independent missionary work. See Mark iii. 13 and vi. 7. In Matthew the call of the apostles is omitted. Jesus in this place merely calls them to him. They have already been selected. But Matthew takes the opportunity to give their names.

[17. The note as regards 'both are preserved' (*i.e.* both wine and skins) seems wrong. All that is said is that the new doctrine needs new forms: nothing is said as to the continuance of the old forms or of the old doctrine.

ix 36. In Hillel's statement the meaning may be that piety—that is, righteousness and religiousness combined and harmonized together—cannot be obtained by a '*Am ha-'Areṣ*. He cannot reach the highest, which is just that peculiar combination and harmony which constitute 'piety.']

CHAPTER X

5–xi. 1. The Discourse to the Apostles

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 8–11 ; Luke vi. 40, ix. 2–5, x. 3–12, 16, xii. 2–12, 51–53, xiv. 26, 27, xvii. 33)

5 These twelve Jesus despatched, and commanded them, saying,
'Take not your way to the heathen, and enter into no city of the
6 Samaritans : but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
7 And as ye go, proclaim, saying, The kingdom of heaven has drawn
8 near. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out
9 demons : ye received gratis ; give gratis. Provide yourselves with
10 no gold, or silver, or brass in your girdles ; with no wallet for the
journey, or two coats, or shoes, or staff : for the labourer is worthy
11 of his food. And into whatever city or village ye enter, enquire
12 who in it is worthy ; and there abide till ye go thence. And when
13 ye come into the house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let
your peace come upon it : but if it be not worthy, let your peace
14 return to you. And whoever shall not receive you, or hear your
words, depart out of that house or city, and shake off the dust
15 from your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable
for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha on the Day of Judgment than
for that city.
16 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves : be
17 ye therefore clever as serpents, and innocent as doves. Take heed
of men : for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will
18 scourge you in their synagogues ; and ye will be brought before
governors and kings for my sake, to bear witness to them and to
19 the heathen. But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how
or what ye shall speak : for it shall be given you in that hour what
20 ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your
21 Father which speaks in you. And brother shall deliver up brother
unto death, and the father the child : and children shall rise up

against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall
be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endures to
the end, he shall be saved. But when they persecute you in one
city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not
finish the cities of Israel before the Son of man has come.

'A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord.
It suffices for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant
as his lord. If they called the master of the house Beelzebul, how
much more them of his household? So fear them not. For there
is nothing hidden that shall not be disclosed; and concealed, that
shall not be known. What I tell you in the darkness, that speak
in the light: and what ye hear in your ear, that proclaim upon the
housetops. And fear not them who kill the body, but are not able
to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both
soul and body in hell. Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?
and not one of them falls to the ground without your Father. But
of you even the hairs of your head are all numbered. So fear
ye not; ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whoever, then,
shall acknowledge me before men, him will I too acknowledge before
my Father who is in heaven. But whoever denies me before men,
him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven.

'Think not that I came to bring peace on earth: I came not to
bring peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance
against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the
daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes will
be they of his own household. He that loves father or mother
more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loves son or
daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that takes
not his cross, and follows after me, is not worthy of me. He that
has found his life shall lose it: and he that has lost his life for my
sake shall find it.

'He that receives you receives me, and he that receives me
receives him that sent me. He that receives a prophet in the
name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that
receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall
receive a righteous man's reward. And whoever shall give one of
these little ones but a cup of cold water to drink in the name
of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his
reward.'

XI. 1 And when Jesus had finished his injunctions to his twelve disciples, he departed thence to teach and to preach in their cities.

The speech (made up mainly from Q and Mark) can be divided into two main sections, of which the first ends, as some think, at 15, as others think, at 16. For 5–15 the parallel in Mark is vi. 8–11.

5. Verses 5, 6 are peculiar to Matthew. They form one of his anti-Gentile remarks. He includes, in the strangest way, some very philo-Gentile and anti-Jewish statements, and some which point precisely in the reverse direction.

Here the mission is practically limited to Galilee, as between Galilee and Judæa comes Samaria. The 'lost sheep' are, therefore, presumably to be specially found in Galilee. Εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν. The words are not quite clear. They may mean: 'Go not out of Jewish territory into Hellenistic regions or cities,' or, 'go not along a road in heathen territory.' Anyway, they were not to enter heathen cities. Their mission, like that of Jesus, was exclusively to Jews.

The simplest explanation of these verses is that they are taken from Q. It did not matter to Matthew that Jesus should have limited this first mission to Israel. For by this time the question was settled. The Church included both Jews and Gentiles. Luke omitted the verses, because they did not suit with the mission of the Seventy. Moreover, they would jar upon Luke more than upon Matthew, to whom Israel, apart from the Scribes and Pharisees, was of greater interest and value than it was to Luke, the Gentile (so Goguel). The prohibition of preaching the Gospel to heathen or Samaritans is in conformity with the historical situation, and with what actually may have occurred. Hence it may even belong to Jesus himself.

It would not be inconsistent with these verses that chosen Gentiles should take the place of excluded Jews. viii. 11, 12 can (with a little pressure) be harmonized with x. 5, 6. Streeter has a divergent view about x. 5, 6 which depends upon his general 'four document hypothesis.' He holds that Matthew 'made use of a cycle of tradition of a distinctly Judaistic bias which to some extent ran parallel to the cycles preserved in Mark, in Q, and in L' (p. 260). 'Matt. x. 5–8, 23, with the possible additions of 24, 25, 41, represent a short Judaistic charge, which Matthew has conflated with the versions given by Mark and Q' (p. 255). As to 5, 6 there is 'a close connection of thought between this opening and the words which conclude the first half of the discourse, "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come" (23). This verse appears to be intended to give a reason

for the previous prohibition to preach to Gentiles or Samaritans. It is not that Gentiles cannot or ought not to be saved, but the time will not be long enough to preach to all, and Israel has the first right to hear.' So the two passages 'must originally have stood much closer together. They look like the beginning and end of a Judaistic version of the charge to the Twelve, the wording of which has taken the precise form it now bears under the influence of the controversy about the Gentile mission which almost split the early Church' (p. 255). Apparently therefore Streeter holds that Jesus did *not* say 5, 6, just as he did not say v. 17–20 or xxiii. 2, 3 (pp. 256, 257). It is M who is responsible for these Judaistic remarks. *Cp.* also Lake, *Beginnings*. The 'extreme sayings' on either side are doubtfully authentic. If Jesus had said x. 5, 6 'would Peter have gone to Samaria and Joppa, even if Philip had done so?' (I. p. 317). But Burkitt seems to believe in the genuineness of the words. 'They are instructions for the first apostles in the early days in Galilee, when Jesus appears to have been expecting the End at once. Matt. x. 23 is a strange saying, but if it was the invention of Jewish Christians about the time of the Conference at Jerusalem it is stranger still. It seems to me to testify to their unimaginative memory rather than to their powers of invention' (*Beginnings*, p. 138). Burney remarks: 'The opening of the charge in Matt. x. 5–7, with its specific limitation of the mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, does not accord with the rhythm of the rest, and finds no parallel in Mark and Luke. It may perhaps be editorial, and not drawn from an earlier source' (p. 121, n. 1).

6. The lost sheep. Not strayed, but spiritually perished. *Cp.* ix. 36.

7, 8. *Cp.* Luke ix. 2, x. 9. The disciples are to proclaim the imminence of the Kingdom. In Mark vi. 12 they preach repentance. The connection of the two is indicated in Mark i. 15. They are also, as regards the sick and the afflicted, to have similar powers, and to work similar cures, to those of their Master. Verse 8 has no equivalent in Luke except as regards 'healing the sick,' which we find both in Luke ix. 2 and x. 9.

9, 10. *Cp.* Mark vi. 8, 9; Luke ix. 3, x. 4. No money is to be received by them for their preaching: the mission is to bring no pecuniary profit. Thus the injunction contained in the last words of 8 is continued in the opening of 9. They are not to acquire money by being paid for their teaching. If this be the meaning of μὴ κτήσησθε, we see that Matthew has modified the words of the source which he followed, but that he has not modified them

enough. It makes sense to say, 'do not acquire gold,' but not, 'do not *acquire* coats and shoes.' But some think that the words μὴ κτήσησθε can be rendered by, 'do not provide yourselves with,' 'do not acquire (for the journey),' in which case the clause is a mere close parallel to Mark vi. 8, 9, and only differs in forbidding the use of stick and sandals which Mark permits. *Cp.* Luke ix. 3, x. 4.

It is supposed by Burney and others that the difference from Mark 'is probably due to misreading of the Aramaic *'ellā*, "but," as *wela*, "and not," *i.e.* "not even," which is not unnatural in view of the repeated "not," in the list of forbidden articles which follows' (p. 121, n. 1). But though Wellhausen suggested this in ed. 1 of his *Mark*, he withdraws the suggestion in his ed. 2. Schulthess is also against it ('Die Sprache der Evangelien,' *Z. N. W.*, 1922, p. 234). Mark would seem more original, and Matthew's version seems to have attempted to make the severe injunctions still more (and perhaps impossibly) severe. *Cp.* also Klostermann, ed. 2.

'The labourer is worthy of his food.' The meaning is that the disciples will be fed and housed by those to whom they come and tell the welcome news : thus provision and payment are unnecessary.

The order not to take payment for spiritual work is quite in accordance with Rabbinic custom and precept. It indicates a later period than Mark, who only said that the disciples were not to take money with them. Here they are not to *make* money. The change may reflect the later experiences and warnings indicated in 1 Tim. vi. 5 ; 1 Peter v. 2. The Gospel is not to be a source of gain. The prohibition is only in Matthew ; it is not in Luke, and we may infer that it was not in Q, but was added by Matthew.

11–14. *Cp.* Mark vi. 10, 11 ; Luke ix. 4, 5, x. 5–11. The τόπος in Mark may be equivalent to the house in Matthew. The city seems to indicate a later period of tradition. Originally it was a question of the disciple's reception in a house, where, taken in as a mere guest, he reveals himself as a missionary. The case of the disciples not even being received into a town seems to point to a time when it was already well known for what purpose they came. Harnack brings weighty arguments for denying this. He thinks that preaching in houses and in cities went together. Both are alluded to in Q. Nor does he think that it is right to identify Mark's τόπος with a house. It is rather the city.

11. 'Enquire who in it is worthy.' Matthew only. A precaution suggested, it has been remarked, by some painful experiences of the early Christian missionaries and preachers.

12. The commentators call attention to the importance and efficacy of salutations in the East. For 14, *cp.* Acts xiii. 51.

15. *Cp.* Luke x. 12.

16. This verse occurs (in part) in Luke x. 3. It is doubtful whether it should be regarded as ending the section 5–15 or as beginning the section 17–22. In the former case it would allude to the perils the apostles might encounter in the cities of Galilee and Judæa.

But what were these grave perils? How unlikely either that Jesus could have anticipated them or that the apostles (if their journey is historic) encountered them at all.

The desired combination of prudence and simplicity is interesting. The need of the first in the face of enemies seems clear, and may be illustrated by Jesus himself when he cleverly extricates himself, by evasive replies, from entrapping and tricky questions. The second apparently refers to the hope of obtaining converts: for that, simplicity and sincerity are requisite.

17–22. *Cp.* Luke xii. 11, 12. This section, at all events, is clearly of late date. If the dispatch of the apostles is historic, and if any speech to them was made by Jesus of which we have remnants, these verses could have formed no part of it. They describe later conditions and later persecutions. In Mark parallel descriptions are found in the apocalyptic oration, xiii. 9–13 (*cp.* Matt. xxiv. 9–14; Luke xxi. 12–19).

17. The 'synagogues' are here synonymous with 'synedria,' or 'courts of Justice.' The continued existence of Jewish jurisdiction is assumed. Thus the date would seem to be, at any rate, earlier than A.D. 70.

18. This verse seems to speak of heathen persecution as well as Jewish. Elsewhere the horizon seems limited to Judæa.

20. 'The Spirit of your Father,' as against the Holy Spirit in Mark xiii. 11. 'Such a reference to God as the Father of men is a predominantly and almost exclusively Matthæan habitude—Matthew 20 times, Mark 1, Luke 3' (Hawkins, in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911, p. 37).

23. An interesting verse peculiar to Matthew. It may have been adapted for its present place, but its second half seems to show a distinct and separate signification. It seems to mean: you will not have got through your missionary labours in the cities of Israel before the Son of man comes: not, you will not exhaust the cities, in your flight from one to the other, before the Son of

man comes, which would be a very odd remark. Yet 23*b* may be older than 23*a*, and the editor who supplied 23*a* may have taken 23*b* to mean that the advent of the Son of man will take place before the Christians have passed through all the cities of Israel in their flight from one to the other. Dr. Box writes: 'The connection and sense are greatly improved if we adopt the Western reading (D) which has the support of S.S. and Origen and Ephraim: "But if they persecute you in this city, flee unto another; *and if they persecute you in the other, flee unto another*: for verily I say unto you," etc. The clause italicized might easily have been omitted accidentally by homoioteleuton. In the context the saying is an encouragement to persevere in missionary work in Israel in spite of persecution: the reward to the faithful will be that the Parousia will soon be experienced. The passage seems to reflect the condition of things that existed in Palestine when the first Gospel was compiled. Just as Christians under other circumstances were nerved to go on by the hope of the Parousia, so the Jewish-Christians of Palestine are encouraged to endure to the end.' Whether even 23*b* is authentic is disputed. Some think that the earliest Christians sought thus to comfort each other. 'It is the Judaizing Christians who may have believed that Jesus would return before the preaching of the apostles had reached all the towns of Palestine.' 'The promise of Jesus has no meaning in connection with the first mission of the apostles, but it corresponds to the period when the Twelve looked upon themselves as charged to preach the Gospel to the Jews alone; it assumes also the imminence of the Parousia.' 'The prophecy is as clear as it was unverified. But it reflects at least as much the ardent faith of the early community as the formal teaching of Jesus' (Loisy).

It is apparently indicated in 16–23 that the Christian missionaries will be persecuted by the Jews. If the verses are later than Jesus and reflect apostolic times, are the vaticinations reflections of actual occurrences? I had assumed so in my first edition. I said: 'The Jews of that time were not tolerant, and we have no reason to suppose that they did not persecute those who sought to win fresh adherents to the dead prophet of Nazareth.' But it is possible that I was wrong. In this connection it is necessary to read Abrahams, *Studies*, II. chap. x. 'The Persecutions.' Dr. Abrahams gives reasons for thinking that there were no persecutions of Christians by the Jews. He adds: 'It is a critical mistake to take too literally apocalyptic references to persecution. All apocalypses, whether Jewish or Christian, have this feature in common. It is a recurrent element in the world-drama as unrolled in the visions of the end; the heroic saints suffer, and the poet is not over-anxious to discriminate as to the personality of

those who cause the suffering.' Streeter (p. 255, n. 1) thinks that 23*b* ' clearly reflects a situation which did not come into existence till the missionary journeys of Paul.' And it is interesting to note that Burney remarks that 23*b* ' is evidently unrhythmical, and in this respect stands out of relation to its context—a striking fact when taken in connection with the fact that the introduction, verses 5–7 (also peculiar to Matthew), which likewise limits the mission to Israel, is similarly unrhythmical ' (p. 122).

24, 25. The date of these sentences is also clearly after the death of Jesus. xii. 24 is anticipated. The disciple cannot expect a better lot than the Master: *i.e.* defamation and martyrdom. Matthew has used an older saying (*cp.* Luke vi. 40) and given it a new meaning. The two verses come, Streeter thinks, from M (p. 263).

26. For the section 26–33, *cp.* Luke xii. 2–9. If the whole passage is taken from Q, then it follows that the ' edition ' of Q which Matthew and Luke employed attributed many sayings to Jesus which were only written and composed after his death. Verse 26 is perhaps based upon Mark iv. 22, where, however, the adage has a different meaning and application. Here this verse and 27 assume that Jesus during his lifetime was little known, and that his wider influence only began after his death. His disciples are not to shrink from proclaiming before the world what Jesus said and did within a small circle.

28. The allusion is to the danger of martyrdom. He who can destroy both soul and body in hell is (not the devil, but) God. (The God of the Gospel and the New Testament is by no means only to be loved. He is much to be feared also.) But the phraseology of Luke in xii. 4–6 may be more original, and it leaves the question open whether the ' soul and body ' having been cast into Gehenna can ever hope to escape from it. The S.S. reads ' throw ' for ' destroy ' in Matthew too. The distinction between body and soul in this verse seems rather Greek than Hebrew. McNeile points out that ψυχή is used in three senses in the Synoptics. (1) The life, which animals have as well as men. (2) The seat of thoughts and feelings, parallel with heart and mind and spirit. (3) The higher life in contrast to the lower life: the true, real self. In verse 39 (1) and (3) are combined. As to Hell in verse 28 it is rather amusing to hear Knopf's defence. ' He wanted to move the hard-hearted people whom he saw about him. At certain times and among certain people, the " idea of hell," moreover, possesses a large educative value.' (But it did not seem to influence

for good the wicked Rabbis and Pharisees.) (*Einführung*, 2nd ed., 1923, p. 268.)

29, 30. Here the doctrine of Providence is pushed to a terrible extreme. Can any man to-day really say that he believes it? But if we believe that 'God knows and rules,' where are we to stop?

31. It is possible that what was originally meant was: 'Ye are much more valuable than sparrows.'

32, 33. *Cp.* Mark viii. 38. For 'I' Luke (xii. 8) has 'the Son of man.' Some commentators think the personal pronoun the older form of the saying, some the Son of man. Once more emerges the question: Did Jesus here and elsewhere mean by the Son of man himself or no? If in Luke's version he meant that 'I' and the Son of man were two different persons, Luke's version may well be older than Matthew's. Jesus is here, in any case, not judge, but witness. Nevertheless, the authenticity of the passage is doubtful.

34–36. *Cp.* Luke xii. 51–53; Micah vii. 6. Unlikely to be authentic. See Bultmann, p. 94. His arguments seem to me very strong. Harnack, long before, pleaded for authenticity. That strife in families (this is the 'sword' Jesus means) should be regarded as the very purpose of his mission, that he deliberately desired such strife and division, could not have been put into his mouth. ('"Ich bin gekommen," die ausdrücklichen Selbstzeugnisse Jesu über den Zweck seiner Sendung und seines Kommens,' in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1912, pp. 4–6.)

35. Feud between members of a family is also mentioned in the Talmud as a sign of the coming of the Messianic age. And 'social strife is a common feature of the apocalyptic description of the last days' (Allen).

37, 39. *Cp.* Luke xiv. 25–27, Mark x. 29, viii. 34, 35. For 37 *cp.* Luke xiv. 26. Which version is more primary? Bultmann argues with much force for Luke (p. 97). Luke's form might well have been softened into Matthew's; Matthew's form would not have been changed into Luke's. 'Cannot be my disciple' is more primary than 'is not worthy of me'; the latter words show a more specifically Christian terminology.

For the sentiment *cp.* viii. 22. In the last resort it is true that the Truth, the Good, the Law of God, God Himself, or however we name the Ultimate End, or Summum Bonum, must be fought for and clung to at all costs and every hazard. Its claim is final and

absolute. But the situation is rare in which the service of the Highest takes an opposing form to an obedience to the letter or the spirit of the fifth Commandment. No doubt many a missionary, whose choice of life was opposed by his parents, has appealed to the authority of this verse for his adequate justification. How far he was right or wrong must, I suppose, be separately decided in each separate case. It would depend upon a number of different and delicate considerations.

The passages cited by Walker from 2 and 4 Macc. are interesting, but hardly parallel to any great purpose. In the first (2 Macc. xv. 18) just before a battle, we are told that the 'fear' which the Jewish soldiers had for wives and children was of less account than their 'fear' for the holy sanctuary. In the second (4 Macc. ii. 10–12), it is said that 'the Law ranks above affection for parents,' but the explanation of this very strong statement immediately follows. Even for the parents' sake a man must not do wrong, 'so that a man may not for their sakes surrender his virtue.' *ὁ νόμος καὶ τῆς πρὸς γονεῖς εὐνοίας κρατεῖ, μὴ καταπροδιδοὺς τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' αὐτούς.* (Walker, *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of his Age*, 1923, p. 153.)

To 'father and mother, son and daughter' of verse 37 Luke adds 'wife.' It is interesting to note the curious and almost pathetic expedients to which a commentator like J. Weiss has recourse to mitigate the harshness of such passages as Matt. x. 37, Luke xiv. 26. He rightly holds that Luke's severer version is more likely to be original, and he adds, 'It is obvious that Jesus did not mean that every disciple was to hate his parents; he only demands a breach with the family in those cases where the disciples' duties towards parents and towards the Kingdom are in conflict. Even this seems harsh to our minds, and we must assume that Jesus must have undergone painful experiences, either in his own case or in that of others, if he can regard this breach as something frequent or even natural, or have spoken of it with such harshness' (p. 301, 3rd ed.).

38. 'Take,' *λαμβάνει*. In Luke (xiv. 27), 'carry,' *βαστάζει*. Is the saying authentic? *Cp.* Mark viii. 34. Dr. Box says: 'Not only family ties must be sacrificed for Jesus' sake, but a man must be ready even to sacrifice his life, and endure a violent death. In this context this is the climax of the long passage on persecution. In its original context this saying can hardly have reference to the mode of Jesus' own death. It is probably to be understood metaphorically of terrible suffering and sacrifice. The present saying is derived from Q; the similar saying in Mark viii. 34, (=Matt. xvi. 24, Luke ix. 23) is probably a doublet. It was customary for criminals to bear their own cross to the place of

execution ; *cf.* John xix. 17.' It is interesting to find the sceptical Bultmann arguing for the possible authenticity of 37, 38. ' If the cross had already become the regular Christian symbol of martyrdom when Luke wrote, should we not expect " the cross " only, not " his cross " ? Might not the cross have been a traditional metaphor for suffering and pain ? ' Allen says : If Jesus looked forward to death, then it is historically probable that he should anticipate it as one of crucifixion. Moreover, crucifixion had become typical of violent death. Quotations to this effect are given from classical and Rabbinical literature. I am bound to add that the quotations are no real parallels to the usage of the word ' cross ' in Matt. x. 38.

39. The word ' find ' gives point to the paradox. The soul is used in a double sense. On the one hand, it stands for the lower sensuous life, on the other, for the higher spiritual life which, at the resurrection, is the result of earthly martyrdom. ἀπολέσαι in the first clause means ' lose,' in the second ' destroy,' or ' sacrifice.' The ' finding ' in the first clause is for the moment ; the ' finding ' in the second is for eternity. This saying and the next occur in all the four Gospels. Matthew and Luke have it twice. Once (Matt. xvi. 25 and Luke ix. 24) from Mark, while Matt. x. 39, Luke xvii. 33 come from Q. *Cp.* also John xii. 25. Matthew, but not Luke, has ' for my sake ' in 39.

40. The last verses of the speech return more strictly to the mission with which the first verses started. Verse 40 occurs twice in Matthew and twice in Luke. In Matt. xviii. 5, Luke ix. 48 (drawn from Mark ix. 37) the object received is a child. Here and Luke x. 16 the objects are the disciples. *Cp.* John xiii. 20. The ' receiving ' here is not meant in any mystical sense. It means merely hospitably receive into the house, and entertain and acknowledge. But the mystical meaning is prepared for at the end. For the ' reception ' of the disciple implies the reception of God. Probably Q meant by the reception of God no more than obedient hearkening to God. He did not mean the inward ' reception ' of the divine Spirit within the human soul.

41. ' In the name of a prophet.' This seems to mean ' in his capacity of prophet,' ' because he is a prophet,' ' for his own sake,' ' for the sake of the cause.' This verse occurs only in Matthew. (From M, says Streeter, p. 263.) The word δίκαιος is characteristic of him. For him righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) is still the supreme virtue. ' The righteous ' may mean either the whole body of Christians (for the Christians, and not the Pharisees are, to Matthew, the true fulfillers of the Law), or they may refer

to some *specially* righteous and pious persons. To receive prophets 'in the name of prophets' would mean to receive them in the conviction and with the knowledge that they are specially gifted persons, and to show them the honour which is their due.

42. *Cp.* Mark ix. 41. Here those are meant who stand on a lower level in the community than prophets and apostles. But help rendered, in the true spirit of discipleship, to the humblest Christian will not be forgotten at the day of reckoning.

'In the name of a disciple': *i.e.* in his capacity as such, because he is a disciple. How far authentic words of Jesus may have been worked up in these last verses, and used as a basis, it is impossible to say. For Jews to-day most of the chapter is of little value, though we can still interpret the tremendous sayings of 37–39 to mean, (*a*) 'All for the Highest,' (*b*) Sacrifice may be gain.' Let me add a remark from Knopf: 'The orders in Matthew x. portray a way of life such as Jesus only demanded from the helpers in his calling and ministry' (p. 262).

CHAPTER XI

2–6. John the Baptist's Inquiries

(*Cp.* Luke vii. 18–23)

2 Now when John heard in the prison the works of the Christ,
3 he sent a message through his disciples, and said unto him, 'Art
4 thou he who is to come, or are we to wait for another?' Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Go and report to John what ye
5 hear and see: the blind see again, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up, and the
6 poor receive the Good Tidings. And happy is he, who finds no stumbling-block in me.'

In Mark the mission of the apostles is followed by a section about John the Baptist. The same is the case in Matthew, only the matter is different. Mark's story does not come in Matthew till xiv. In this place Matthew introduces passages about John taken from Q. The miracles which have already been narrated were perhaps arranged to suit the reply which Jesus gives to the inquiry.

2. This section and the one which succeeds it are of great interest to Christian readers, and are indeed of considerable interest to general students of the Gospel story. But from my particular point of view neither section has any great value, and the complicated questions and the elaborate hypotheses which the two sections have produced can be passed over as rapidly as possible. As to 2–6 the critics discuss (*a*) whether the passage is, or is not, authentic; (*b*) whether John's inquiry means that doubt had supervened on faith, or whether he had doubted all along; (*c*) whether iii. 14, 15, being accepted as authentic, throw light on this section, or whether, being regarded as unauthentic, they do not; (*d*) whether the statements in 5 were meant by Jesus or by Matthew, or by both, or by one and not the other, literally or metaphorically. But all these problems are for our purposes of very small interest.

John, so some commentators assume, had believed that Jesus was the Messiah, but had now begun to doubt, because Jesus did not do the things, or make the claims, which John, on the ordinary old Jewish lines, expected from the Messiah. Others, however, urge that this view mainly depends upon Matt. iii. 14, 15 being regarded as historical, which it surely is not. So they prefer to think that John had not once fully believed and then doubted, but that he had all along hesitated, half believed and half disbelieved, and remained uncertain.

Or, perhaps, the whole story is the creation of the Christian community, who became eager to depress John and exalt Jesus, to bring the two into connection, to make the one a conscious forerunner of the second. Meyer rather neatly points out how Q's views about John in his relation to Jesus represent a later stage than those of Mark. In Mark, John is the forerunner, but he does not, as here, more or less recognize Jesus to be the Messiah, nor does Jesus allow or confess his Messiahship (I. p. 226). I think Klausner is right in maintaining that 'John had no personal acquaintance with Jesus and did not recognize his messiahship," that the story of John's inquiry is legendary, but that we may accept as historical not only the baptism of Jesus by John, but also that Jesus, 'speaking to his disciples after the death of John the Baptist, said of him that he was a prophet and greater even than a prophet, that he was Elijah, the greatest of the prophets, and therefore the precursor of the Messiah, since contemporary Judaism could not conceive of the Messiah without Elijah the Forerunner' (p. 249).

'The works of the Christ (or Messiah).' The strange wording may be intentional here, as the question is whether Jesus is the Messiah or no. But the MS. D reads, 'the works of Jesus.'

3. ὁ ἐρχόμενος. 'He who is to come,' *i.e.* obviously, the Messiah. *Cp.* Psalm cviii. 26, Daniel vii. 13.

5. Matthew and Luke clearly both held that Jesus made appeal to real miracles. Some commentators think they are right. 'John's messengers had not seen and heard Jesus healing the spiritually blind and the morally leprous. What need, moreover, to add "the poor have Good Tidings preached to them," if all which precedes refers to the preaching of the Good Tidings? It is unnatural to express the same fact first by a series of metaphors, and then literally' (Plummer).

I think this is the correct view. Others suppose that the blind who have been made to see, the dead who have been made to live again, are metaphors for the spiritual activity and wonders which

Jesus displayed and wrought. What John's messengers heard and saw was not a series of miracles, but how Jesus taught and the effects of his teaching. In any case the reference to such passages as Isaiah lxi. 1, xxxv. 5, xlii. 7 is perfectly clear and obvious.

πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, 'The poor receive the Good Tidings,' or 'the poor have the Good Tidings preached to them.' The verb in Matthew is only found here. It is not found in Mark. *Cp.* the LXX of Isaiah lxi. 1, ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι. The origin of the words is clear.

The question presents itself whether Jesus interpreted Isaiah lxi. 1 and similar passages as prophecies, and really believed that they referred to him and that he fulfilled them, or whether it was his disciples who, after his death, first made this identification. If 2–6 are in substance authentic, it is possible that Jesus meant to indicate to the messengers that in his opinion the New Age and the Divine Kingdom were imminent, but that he did not mean to declare that he himself was the Messiah. And he may have given this general, and in a sense evasive, reply either because he did not believe that he was the Messiah, or because, believing that he was, he did not desire yet to announce it, or because it was in his manner to give suggestions towards the full answer to a question, but to make the questioner use his own intelligence. The hypotheses are endless and rather fatiguing.

6. This verse is more definite as regards Jesus himself than the others. 'Happy is he who recognizes the divine character of my mission.' If you do not recognize the new light, but deny its truth and validity, you are already twice as much in the dark as you were before the light arose. Hence every new truth is salvation to those who can receive it; to those who misunderstand or refuse to believe, it is a snare and a danger. Their latter state is worse than their first.

It is possible that 5 and 6 were originally an independent saying of Jesus in reference to his teaching, which was afterwards brought into connection with, and used for, a story about the Baptist. So Bultmann, pp. 11, 77, 78. In that case the allusions to the blind seeing, etc., were meant metaphorically. Behold yet another hypothesis!

7–19. The Baptist and the Son of Man

(*Cp.* Luke vii. 24–28, 31–35, xvi. 16)

7 And as they departed, Jesus began to say unto the people concerning John: 'Why went ye out into the wilderness? To see

a reed shaken with the wind? Or why went ye out? To see a man clothed in soft raiment? behold, they that wear soft clothing are in the houses of kings. Or why went ye out? To see a prophet? yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. For this is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee. Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.

'But from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven is being stormed, and the stormers seize it by force. For all the Prophets and the Law prophesied until John. And if ye are willing to receive it: this is Elijah who was to come. He that has ears, let him hear.

'But to whom shall I liken this generation? It is like unto children sitting in the market-places who call to their companions, and say, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have made lamentation, and ye have not beaten the breast. For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He has a demon. The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of tax-collectors and sinners. But wisdom was justified by her works.'

The section is artificially connected with the preceding passage, but it is really independent. If authentic, 7–10 may be earlier (as some hold) than 2–6, while 11–14 may be later than either. On the other hand, the whole section may be unauthentic. It consists of three separate subdivisions, 7–10, or 7–11, or 7–10*a*, 12–15, 16–19.

It is supposed that there was an early rivalry between the followers of Jesus and the followers of John, and that this rivalry is reflected in the section before us. It was important from one point of view to make John the ally of Jesus, but if he was an ally, then an ally must be recognized and (up to a point) praised. From another point of view, it was important to show how inferior John was to Jesus, and how purely preparatory. Both points of view are visible in 7–11. Some regard 11 as belonging to 7–10; others as belonging to 12–15. A third view is to hold that the first section originally consisted of 7–11*a*, and that 11*b* is a later addition, giving the other point of view. ('Yet he that is,' etc.) Völter, in the article quoted on iii. 11, is interesting on this passage and on the parallels in Luke vii. 19–35 and xvi. 16. The original words of

Jesus about John contained in xi. 7–14 belong to a very early period in his career: he does not yet think himself to be the Messiah: he is the disciple of John. John is not to be disbelieved in or disparaged because he is in prison. The Malachi quotation has been altered. Jesus quoted it correctly. John prepares the way for God's judgment and theophany. None greater among men than he. 11*b* is a 'Christian' addition. Prophets and Law lasted till John: for now soon will come the Judgment and the New Age, when Law and Prophets are needless. Their work is then over. John is Elijah who immediately precedes the Day of the Lord. There may be some truth in all this conjecture. Völter's interpretation of the crux in 12 seems very doubtful.

7. The translation of 7 and 8 and 9 is uncertain, but it is unnecessary for me to mention the rival renderings, or to discuss their relative probabilities. The last words of 9 may be taken to mean, 'Yea, I say unto you even more than a prophet did ye see.'

9. He is more than a prophet because he is the forerunner and proclaimer of the Messiah. 11*a* may end this line of thought; then 11*b* may give the later Christian qualification and corrective. (Dibelius, Bultmann, and Bousset.)

Jesus, therefore, according to 7–11*a*, eulogizes John. John was no reed shaken with the wind, but a man of resolution, firmness, and will. The people had not flocked to see a weakling, and it was not a weakling whom they found. Jesus maintains that their original enthusiasm was justified. They had seen in him a prophet, and a prophet he undoubtedly was. Or perhaps the meaning is: 'You did not go out to the desert to see an everyday person or event (such as are reeds waving in the wind), nor did you go to see something which you could not possibly find in the desert, such as would be a man in court dress, but you went out to see a prophet, and it was truly a prophet whom you saw.'

10. This verse may be an insertion, breaking the connection between 9 and 11. The quotation is from Malachi iii. 1, where, however, the words are, 'Behold I send my messenger, and he shall prepare *the* way before *me*.' 'The Church seized on the relation between the messenger and the Lord, and fitted it on to John and Jesus. The next step was to incorporate it into the Master's teachings; and in the process the words assumed a new shape' (Carpenter).

11. The meaning is not entirely clear. The usual interpretation assuming the unity of the verse) is that John was the greatest

man of the old order and the old era. But with the coming of Jesus the new order and the new era had virtually begun. And the smallest and least Christian believer, as a member of that new order, is greater than John, who was still in the old order. (If the original praise of John ended with 11*a*, it was given without qualification. If Jesus said 11*a*, one can quite imagine an editor adding 11*b*.)

According to 11 as it stands, the new era had already begun. The kingdom was virtually present. It is present, though in its full reality and manifestation it is still future. And 11*b* implies that John never fully accepted and acknowledged Jesus. He was never a full disciple, a full believer; therefore the meanest Christian is greater than he. For the pre-eminence of the new order and era over the old is so tremendous that the least in the new is greater than the greatest of the old. Another view is that 'anyone, however humble and obscure, who shall [hereafter] be admitted into the [yet future] kingdom, will be greater than John is now' (McNeile). This makes a much less simple antithesis. It has also to assume that ἐστιν is timeless and would not be represented in Aramaic. Lake and Foakes Jackson have a very important remark in connection with Matt. xi. 11 which perhaps ought to have been quoted in my Introduction in one of the paragraphs about Q. 'In no Jewish sense of the word could John be regarded as outside the Kingdom, which is meaningless here except in the sense of the Christian Church. It is strange to find this passage, like the more famous one in Matt. xi. about the Father and the Son, in all reconstructions of Q. But these reconstructions are in the main merely mechanical compilations of material common to Matthew and Luke, which may have used in common late as well as early sources. It is noticeable that in both cases the verbal agreement is very close, so that the source used was Greek. Paradoxical though it seems, the parts of Q which have the best claim to authority are those where the agreement between Matthew and Luke is not verbal, for in these there is probably Aramaic tradition behind the Greek' (*Beginnings*, Vol. I. p. 331. *Cp.* p. 396). It comes to the same thing whether parts of what is usually reckoned as Q are late accretions in, or additions to, Q, or whether the passages in question were really taken from some other source. On the other hand, it must be admitted that an assumption of some later common source other than Q violates Streeter's canon that as 'Matthew and Luke appear to have written in churches in every way far removed from one another, that hypothesis is the most plausible which postulates the smallest number of sources used by them *in common*' (p. 229).

Does Jesus for us mark the beginning of a new era?

We know that his exegesis was necessarily imperfect, that his expectations of a new world and of a speedy and final Judgment

were both mistaken. We shall not believe in him the more, in any specifically 'Christian' sense, because he so believed in himself, but, on the other hand, we shall not, even if he did so believe, refuse to recognize the sublime and original elements of his teaching, and its value in the history of religion for Judaism and for ourselves. In one important sense Jesus was the founder of a new era, though not as he meant or anticipated. Christianity does mark a new era in religious history and in human civilization. What the world owes to Jesus and to Paul is immense; things can never be, and men can never think, the same as things were, and as men thought, before those two great men lived. The future will do justice *both* to the protest of the Jew *and* to the new outlook upon religion and life which Jesus introduced into the world. For, on the one hand, thought and criticism are alike tending to the recognition of the fundamental Jewish doctrine, which Jesus, like every other Jew, believed in and taught. God is One, and no man is God. What the Jews have died in thousands to protest against was not the teaching of Jesus, but the teaching of the Church—the incarnation, the Trinity, the worship of the Man-God, the mediation of the Messiah, the worship of the virgin, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and so on. And when some liberal Protestant German theologians of to-day, who are practically Unitarians, though they do not call themselves by that name, write about Rabbinism and Judaism with disdain and disapproval, they forget that what they directly depreciate and contemn, they indirectly justify and exalt. They abandon, as not originally or specifically Christian, all those doctrines against which, from the very birth of Christianity, the Jews rebelled and protested. *They have come round to us*; for surely, as regards their conception of God and His relation to the world, the orthodox Christian of every age would dub them Judaizers and heretics. If *their* conceptions of Christianity conquer and prevail, great is the victory of Judaism. The name matters nothing: the reality, the doctrine, is all. Mr. Rawlinson predicts, indeed, that such a victory can and will never take place. He says: 'No form of Christianity which denies the affirmation made in A.D. 325 at Nicaea, viz., that the historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, is in His essential being eternally one with the Eternal Father, has any future before it' (p. xxii). Well, prophecies are perilous things! When Dr. Carpenter and Mr. Rawlinson have been long in heaven together, I wonder which will crow over the other?

Nevertheless, Jesus marks an era. It is true that much is associated with his name which need not be associated with it. To us, when we open the New Testament and read the parable of the prodigal son, there is no novelty in it. To us, too, God is the loving Father who yearns to forgive the penitent. If any one can

read the Rabbinic teachings on repentance and deny that this is so, he must be case-hardened in prejudice. Moreover, we all know what we ourselves were taught. We were taught this doctrine, and we were not taught it from the New Testament or in connection with the name of Jesus. But, for all that, Jesus marks an era. I cannot conceive that a time will come when the figure of Jesus will no longer be a star of the first magnitude in the spiritual heavens, when he will no longer be regarded as one of the greatest religious heroes and teachers whom the world has seen. I cannot conceive that a time will come when 'the Bible' in the eyes of Europe will no longer be composed of the Old Testament and the New, but of the Old Testament only, or when the Gospels will be less prized than the Pentateuch, or the Books of Chronicles preferred to the Epistles of Paul. The religion of the future will be, as I believe, a developed and purified Judaism, but from that developed and purified Judaism the records which tell, however imperfectly, of perhaps its greatest, as certainly of its most potent and influential teacher, will not be excluded. The roll-call of its heroes will not omit the name of Jesus. Christianity and Judaism must gradually approach each other. The one must shed the teachings which Jesus did not teach, the other must acknowledge, more fully, more frankly, than has yet been done, what he did and was for religion and for the world.

12. An exceedingly obscure verse of which the meaning can hardly be ascertained. *Cp.* Luke xvi. 16. As it stands, pretty well all the commentators agree that it must be later than Jesus, for the days of John are already past and gone, whereas Jesus did not much outlive John. But some think that it is based upon an authentic saying of Jesus, and that the opening words, 'But from the days of John the Baptist till now' are editorial.

Are the very strange words used in a good or a bad sense?

The more obvious view would be that 'taking by force' and 'is stormed by violence' are used in a bad sense. Jesus would then mean that since John's day rash movements have begun, rash attempts have been made, to hasten the coming of the Kingdom, to force God's hand. He may refer to the zealots and fanatics. Jesus is opposed to all force, to all political revolution. The Kingdom will come when God wills (and that is soon), but by His divine agency only. The difficulty is that the verbs *βιάζεται* and *ἁρπάζουσιν* must be taken *de conatu*. They would mean, attempts have been made to force the coming of the Kingdom, or to acquire it by force. Of course, these attempts were unsuccessful. But can all that be included in the simple present?

There are many other interpretations of the verse in the bad

sense to which I need not refer. In a good sense it has been taken to mean that the Kingdom ' is being stormed by enthusiastic, but unorthodox people like tax collectors and harlots, whom orthodoxy would exclude and ban ' (Allen, Box). Harnack interprets it differently : it refers to the enthusiastic, hurried, eager, passionate way in which the Kingdom (it is here ; it is present) is being populated and entered. In 11 the Kingdom is future ; in 12 it is present. ' Until now ' : *i.e.* the present time, which began with John and continued till the appearance and preaching of Jesus. From John till now is the season of the Kingdom. The verse is thoroughly authentic. Jesus announces himself as the Messiah who has already begun his work. All this and more can be read in his learned and interesting essay ' Zwei Worte Jesu, Matt. vi. 13 und xi. 12, 13,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1907, pp. 6–16. But his conclusions seem to me very dubious. *Cp.* also Bultmann, pp. 100, 101. ' The meaning Jesus ascribed to the words remains quite uncertain.' So, perhaps most wisely, Klostermann.

13. Connection and meaning are again very uncertain. Does it mean that the Prophets and the Law point forward to the period which began with John (*i.e.* the Messianic age) ? *Cp.* Deut. xviii. 15, 19. Or are the Law and the Prophets to be regarded as a whole ? The period of the ' Old Testament ' was one of preparation and foretelling. It has now come to its predestined and predicted close. The words in Luke xvi. 16 seem more clear, but they are not necessarily therefore more original. Luke has : ' The Law and the Prophets were until John : from that time the Gospel of the Kingdom of God is preached, and every man enters violently into it ' (R.V.). The two Q verses may have been as obscure to Luke as to us.

14. ' If ye are willing.' The meaning may be : ' It may be hard for you to believe that John was Elijah (especially if John was then in prison), but it is true nevertheless.'

16–19. Again a separate little piece, the date and origin of which remain uncertain. The source is still Q.

16. There are two possible interpretations. (1) The ' generation ' is *not* like the children. It is like their ' fellows,' like them who would neither dance nor mourn. This generation, Jesus's contemporaries, understands the meaning neither of John's solemn warnings nor of Jesus's joyous tidings.

Or (2) the generation *is* like the children. When John came

with his asceticism, they complained that he would not be merry ('he had a demon'); when Jesus came with his cheerfulness, they said he was a wine-bibber.

Probably the children and the companions are not to be separated in the application of the parable. They jointly represent the Jews who are satisfied neither with the asceticism of John nor with the less austere life of Jesus.

Some regard the passage as authentic; some do not. 'The pungency of 19 reveals its genuineness.' 'The tenses in 18 and 19 are the same. John and Jesus both belong to the past.' Did Jesus up till the very end of his career have to complain of *popular* dislike and neglect? There is little or no trace of it. John, again, was, so far as we know, much honoured by the populace. We do not hear that he was supposed to be possessed. (So Oort: 'If we may depend at all on the narratives in the Gospels, John was greatly revered by the populace, and, as regards Jesus, we are constantly told how crowds of people collected together to hear him; from far and near they brought sick to be cured by him, or they thronged around him to listen to his preaching; and they praised God who had caused such a prophet to arise among them. Even if there be a good deal of exaggeration in all this—as is surely the case—yet Jesus was emphatically a popular man, beloved by the lower classes (*de man juist der kleine lieden.*)' ('Mattheüs xi. en de Johannes-Gemeenten' in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1908, p. 321.) The parable of the children is supposed to refer to a game which the children are playing. Dibelius thinks that the parable may be genuine, but that its interpretation or application in 19 is due to later reflection (*Formgeschichte*, p. 76). In verse 12, accepting the 'bad' sense of 'storming,' he supposes the 'stormers' to refer to the unseen rulers to whom the world is subjected, the ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου of 1 Cor. ii. 6–8, the evil spiritual powers (die Geistermächte) (*Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer*, p. 21).

19. The words of this verse are very remarkable and interesting. It would seem that the unascetic habits of Jesus, his readiness (like Socrates) to consort freely and cheerfully with all sorts and conditions of men, must have made a deep impression upon his contemporaries. But it does not follow that this proves that 19 must be authentic. Harnack, indeed, thinks that it does. He insists upon the substantial authenticity of 2–11, 16–19. Whatever is from Q, that is authentic. Such might be said to be Harnack's constant thesis. I fear that Q cannot be relied on in this manner.

The extra note on John and Jesus in the second edition of Wellhausen's *Introduction* is very interesting. He allows that there may be some authentic sayings of Jesus in the section 1–19.

But they cannot be allowed to outweigh and make up for the general impression and tendency of the whole section. That seems to me to be true. As regards the historic relation of Jesus to John, Wellhausen writes ably as usual and cogently. He says: 'According to those portions of the Gospels which may be regarded as historical, Jesus was influenced by John, though he did not find in him his master, whom he wished to imitate. Jesus did not baptize. That is already significant. He did not live in the desert, but, like Socrates, he lived among the people. He spoke, quite freely and without constraint, just at every suitable occasion of daily life. He did not announce himself as a prophet; he assumed no peculiar or solemn airs or manner: although he cut himself adrift from his family, he lived as ordinary people lived, and joined in their joys and sympathized with their sorrows. One must not, however, because of this, speak of him, in contrast to John the ascetic, as happy in and contented with the world (*weltfreudig*) as some theologians nowadays like to do. He was at one with John in holding that the world, both Jewish and non-Jewish, was ripe for destruction, and would shortly come to an end: this fundamental point of view or disposition was the common ground from which the teaching of both took its departure' (p. 137).

'Wisdom is justified of her works.' Luke reads 'children' or 'sons' for 'works,' and this, the reading of some MSS. and of the SS., may be the correct reading here too. If we read 'works,' the meaning must be that wisdom, incarnate in, or represented by, Jesus, has, in contrast to the doubts of the many, been justified by the result, by the works of the Messiah. If we read 'sons,' then the meaning may be, (1) wisdom, *i.e.* the divine wisdom, is justified by her children, that is, by those who have accepted John and Jesus and believe in them. (So, *e.g.* McNeile). Or (2) wisdom is justified over against the Jews. They are called, as in viii. 12, children of the Kingdom; that is their claim; it is in a sense their birthright, but they have forfeited their right, and their sonship has been taken from them. The divine wisdom, represented both by John and Jesus, is justified before or over against the Jews, for their arguments against Jesus and John are nullified by their self-contradiction.

Meyer thinks that the reply to John's inquiry in 4 and 5 bears the stamp of early Christianity, not that of Jesus. It is quite unthinkable that Jesus would have expressed himself thus. As to the section 7–19 Meyer is in full agreement with Wellhausen, and considers it later than Jesus. 'Till now' in 12 shows that a considerable interval had elapsed from John till 'now.' Jesus is made to reflect about both John and himself as heroes of the past. Again, John thinks that Jesus *may* perhaps be the Messiah. But if Jesus

did not publicly proclaim his Messiahship till the last stage of his life, and if nothing was said of it even to the disciples till Cæsarea Philippi, how and why should John have thought of it at all? (I. pp. 86, 87).

20–24. The Galilæan Cities are condemned

(*Cp.* Luke x. 13–16)

20 Then began he to reproach the cities wherein most of his mighty works had been done, because they had not repented.
21 'Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and
22 ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more endurable for Tyre
23 and Sidon at the Day of Judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, beware, lest, exalted before unto heaven, thou shalt be thrust down into Hades: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained
24 until this day. But I say unto you, That it shall be more endurable for the land of Sodom in the Day of Judgment, than for thee.'

This section has no connection with the preceding one. In Luke the verses form part of the discourse to the Seventy. If spoken at the end of Jesus's career, they may conceivably be authentic; but their authenticity is very dubious.

20. 'Repented,' that is, of the unbelief shown towards Jesus by these cities. If Jesus attached a great or growing importance to a belief in himself, it is quite conceivable and psychologically explicable that he confused a disbelief in himself with moral deadness or sinfulness. Yet a Jew was justified in disbelieving Jesus if he claimed to be the Messiah. There was (at least till his death) nothing to identify Jesus with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah liii. And even if Jesus claimed to be the Servant (which is doubtful), and even if the Suffering Servant of Israel xlii. and liii. was interpreted by some to mean the Messiah, the prevailing view of the Messiah was nearer to that of Isaiah xi. Hence to most Jews a belief in Jesus's personal claims was impossible; for if the general argument of the prophets was true, Jesus was not the Messiah, and the Messianic age had not begun. On the other hand, Jesus did not say that the prevailing passages in the prophets were wrong, or deceptive, or merely preparatory, or only true up to a point, or outward, or

symbolical, or typical; and if he had said so, nobody would have believed him.

21. The miracles are regarded as the reason why Jesus should have found faith. Yet elsewhere the Jews are rebuked for asking for a sign. Whether they refused to believe in his miracles, or asked for a special miracle, his opponents were always in the wrong. That is only human nature.

23. Text and translation of the first half of the verse are uncertain. In the rendering followed by me the former exaltation of Capernaum to the skies was due to its having been the scene of the mighty works wrought by Jesus. Here again it may be asked: is there evidence that the Galilæan cities showed Jesus so little faith? The violent exclamation is not in keeping with the boasted gentleness of verse 29. But the exaggerated tone is pardonable in a Christian of later years who, astonished at the scepticism shown by Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum towards the Gospel, calls out angrily: How is this scepticism possible in cities in which Jesus performed his miracles, and above all in the very city where he lived? To hell with such hardened souls!

Klostermann, who seldom goes further than a doubt thrown out by way of caution, asks: 'Does not this saying, when put into the mouth of Jesus, seem too self-conscious and too much of a reflection upon the past? Perhaps it should be relegated to apostolic times, when, possibly, Christianity had lost ground in Capernaum?'

25–30. Jesus and his Mission

(*a*) The Father and the Son (25–27)

(*Cp.* Luke x. 21, 22)

25 At that time Jesus answered and said, 'I praise thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and the clever, and hast revealed them unto the simple.
26, 27 Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight. All was delivered unto me by my Father: and no man knows the Son except the Father; neither knows any man the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son would reveal him.

A very important and very interesting section, both as regards meaning and origin. Its authenticity is more than doubtful, though the most tremendous efforts have been made to save the whole

of it, or some part of it, for Jesus. For clearly if 26 and 27 were said by Jesus (and, as they occur in Q, they are, at any rate, tolerably old), then the historic Jesus attributed to himself a unique—a metaphysically unique—relation to God. He spoke of himself as 'the Son' in a special way, not merely as *primus inter pares*, but in a way in which no other men were, or could be, Sons. Again 28–30 are of great importance for many Christians, especially in connection with 26, 27, for here we have the other side of the picture, the other side of the double conception. On the one hand, Jesus is *the* Son of God, the only and special Son; 'all' has been delivered unto him; he alone knows the Father, and he is the only door to the knowledge of the Father; on the other hand, this same Jesus, who makes these tremendous assertions of his special position, his knowledge, and his power, also declares that he is meek and lowly in heart, and that his yoke is easy and his burden light. If these verses also could be proved to have been spoken by the historic Jesus, dogmatic Christianity would receive a great encouragement and justification. Not that Jews would be any the more inclined to become Christians. For if Jesus said 26 and 27, we do not think the better of him, but the worse. From our point of view, who are anxious to make of Jesus a great Jewish teacher, we should be, perhaps, almost as desirous to prove the spuriousness of 26, 27 as many Christians are to prove the authenticity.

In view, therefore, of the interesting and important character of verses 25–30, it is not unjustifiable to treat them at exceptional length, and perhaps the best plan will be for me to repeat the larger part of what I said about them in my first edition, and to supplement it by quotations from, or allusions to, the writings of a few distinguished scholars who have written about these six verses since my first edition was published.

The section consists of two subdivisions, 25–27, 28–30. But the connection of 27 with 25, 26 is not clear, and it may be that 27 has a different origin from 25, 26. 28–30 is not in Luke, and it is disputed whether 28–30 was originally in Q, and originally connected with 25–27 or not.

The connection of 20–24 with 7–19 is artificial. In 20–24 Jesus speaks to himself rather than to any one around him. In 25–30 this is the case, still more. (Who heard him, we may ask, making these remarks? Who took them down as they fell from his lips? Were they heard by anybody? Did anybody remember them for years, and write them down long after? Soliloquies are less likely to be authentic than sayings in the middle of events, or preachings directly addressed to certain particular persons.) But the section 25–30 must have already in Q followed the condemnation of the Galilæan cities, for in Luke also the one follows (with the short

interruption of x. 16–20), upon the other. It is possible that Q indicated the occasion on which the words were said, namely, the return of the Twelve (*cp.* Luke x. 17). Matthew says nothing about their departure or their return. In giving the verses 20–24 and 25–30 without their occasion or connection, he may have wanted to enlarge the perspective. 'Following, as now they do, a sharp condemnation upon the attitude of the Jews towards the Saviour (xi. 19), these passages symbolize, much more definitely than they did in Q, the reprobation of unbelieving Judaism and the happy election of the Christian community' (Loisy).

25. *Cp.* the opening words of Sirach li. 1. ἐξομολογοῦμαι. Usually the word means 'confess': here it seems to mean 'praise' or 'thank.' But in that case for what precisely does Jesus thank God? Is he not only glad that God has revealed the truth about himself to the simple, but that he has *not* revealed it to the wise and the clever? Woe to the unbelieving Scribes, and yet thank God for their unbelief! But this would be to go too far. One has to remember the lack of dependent clauses in Hebrew and Aramaic and the comparative small use of them in the simple Greek of the Gospels. The emphasis may be upon the positive, and not upon the negative, clause. Jesus may thank God that the 'revelation' has been revealed to, and accepted by, the 'simple,' because they are many, and the learned are few (Klostermann). I now think that the late Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Rashdall, was in the right when he said: 'Mr. Montefiore, in his resentment at Christ's language towards the Scribes, seems to me a little too prosaic and literal. If Jesus had been educated as a Jewish scribe or a western philosopher, and had carefully weighed His words before giving utterance to this sudden access of emotion, He would perhaps have said "I thank Thee that Thou hast revealed to the simple what those who pride themselves on their knowledge and their insight have failed, with all their education and their wisdom, to understand." If He did think of this "withholding" as a sort of penalty for the pride of learning, would such a point of view be wholly unjustified? There is such a thing as the "pride of knowledge," though it seldom equals the pride of half-educated ignorance. I don't think Mr. Montefiore would have quarrelled much with this saying if he had found it in the Old Testament or the Talmud. That not all the Rabbis of our Lord's time or any other deserved such a censure, I have fully acknowledged' (*Conscience and Christ*, p. 182).

It is exceedingly curious that even for the sentiment of verse 25 there is a rather close parallel in Sirach iii. 18–21. 'Humble thyself . . . and thou wilt find mercy in the sight of God. Many

are the mercies of God, and to the humble he reveals his secret.' (So the Hebrew; the Greek has, 'by the humble he is glorified'). And the 19th verse reads: 'Many are exalted and esteemed; but the mysteries of God are revealed to the lowly.' For the combination of the σοφοί (wise) and the συνετοί *cp.* Isaiah xxix. 16 (LXX). In the Psalms the 'simple' (νήπια) are often referred to as being illuminated by the wisdom of God and of his Law, *e.g.* xix. 7, cxvi. 16, cxix. 130. It is from the mouths of the νήπια and of the sucklings that God has established his praise (αἶνον), viii. 2.

ταῦτα. What is 'this' or 'these things?' It must be the Gospel generally; the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom, its conditions and its near commencement. Or, perhaps the truth about Jesus himself, his Messiahship and all that it implies. In view of what follows this is not unlikely. The official teachers of Judaism, the wise Rabbis and learned Pharisees, have rejected the Gospel and closed their ears; but the simple, the childlike, the uneducated, have welcomed the truth and understood. To them, not to the learned, it has been revealed; the eyes of their hearts were open, and they felt and saw. But in any case the word ταῦτα has no clear and distinct reference. One has the impression that the verse must originally have had some better connection, which made the ταῦτα ('these things' or 'this') much more clear. Nevertheless, it can hardly refer to anything else than to some part of the message of Jesus or to his message as a whole, or again, if we connect it with 26, 27, to his own special position and function in the Kingdom, to his own special mission from God and to his own special relation to God. If it refers to his message rather than to himself, it is not impossible that 25 may be authentic, or may be based upon some authentic saying. Norden's explanation of ταῦτα depends upon his whole view of the entire passage 25–30, and will be found upon pp. 302, 303 of his book (*Agnostos Theos*), but I shall not be able to refer to it again or to explain what it is.

26. The simplest translation seems to be: 'Yes, Father [I praise thee] that such was thy pleasure.' Jesus rejoices over the result of his teaching. He is glad that just the poor and simple have understood him, and that it is *their* hearts which have been turned towards God.

27. The 'big' verse of the whole section. There is an abrupt transition to another theme. It is verbally connected with 25 by the word 'reveal,' but breathes a different atmosphere. 'The style has changed completely; if before we were dealing with a sincere prayer of thanksgiving, we are now confronted with a dogmatic confession (*Bekenntnis*). Instead of the "I" and

" Thou," which is still recalled, though only as a transition, in the " me," we have this statement about the Father and the Son in the third person which directly reminds us of the Fourth Gospel. There is only a superficial connection with 25 ' (Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 46). So too with fresh reasons, which I will not quote, Bultmann, p. 97. M. Loisy says : ' What follows on 26 is in another tone and refers to another object. It is anything but a prayer. It seems rather to be an indirect defence of the faith which the simple have shown in the preaching of the Gospel, a recommendation of the Christ himself who defines himself before his disciples in order to enhance his authority, a theory of the Christian revelation, which is also a Christology. Without any transition, the Christ who was speaking to his Father, now speaks of himself. The seeming unity of the discourse is the result of the fact that it is meant as a doxology throughout, and the rhythm of this verse is that of the preceding passage, but the connection of the personal doxology with the divine doxology is more intelligible from the point of view of the Evangelists than from the point of view of Jesus. It is implied that if the humble believers are learned in divine things, it is because Jesus has taught them those things, and Jesus has been able to teach them with certainty because he obtains his knowledge from the heavenly Father ' (*E. S.* I. p. 908). Yet Loisy with many, if not most, commentators, both old and new, considers that 25–27 were always joined together, and were composed by one and the same person at one and the same time. So too Norden, for other reasons than Loisy's, considers that not only 25–27, but 25–30, form an inseparable whole. His reasons, profoundly interesting as they are, cannot be referred to here.

The very first word in the verse raises a difficulty. *πάντα*, ' all.' What is this ' all ? ' Most commentators take ' all ' to mean the teaching, and to refer back to the *ταῦτα* of 25. Even if, with McNeile, *πάντα* is not to be regarded as identical with *ταῦτα*, yet it may include *ταῦτα*, as the greater includes the less. Then the *πάντα* would be all true religion, all the true knowledge and teaching about the Kingdom and the conditions of entering it, and how the new era had begun, and the Judgment was at hand. It could also include all the teaching about the Father and about Jesus himself, and his Messiahship. (If 27 be authentic, there would have to be some restrictions as to this inclusiveness.) Wellhausen, Harnack, and Norden, though they differ in many points, agree as to the meaning of ' all.' It is the teaching, and, as Harnack maintains, it is especially the teaching about the Father, ' the complete revelation of the knowledge of God. This knowledge has been " delivered " to Jesus by the Father, and to him first : he has learnt now to know the Father ; before him no one

knew the Father.' That *πάντα* means the teaching, the knowledge of God, true religion, etc., is also supported, many believe, by the word *παρεδόθη*, 'delivered.' Jesus contrasts his *παράδοσις* with the *παράδοσις* of the Scribes. Their tradition, their 'handing down,' is from man to man: the 'handing down' of Jesus was from God. God especially revealed or delivered to him the knowledge of Himself and of True Religion.

Bousset, on the other hand, urges that every attempt to connect *παρεδόθη* with the 'handing down of teaching' has failed. *πάντα*, 'all,' must be understood in the sense of Matthew xxviii. 18. 'All authority has been given unto me in heaven and earth' (*Kurios Christos*, pp. 47, 50). (If *πάντα* means that, it would be impossible to maintain the authenticity.) I am somewhat disposed to think that it is, perhaps, more natural to suppose that it *has* this meaning (*cp.* Norden, p. 111, and p. 293, n. 1; the *πάντα* is a knowledge which springs from, or implies, power), and that the whole verse had originally nothing to do with 25, 26 (so Bultmann, 96, 97).

If *πάντα*, 'all,' refers to the teaching and the knowledge of God, then we have to suppose that Jesus, or the author of the passage, meant that all this knowledge has been entrusted, or delivered, by God to Jesus, and to Jesus only. Thus no one knows the true purposes of God except Jesus, and those to whom Jesus may explain them. 'The Father' and 'the Son' are only used in this special sense in a late chapter of Mark (xiii. 32), and then in the Fourth Gospel. Wellhausen holds that the words 'and no man knows the Son except the Father' are an old interpolation. They certainly do not seem here, except as a corollary, particularly in place. But M. Loisy says: 'The two propositions concerning the Father and the Son are verbally interlaced (*font jeu de mots*), and one cannot explain either without the other. They express the reciprocity of perfect knowledge and nothing more. If one suppresses the former, one destroys the balance of the strophe' *E. S.* i. p. 908, n. 4).

It seems hard to believe that Jesus uttered these words. There is no sure parallel for his speaking of himself as '*the* Son' in a special sense. The exclusiveness of the saying that 'no one knows the Father except the Son' is painful; one can only hope that Jesus never uttered it. The verses in question are lucidly dealt with by Loisy in his famous book *L'Évangile et l'Église*. If Wellhausen's view that the passage did not originally include the words 'and no man knows the Son except the Father' be not accepted, then there is extra force in Loisy's argument that the words must refer to the transcendental relations existing between Father and Son. The Son is not the Son merely because he knows the Father, or knows God as Father, in a special, new, and intimate sense (this is

Harnack's view), for the words 'no man knows the Son except the Father' are then left unexplained. 'Father and Son are here already metaphysical concepts. There is only one Father and only one Son, who are, in some sort, constituted by the knowledge they have of one another. The intention of the passage is not so much to explain how Jesus is the Son of God as to exalt the person of the Christ in identifying him with the Eternal Wisdom, which God alone knows fully (although it reveals itself to men), and which alone possesses and represents the complete knowledge of God, though it reveals that knowledge to man' (*L'Évangile et l'Église*, pp. 78, 79, 3rd ed.).

Originally Jesus was the Son of God because he was the Messiah. But in this passage the relation is metaphysical, and hence its necessarily later date. It may, however, be argued that the passage does not say that before Jesus no one knew God as Father. M. Loisy, quite fairly, insists upon this most strenuously. 'The editor of the gospel does not by any means intend to say that God was not known as Father before the arrival of Jesus; what he wishes to say, and he says it very clearly, is that the Christ, the Son, is the only one who knows God, the Father, perfectly, and this because he *is* the Son; just as the Father is the only one who knows perfectly the Christ, his Son, and this because he *is* the Father, because he is God' (*ib.* p. 81). There was no need for the auditors of Jesus to be told that God was the Father of each one of them, and not merely of Israel as a whole. Even the Evangelist, with all his prejudices, did not perhaps think anything so inaccurate as that.

In his commentary on the Synoptics M. Loisy elaborates his views still further: 'The reciprocity of knowledge between the Father and the Son, though it did not yet imply all the metaphysics of the trinitarian dogma, does not the less imply a relation between God and the Christ which is unique in its nature and may be called transcendent. But the text is only thinking of knowledge, not of power or nature, and if account is taken of the context, it will be even readily admitted that the object of this knowledge is, as regards the Christ, God as Providence ordering the conditions of the salvation of men, and as regards the Father, Jesus as Messiah and as the principal agent of the schemes of Providence. In the whole passage, there is no question of anything but knowledge, knowledge acquired by the humble believers and refused to the wise of this world, knowledge which the Father has of the Son, whom He had sent to make this revelation to the simple, knowledge which the Son has of the Father, whose thoughts of mercy he makes manifest. It may be said that no one knows the Son perfectly, and the devotion which binds him to the redemption of humanity, except the Father who sends him, and no one knows the Father,

and the indulgent kindness which He shows to His creatures, except the Son and those who are taught by him.

'For all that, it is none the less true that these statements carry with them a more absolute meaning. Although Father and Son are not solely metaphysical terms, and although they here stand for God and the Christ, the use of the word Son, without any complement, is extraordinary in the mouth of Jesus; it belongs to the language of tradition, not to that of the Saviour; it marks the immortal Christ, it may even be said, the eternal Christ. The mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son is no longer presented as a relation born in time and attaining its realization at a particular moment; it has the metaphysical character of the similar assertions which are found in the Fourth Gospel; it does not express pre-existence, but it assumes it. This declaration is a version of the faith of the Christian community; it is drawn up as a little doctrinal creed intended to declare the excellence of the revelation of the Gospel.

'The formula "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father" is the link by which this creed had been attached to Jesus's prayer, and it may very well have here the same meaning as in the concluding passage of the Gospel (xxviii. 18). Was the creed the utterance of a Christian prophet, taken over by the author of the prayer? It is more probable that the prayer, the creed and the exhortation which follow it proceed from a single inspiration, as they are all marked by the same rhythm. They form a song of Christian wisdom, the fruit of the Spirit.' 'In any case the words are more like a profession of Christian faith than a teaching of the Saviour. There may be some rashness in trying to prove by this passage that the consciousness of the divine Sonship historically preceded, or logically conditioned in Jesus, that of his Messianic vocation' (*E. S.* 1. pp. 908, 911).

'No man knows the Son except the Father; neither knows any man the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son would reveal him.' As we have seen, Wellhausen, and, as we shall see, Harnack, hold that the original text ran, 'No one knows (or knew) the Father except the Son, etc.' In any case, these words have an Hellenistic, and not a Jewish, ring. For what is the knowledge of the Father? It is obtained by revelation, directly or indirectly. But the Jewish 'knowledge' of God, the 'knowledge' of God, as 'knowledge of God' is understood in the Old Testament, is hardly so obtained. That knowledge of God is obtained by right-doing. In fact, right-doing and knowledge of God are reciprocal terms, and imply each other. (*Cp.* Jer. xxii. 16, iv. 1.) But the 'knowledge' of our verse is more theoretical and probably more mystical too. It is Hellenistic 'knowledge,' not Hebraic. It

is γνῶσις, or something near it, not '*da'at Elohim*.' What all this means can be read in Bousset, pp. 48–50, and in Norden. The latter scholar argues strongly for the inclusion and retention of the words which Wellhausen and Harnack would reject, because he holds that the Son's 'knowledge' of the Father depends upon the Father's 'knowledge' of the Son. So in Paul, Galatians iv. 8 and 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and in the Fourth Gospel x. 15. ('The Father knows me and I know the Father.') God has to know, *i.e.* to single out, and recognize, and to make himself known to, the worshipper or the man, before the man can get to know and be united to God. The idea is common to the syncretistic mysticism of west and east. 'The knowledge of God by man therefore presupposes that man has previously been "known" by God. This profound point of view, however, is not by any means confined to Christianity: it is a common conception of oriental-hellenistic mysticism' (Norden, p. 287).

(*b*) The Yoke of Jesus (28–30)

(Matthew only)

28 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and are heavy laden,
29 and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of
me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest
30 unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.'

These famous verses are found in Matthew only. If they stood in Q, and in Q followed 25–27 as now, why did Luke omit them? Dibelius says: 'The situation into which he introduces the logion, and the return home of the seventy disciples, made the suppression of the third strophe imperative.' This is dubious, but the omission of Luke may have some other and better reason, and 28–30 *may* have been in Q, even in the Q which was used by Luke. (A still more unlikely reason than that of Dibelius may be found in Norden, p. 396.) The exquisite grace and tenderness of the words cannot be gainsaid. Yet the words are largely made up of quotations. The last bit of 29 comes from Jer. vi. 16, and the rest is an adapted echo of Sirach li. 23 *seq.* Moreover, the Hebrew original of Sirach makes the resemblance still closer. li. 26 in the Hebrew runs: 'Put your neck under her yoke, and let your soul accept her *burden*.' As M. Loisy says: 'The author of 28–30 therefore read not only Jeremiah but also Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew, or in some other translation than the Septuagint. In any case the presence of the word "burden" in the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus (although the

Syriac conforms to the Greek and also implies מוסר, instead of משא) confirms the theory of the dependence of Matthew. And does it not seem as if he identifies Jesus with the Wisdom, of which Ben-Sira speaks in this passage? The fact is that we shall see him put into the mouth of the Saviour (xxiii. 34–36) words which, in Luke (xi. 49, 50), are attributed to Wisdom. It has been noted above that Ben-Sira gives God the name of "Father" in Ecclus. li. 1 and 10, so that his influence may be also admitted for Matt. 27. The Evangelist has interpreted the prayer of Jesus Ben-Sira in a prayer of Jesus the Son of God. The identification of Jesus with Wisdom might explain the tone of Matt. v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 43, 44; but especially it would account for xi. 27, the mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son being the relation of God with Wisdom' (*E. S.* I. p. 913, n. 3).

The 'heavy burdens,' which make those who seek to carry them 'weary,' are the Rabbinic laws. Jesus contrasts his demands and his religion with the religion and the demands of the Rabbis. Their demands are many and wearisome; a multiplicity of enactments which it is hard for simple folk to fulfil. Those who do not fulfil them are looked down upon and despised. The demands of Jesus are few and easy; he asks only for faith and loyalty and love, and he comes to the simple folk with no pride or haughtiness, not despising but loving them, and seeking to save.

The metaphor of the 'yoke' is common in Rabbinic literature. 'Yoke of the commandments,' 'yoke of the Law,' 'yoke of the Kingdom of heaven,' are frequent phrases. With 28 and 29 must be closely compared and connected xxiii. 4. With the heavy 'burden' of the Rabbis is contrasted the light 'burden' of Jesus. Jesus is the true guide, the true teacher; they are false guides, the false teachers. *Cp.* Paul in Romans ii. 17–20.

The A.V. and R.V., 'for I am meek and lowly in heart,' hardly represents the exact meaning of the original πραΰς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ. Perhaps we had better (Moffatt) render the first adjective by 'gentle'; the second by 'kindly,'—'condescending' in a good sense. The meaning is that Jesus is gentle and loving, not hard like the Rabbis, that he is tender and kind-hearted to the little and lowly people. For the actual words *cp.* also Sirach iii. 17–20, where, however, the meaning is not quite the same. χρηστός, not 'hard,' or 'oppressive,' therefore 'easy,' 'soft.'

While the beauty of the passage is unquestionable, some might feel that it would be more beautiful if spoken of Jesus than if spoken by him. 'It is pleasanter to hear some one's praise out of another's mouth than out of his own' (Oort, *loc. cit.* p. 327). The historical accuracy of the passage is very dubious. To gauge it

raises, however, the whole question of the relation of Rabbis and Rabbinism to the people at large. In the principle of a legal religion there is nothing in itself which makes necessarily for pride and exclusiveness. Whatever may have been the case in the age of Jesus and in Galilee, there is no doubt that, before long, the Rabbinic law penetrated all strata of the population, and was felt as a privilege rather than as a burden. The later Rabbinic literature shows few traces of the Jewish community being composed of two classes, one a small class of Scribes, Rabbis, and learned, the other a large class of the ignorant, simple, and unhappy. There are few traces that, on the one hand, there were a small number of bad, proud people obeying the ritual law and neglecting the moral law; on the other hand, a mass of people, half trying to obey the ritual law and failing, half wilfully violating it, and all neglected, unhappy, and ill at ease. And yet this is what ought to have been the case if some modern comments upon the Gospel narrative were accurate and unexaggerated. The distant God of judgment, the impossible fulfilment of 'thousands of laws,' the hard and haughty teachers, who were never satisfied, the whip of the Law—all this, on which some modern commentators lay such eloquent and reiterated stress, is certainly inaccurate for the later Rabbinic period, and very doubtful for the age of Jesus. It has been invented by the assumption that the Epistles of Paul can be used to construct a picture of Rabbinism. You might, I think, almost better go to a Jew for an accurate delineation of Christianity than to many modern Christian commentators for an accurate picture of Rabbinic Judaism. The dazzling light they see in the Gospel is only obtained by means of unhistoric shadows to set it off and throw it up.

Nevertheless, a limited justification of the passage, in the age of Jesus and in Galilee may, up to a certain point, be not inaccurate. It was only gradually that the Rabbinic law entered into the very heart and marrow of the entire people. Nor did it take this possession of all men's hearts without showing some sympathy with human nature, and some comprehension of ordinary human limits and powers.

Of the authenticity of 25–27 and of 28–30 a full defence has been made by the great German theologian Harnack, in his book *Sprüche und Reden Jesu* (pp. 188–216), published in 1907.

Upon the basis of an exhaustive examination of the entire manuscript and patristic evidence he seeks to show that the original reading of Luke x. 22 (Matt. xi. 27), and therefore of the passage in Q, ran: *πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα* [or *τίς ἔστιν ὁ πατὴρ*] *εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ, i.e.* 'All has been delivered to me by the Father, and no one has known (the aorist, and not the present *γινώσκει*) the

Father except the Son, and to whomever the Son has revealed him.'

The difference between this version and the present text of Luke and Matthew is considerable.

(1) Instead of 'all has been delivered to me by *my* Father' the original reading, so Harnack thinks, was: 'all has been delivered to me by *the* Father.'

(2) Instead of the present γινώσκει or ἐπιγινώσκει the original reading had the aorist ἔγνω.

(3) The clause 'and no man knows the Son except the Father' was wanting.

The change from the aorist to the present was made in order to turn a historic fact or act into a timeless and eternal and metaphysical relation. The addition of 'no man knows the Son except the Father' is really out of place in a passage which has to do with the knowledge of God acquired and revealed by Jesus. It is this new knowledge which has been revealed to the simple through Jesus and for which Jesus thanks God. Moreover the final words, 'and he to whom the Son would reveal (him),' do not fit in with the addition 'no man knows the Son except the Father.' The Son is God's interpreter, not his own. That the balance and rhythm of the passage are destroyed by the omission of these words Harnack does not admit.

Let us then assume that the original reading of the passage was what Harnack supposes, and now let us see what Harnack thinks that the passage, in its original form, actually meant, and why he holds that it was spoken by Jesus.

(1) He presses ταῦτα, 'these things,' in 25. The saying must have been said on some definite connection and occasion. It has been torn from its context. If it were a 'Christian poem,' and independently created, this allusive ταῦτα, referring to something which had already happened or gone before, would have been avoided.

(2) Jesus praises God for the teaching which God has given him. The distinction between 'simple' and 'wise' (for the former *cp.* Psalms xix. 7, cxvi. 6, cxix. 130) is quite in accordance with other sayings of Jesus. The bitterness ('Herbheit') which praises God not only because the true knowledge has been revealed to the simple, but also because it has been hidden from the wise, is found in other sayings, and is an indication of originality.

(3) Note the aorists. Not what God always does or keeps doing, but what he had done just then by some successful result of the activity of Jesus, is the subject of the thanksgiving. Some public success which has not been recorded for us must have preceded and brought about the thanksgiving.

(4) The πάντα, as we have already seen, refers to the teaching,

and especially to the knowledge of the Father, who was never rightly known before till Jesus learnt to know him and revealed this knowledge to others.

(5) Nothing is said of a constant, still less of a timeless relation of the Son to the Father. Jesus praises God that he has entrusted to him this full knowledge, that he, the Son, has been the first to learn to know the Father, that God has revealed this knowledge through him to the simple, and that this knowledge will also in the future only be revealed through him. 'Es handelt sich durchweg um einen geschichtlich gewordenen Tatbestand.'

So far, perhaps, the sailing has been fairly plain. But how does Harnack deal with the Sonship and the Son's claim to be the first man to have received the knowledge of the Father? He admits that the only clear synoptic parallel for this abstract usage and correlation of the Father and the Son is Mark xiii. 32. Yet this very parallel is, he thinks, significant and important. For in it Jesus's foreknowledge of the future is denied, and hence this verse must certainly belong to the oldest tradition. As to none knowing the Father before Jesus, Harnack says that 'no one' must not be too much pressed. No reflection is intended upon the Hebrew prophets. The statement does not go further than Luke x. 24, 'Many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not,' or than the verse about John the Baptist, Matt. xi. 11, 'He that is least in the Kingdom of heaven is greater than he.' Harnack boldly admits that if the passage is authentic, Jesus must have called himself (in the latest part of his activity) 'the Son.' 'If the saying belongs to the best and most ancient tradition, it can have been spoken by Jesus only during the later period of his ministry, and it further presupposes that during this period Jesus upon other occasions called himself "the Son." This conclusion will necessarily be disputed by those who suppose themselves bound not to allow Jesus any other self-designation than that of a Teacher, of a Prophet, and—at the close of his ministry—of the *future* Messiah. But the transition from the designations of Teacher and Prophet to that of the future Messiah demands, both in the self-consciousness of Jesus and also in outward expression, some middle term, and it is difficult to see why tradition must be supposed to be in error when it presents us here with the designation "the Son." If this could mean absolutely nothing else than "I am the present Messiah," then it would be unintelligible; but the concrete situation in which Jesus found himself limited the sphere of significance of the expression both for himself and for his hearers. At present he is the Chosen One, the Beloved One, thus the Son, and therefore in the future—that is, soon—he will come in the clouds of heaven and will receive the office of Messiah, whose function is essentially active. If

criticism can produce no valid objections against the tradition that Jesus towards the end of his ministry called himself the Son of man (in the sense of Daniel), so, in my opinion, there is still less ground for hesitation in accepting the genuineness of the tradition that he called himself "the Son," because it is absolutely impossible to imagine how he could have arrived at the conviction that he was the future Messiah without first knowing himself as standing in an unique relationship to God. What Jesus in this passage says of himself as the Son, goes beyond what is expressed in other sayings, not in the thought itself, but only in its pregnant form.'

This argument of the great theologian seems, however, to contain some doubtful inferences. Is it reasonable to suppose that Jesus ever called himself 'the Son' in this absolute and abstract sense, and that Mark (except in one suspicious passage) should say nothing about it? In what sense was he the Son? Harnack would say in the sense that he knew God as Father, and that he believed that no one had known God so before. But what evidence is there that Jesus had any such idea as to the ignorance of his contemporaries and of all previous generations of the divine fatherhood? Where does he ever hint that his conception of God as the Father of every Jew or every man is something new? Doubtless if he came to believe that he was the Messiah, he stood in a special relation to God inasmuch as God had invested him with special office and duties, but why should this office make him, except in the old Messianic sense, think himself God's Son? Yet if he felt himself God's Son, it was because he felt himself to be the Messiah, and not, as Harnack would have us think, *vice versa*. His office, his Messiahship, made him God's Son, not his realization that God was his Father.

The close parallelism of the next passage with expressions in Sirach li. makes the verbal parallelism of the opening words of 25 with Sirach li. 1 suspicious. Harnack says that all the parallels are too general to have any weight. But this seems hardly fair. Doubtless most of the great authorities take *πάντα* in 27 to refer to the teaching. But it can hardly be denied that the phrase is odd. True that the verb *παρεδόθη* is used of 'handing down' or 'delivering' teaching or tradition, but it seems more suitable of a teaching 'handed down' by man to man than of a teaching given by God to man. (On the other hand it must be admitted that we have the saying 'Moses *received* (קבל) the Law from Sinai.') And even if we take *πάντα* (all) to mean just what Harnack and others wish, even so the relation of Jesus to God would remain something unique and exclusive. Such a relation for the superhuman nature of the Christ of the Church is quite obvious, but for the historic Jesus it is scarcely conceivable. The historic Jesus called God 'his' Father only in the same sense as he called Him 'our'

Father. All who did God's will were his brothers and sisters, ' sons ' like himself of the same God. Moreover, a suspicion remains that πάντα (all) is used with a wider connotation than merely of teaching. See above.

So much as regards 25–27. But Harnack also defends 28–30. He sees a certain connection between the two passages both in form and matter : ' As *there* praise is first given for the revelation itself, and then this revelation is described as being brought about by the Son, so here there is first a general proclamation of the " rest," and then it is said that this rest is attained through the acceptance of *his* yoke.' In the last half of the second passage ' Jesus assigns to his personality a significance both in relation to the character of his commandments and also indirectly in relation to their appropriation ; in this point, therefore, there exists a distinct connection in thought with the former saying.' Nevertheless it is unlikely that the two sayings were originally united together. The situation is different. The first passage deals with the knowledge of God and its revelation ; the second with the laws for practical life. The first passage is a ' Lobgebet,' the second a ' Missionsruf.' Luke x. 23, 24 seem the more probable sequel of Luke x. 22. It is, moreover, uncertain whether 28–30 stood in Q at all, as it is wanting in Luke.

I would venture to add : is it conceivable that Jesus ever said of himself that he was gentle and lowly ? That a man should have said this of himself seems to rob his meekness of beauty and reality. Where in the Synoptics have we a parallel for Jesus thus praising himself as apart from the powers which God had given him ? ' Call me not good,' said Jesus ; yet here he calls himself very good indeed. Nevertheless Harnack with learning and courage essays the defence. He admits that this ' Selbstbezeichnung ' is unique, but ' an Selbstbezeichnungen fehlt es in der guten Überlieferung auch sonst nicht.' This self-description is probably Messianic, and depends upon Isaiah xlii. 2 and similar passages. It is confirmed by 2 Cor. x. 1 where Paul speaks of the ' meekness and gentleness of Christ ' (πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Χριστοῦ) as of something well known and almost as a technical term. Hence Paul probably knew Matt. xi. 28–30. Again there is no reference to the cross or to the death. These would scarcely have been wanting in a later made-up poem. The apparent contradiction to sayings in which it says that only through tribulation and hard sacrifice can one enter the Kingdom, or to those in which the Law is maintained and emphasized, is an indication of genuineness rather than the reverse. Harnack's last words, covering both passages, 25–27 and 28–30, are as follows : ' In neither case is the verbal accuracy of the tradition of course guaranteed ; but it is decisive for the recognition of the relative genuineness of the sayings that in the first saying the whole

emphasis is laid upon the knowledge of God and its revelation, in the second upon the yoke of Jesus in the sense of *commandments*; that, further, in the first saying the primary condition of the knowledge of God is simplicity, while in the second saying the primary condition of the "ἀνάπαυσις" is meekness and lowliness; that, moreover, in both sayings the (Pharisaic) "perfect ones" form the contrast, and everything is strictly confined within the Jewish horizon; and, finally, that in the first saying Jesus is represented as the revealer of the knowledge of God, while in the second he is represented as the instructor and pattern of quietistic virtues without a single reference to the Cross and Passion. If by the word "Gospel" one understands what Paul and Mark understood by this word, then these sayings are not "Gospel sayings" and have nothing in common with the specific conceptions of Paulinism. We have only the choice between assigning them to the creation of a later prophet of the primitive Jewish-Christian community who—strangely enough—omits all reference to the Crucifixion, or assigning them to Jesus himself. Given the two alternatives, there seems to me no doubt about which to choose.'

Since Harnack wrote, the Patristic and MS. evidence has been investigated afresh, and it would seem that his conclusions in respect of them are by no means certain. The aorist ἔγνω ('knew') is not so assuredly, as Harnack thought, the original reading, and even if it were, it might be a 'timeless' aorist, and equivalent to ἐπιγινώσκει ('knows'). See McNeile. It is not *certain*, though it is *possible*, that the clause about none knowing the Son except the Father is a later insertion.

The reasons for regarding the whole passage as later than Jesus and unauthentic are numerous. Some of them have been already referred to. 25 may, indeed, be authentic or contain some authentic reminiscence, for 25 is the verse which has least about it that separates it widely from the general tone and line of the general teaching of Jesus. Bultmann says: 'It does not fit into the frame of the regular teaching of Jesus (aus dem Rahmen der Jesus Worte fällt es heraus), but, on the other hand, there is no compelling reason to regard the passage as an interpolation.' That is about as far as one can safely go.

There are some reasons for thinking that the true reference of ταῦτα ('this' or 'these things') is not now knowable, and that 25, 26 have been removed from their original context. Again, there are reasons for thinking that 27 has a different origin from 25, 26, and 28–30 from either. But there are also difficulties in this view. The Sirach reminiscences in 25 are continued in 28–30, and the 'Father' of 25 and 26 seems, perhaps, more than accidentally related to the Father of 27.

However this may be, the Hellenistic, Johannine sound and tone of 27 are indubitable, and recognized as such by Bousset, Loisy, Norden, and Dibelius and others. The theory of Norden as to the entire passage seems to me (as to many others) unlikely and unacceptable, but his parallels in detail for 27 seem to show very clearly to what sphere of thought the verse must be assigned. It is not Hebraic. 'But 27 was in Q.' Well, yes, but as Bousset observes, Q, as Matthew and Luke used it, was a Greek book, and even if it was, for the most part, translation, 'yet we may be allowed to conclude that a revision was combined with the translation. The possibility remains that a dogmatic saying which started in the tradition of the hellenistic community has here been accepted as a logion of Jesus' (p. 50). This argument is pursued and enlarged by J. Weiss in his essay on Matthew xi. 25–30 in the *Neutestamentliche Studien* presented to Heinrici on his 70th birthday (1914) (p. 128). J. Weiss admitted that the sort of 'Selbstzeugnis' in 27 was unique in the Synoptics.

Again, even if the 'all' in 27 refers only to 'teaching,' and if Bousset is here wrong (which I rather doubt), yet in that case the 'teaching' is a full revelation which is itself a 'power,' an 'authority.' The Son has been given by the Father a γνῶσις, a knowledge, which is mysterious, and invests those who receive it with a special position, a special relation to God. The 'knowledge of God' here referred to is not the Old Testament 'knowledge of God.' It is mystical knowledge: it is a knowledge of God which depends upon being known by God. Those who are thus 'known' by God and thus 'know' God, form an elect class; the knowledge lifts them up into a higher sphere; they are the chosen. (*Cp.* J. Weiss, as above, p. 124.) But all this, while it can be fitted on to, is yet distinct from, genuine Hebraic lines of thought. The absolute use of the Son and the Father is only paralleled in the Synoptics by Mark xiii. 32. Harnack uses this single Mark passage to buttress up the authenticity of 27. But one cannot legitimately use this single parallel in such a manner. For one can argue that the words 'not the angels or even the Son' are an added gloss (so Loisy, Dalman, J. Weiss, and many others. *Cp.* Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie,* Vol. I. p. 345, n. 1, 2nd ed., 1911), or that the author of Mark xiii. 32 knew and imitated the Logion in Matthew (so Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus Evangeliums*, 1908, p. 164). Whether we omit the bit about the Father knowing the Son or not, in either case, though, doubtless, more with the fuller than with the shorter form, the wording is almost inconceivable on the lips of the historic Jesus.

As to 28–30, whether they belonged originally to 25–27 or not, their authenticity is more than doubtful. M. Loisy said: 'These

touching words which in Matthew follow the eulogy of the Christian revelation are intended to complete it. They are not the logical development of it, and they are linked to it only by a certain similarity in the point of view. It may be readily admitted that the Evangelist found them in the collection of Logia. Nevertheless, it is true that in them as in the preceding passage there are discernible certain features of the discourse attributed to the risen Jesus, which seems to belong to the last redaction of Matthew. We find in them a universalist spirit, a general invitation to become the disciple of Jesus. They have a rhythm which is similar to that of the preceding sentence, though less regular. They are composed almost entirely of borrowings from Jeremiah and Ecclesiasticus, and they are more suitable to the glorified Christ, living in the Church, than to the historic Christ. It may be doubted whether Jesus ever spoke of his yoke, even by way of comparison, while for the Evangelist, the yoke of Jesus is the Christian law, so easy and light as compared with the Mosaic Law interpreted by the Pharisees.'

One or two further arguments may be added. Jesus, says Bousset, never made the claim to teach a new, yet unrevealed, and unheard message about God. He tells his hearers about the God of their fathers. Where, says Norden, is there another passage in the Synoptics, in which Jesus so distinguished himself from, and raised himself above, his fellow-men as in 27 ? Jesus, says J. Weiss, never elsewhere in the Synoptics, 'speaks the language of a theologian or a philosopher.' The whole passage, says Dibelius, from 25 to 30 is a sermon, praising and proclaiming the revealer and his revelation. ('Der ganze Text dient der Selbstempfehlung des Redenden und der von ihm gebrachten Offenbarung.') 25, 26 are in the form of a thanksgiving, but are really a proclamation as to who are the true recipients of the revelation. Even in 28–30 the essential meaning lies in the concentration upon the speaker who, himself gentle and condescending, imposes a gentle yoke. Moreover, Dibelius argues that the beauty of 28–30 has made people overlook that the imposer of the gentle yoke is hardly the same man as the Teacher who spoke of the narrow gate, or with his severe demands for complete self-sacrifice frightened many a one away rather than attracted them (*Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, pp. 88, 91, 1919). Prof. Box seeks to dispose of this argument thus : 'No real contradiction with such passages as v. 20, x. 38, xvi. 24 is involved. The burden of the Jewish Law was due to its external character as something imposed from without ; the yoke of Christ is "gentle" because it ceases to be something external and becomes an inward experience. Even the yoke of the Jewish Law could be transformed by a similar inward experience in the case of its mystics.' But is not the 'imposition from without' and 'the

inward experience' a modern contrast, unknown to the first century in Palestine? If you believe that a Law has been ordered by a perfectly good, gracious, compassionate and wise God, it is not, in our modern sense, felt as imposed from without. Finally, we have to consider the odd parallels from Sirach li. 1, 23–27, iii. 17–20, vi. 28. Klostermann says: 'Jesus may have known Sirach.' That is quite true, but are the parallels the sort of reminiscences which, in a moment of holy rapture and joy ('rejoicing in the Holy Spirit,' Luke x. 21), one can imagine a man using or recalling, or are they not rather the parallels which would be employed by a writer and theologian? On the whole, then, the weight of argument against authenticity, especially of 27, seems greater than the weight of argument for it. Meyer has some good remarks upon the section in 1. pp. 280–291. Like Norden, whom he largely follows, he is insistent upon the retention of the clause, 'None knows the Son except the Father.' The Father has revealed himself to the Son, and has thus given the Son the power to hand on this knowledge of the Father to others. The Father alone knows the true nature of the Son, *i.e.* his Messiahship [I think that more is implied] and thus it was only the Father who revealed the truth to Peter (xvi. 17). ταῦτα is by no means to be explained as Harnack would explain it. It is used proleptically in respect of what follows. The simple apprehend the relation of the Son to the Father and of the Father to the Son, for to the simple it has been revealed. Here, says Meyer, we can find the true essence of Christianity as opposed to philosophy and to more rationalistic Judaism. Here we find the yearning for redemption and for an immediate connection and union with the Divine. This yearning finds its satisfaction and appeasement 'in the *ahnenden Erfassung* of the Godhead which brings about the mystic, intuitive knowledge, the γνῶσις.' Nevertheless, Meyer regards the passage as a translation from the Semitic. 'It was drawn up in a Semitic language — Hebrew or Aramaic; that it has been translated word for word from this language is perfectly clear in many cases' (*e.g.* νήπιοι = פתאים the simple, as in LXX; ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν = for you). The phrase 'you will find rest for your souls' is taken from the Hebrew text of Jeremiah vi. 16, not from the LXX. Verses 28–30 are intimately connected with 25–27 and form an integral part of the whole. The adaptations of Sirach go through each portion, and the intended contrast. But no part of the passage is authentic. Both by its content and by the fact that the passage is the product of 'literarische Arbeit' it could not have been said by Jesus. Thus Meyer, and I think rightly. I should imagine that the voices who plead for authenticity will become feebler and feebler, and those who still utter them of less and less importance.

I may add here that Burney would, of course, champion the authenticity. In a retranslation into Aramaic of 25–27 he shows that the three verses 'form a rhythmical poem which rhymes regularly couplet by couplet, if we may assume that the words supplied in angular brackets, parallel to and resumptive of "I give thanks to Thee" in stichos 1, may have fallen out in transmission. The omission of *καὶ συνετῶν*, as a doublet of *σοφῶν* is suggested on rhythmical grounds' (p. 171). The added words in 27 certainly improve the sense: 'Yea, Father, [I give glory to Thee] because thus it was pleasing before thee.'

[xi. 25. 'Jesus answered and said,' *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν*. For the Hebraism 'answered and said' *cp.* Mark ix. 5 and Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1. p. 19.]

CHAPTER XII

1–8. The Sabbath

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 23–28 ; Luke vi. 1–5)

1 At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the
cornfields ; and his disciples were hungry, and began to pluck
2 the ears of corn, and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw it, they
said unto him, ' Behold, thy disciples do that which it is not lawful
3 to do upon the sabbath day.' But he said unto them, ' Have ye
4 not read what David did, when he was hungry, and they that were
with him ; how he entered into the house of God, and how they
ate the shewbread, which it was not lawful either for him to eat,
5 or for them who were with him, but only for the priests ? Or have
ye not read in the Law, how that on the sabbath days the priests
6 in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless ? But I say
7 unto you that what is greater than the temple is here. But if ye
knew what it means, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would
8 not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord of
the sabbath.'

After the discourse given in x. and xi., Matthew now presents a further series of conflicts of Jesus with the Pharisees and of miraculous deeds of power. He starts with a narrative which is drawn from the second chapter of Mark.

5–7 are peculiar to Matthew. Are they also his composition ? ' The greater than the Temple ' is, of course, Jesus himself, the Messiah. If the passage be the work of the Evangelist, the ' greater than the Temple ' argument and phrase would be imitated from xii. 41, 42. In the presence of the Messiah the Sabbath law may be suspended. But the comparison is harsh, for the disciples did not break the law for the benefit, or in the service, of Jesus, but for themselves. Yet Prof. Box thinks the argument is sound if it is realized ' that Jesus himself partook of the corn which had been

plucked by the disciples. This is implied by the whole tenor of the narrative (*e.g.* the analogy of David's action). It has been doubted whether this saying really belongs here; but in any case it coheres with the context when rightly interpreted.' *Work* in the temple according to verse 5 is enjoined on Sabbath in the Law. 'Jesus uses this as a precedent applicable to ordinary life—a conclusion expressly disallowed by the Rabbinic law. Here there was a real conflict of principles, Jesus asserting that the Sabbath-law could be abrogated to meet ordinary human needs. The word rendered "profane" = to make common that which is sacred—a startling term to apply to the work of the priests in the sanctuary' (Box).

7, 8. The quotation from Hosea had already been used, ix. 13. The argument seems twofold. The disciples should not have been condemned, but pitied for their hunger; secondly, they were guiltless, because they were covered and justified by the presence of the Messiah. The 'Son of man' is here used in its final Messianic sense. The Messiah is the Lord of the Sabbath and can exonerate his disciples from its infraction. To this argument Mark ii. 27 is unnecessary, and so it is omitted. Note the γάρ in 8. 'It is noteworthy that Matthew felt the inappropriateness (from his point of view) of Mark's ὥστε and corrected it to γάρ, thus treating as the premiss of the argument what was originally (and is so even in Mark) a conclusion from it.' Lake, *Beginnings*, Vol. I. p. 379.

9–14. Healing on the Sabbath

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 1–6; Luke vi. 6–11)

And he departed thence, and entered their synagogue. And, behold, there was a man who had a withered hand. And they asked him, saying, 'Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?' so that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, 'What man would there be among you, who, if he had one sheep, and if it fell on the sabbath day into a pit, would not take hold of it, and lift it out? Now how much more precious is a man than a sheep. Wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath day.' Then said he to the man, 'Stretch out thine hand.' And he stretched it out; and it was restored sound like the other one.

Then the Pharisees went out, and formed a resolution against him to destroy him.

The order of Mark is maintained.

10. Matthew makes the hostile critics ask Jesus at once whether healing on the Sabbath is permitted. In Mark they silently watch to see what he will do. Matthew's changes may be due to his desire to bring in the argument and illustration of the next two verses. See the note on xv. 26. 'In the story Mt. xii. 9–13—told, not for the sake of the healing miracle, but to illustrate our Lord's attitude to the Sabbath—Matthew adds to Mark the detail "a sheep in a pit." If we compare with this the addition "ox in a pit" in the similar story in Luke (xiv. 1–6), we shall be inclined to attribute it to conflation with another version rather than to editorial expansion' (Streeter, p. 260).

11, 12. The illustration, drawn from another source (*cp.* Luke xiv. 1–6 and xiii. 15, 16), has the same logical fault as the argument in Mark. To save life is one thing; to do good is another. If I can do a certain good deed just as well on Sunday as on Saturday, it is reasonable to argue that, if my doing it involve a breaking of the Sabbath law, I had better postpone it till Sunday. In the illustration, the sheep, if left for a day, would suffer great misery or even die. From a larger point of view it is, however, not unreasonable to say that the Pharisees are supposed to look on healing as a labour, while Jesus looked upon it as a service, a benefit, a deed of mercy. Regarded in this light, it becomes a positive duty, and the notion that it could be technically brought under the rubric of 'work' becomes an absurd abstraction which Jesus brushes impatiently away. For the Rabbinic law and position see Abrahams, *Studies*, I. chap. xvii.

15–21. Many Healings

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 7–12; Luke vi. 17–19)

15 But when Jesus became aware of this, he withdrew himself
16 thence. And many followed him, and he healed them all. And he
strictly enjoined them that they should not make him known:—
17 that what was spoken by Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled,
18 who said, 'Behold my servant, whom I chose; my beloved, in
whom my soul is well pleased: I will put my spirit upon him,
19 and he shall proclaim judgment to the nations. He shall not
strive, nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets.
20 A crushed reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not
21 quench, till he has brought forth judgment unto victory. And
in his name shall the nations trust.'

The order in Mark is still followed, though Mark iii. 7, 8, 10, 11 had been also used in iv. 24, 25. Hence the passage is here curtailed. The quotation from Isaiah is peculiar to Matthew, who loves to make the various incidents of Jesus's life a fulfilment of prophecy.

15. Peculiar to Matthew is γνούς, 'perceiving it.' Matthew makes the departure of Jesus from Capernaum the consequence of his having heard of the desire of the Pharisees to kill him. The addition is of no value historically. Where Jesus goes to is not stated.

16. It should be noted that Jesus bids those he heals to keep his part in the matter dark, while in Mark the order is only given to the unclean spirits.

18. The quotation from Isaiah xlii. 1–4 does not quite follow either the LXX or the Hebrew. Matthew found many things in these verses which Jesus fulfilled. Jesus was the beloved child or servant of God; he was endowed with the spirit; he proclaimed judgment to the nations; he showed pitying patience with those who had in them a glimmer of good; the hope of the nations was in him, and the hope would not be unfulfilled. But, the *particular* use which Matthew made of the passage was in respect of the words, 'he shall not strive or cry,' and 'his voice shall not be heard in the streets.' These words, Matthew thought, were fulfilled in Jesus 'withdrawing himself' from the Pharisees, and in the order of silence (Klostermann).

22–37. Satan and Beelzebul

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 20–30; Luke xi. 14–23, xii. 10)

Then was brought unto him one possessed with a demon, who was blind and dumb: and he healed him, so that the dumb man spake and saw. And all the people were utterly amazed, and said, 'Is this man, perhaps, the son of David?' But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, 'This man only drives out the demons through Beelzebul, the prince of the demons.' And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, 'Every kingdom divided against itself is ruined; and every city or house divided against itself cannot endure. And if Satan drive out Satan, he is divided against himself; how then can his kingdom endure? And if I by Beelzebul drive out demons, by whom do your children drive them

28 out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I drive out the
demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God has already
29 come unto you. Or how can a man enter into a strong man's
house, and plunder his goods, unless he first bind the strong man?
30 and then he can plunder his house. He that is not with me is
31 against me; and he that gathers not with me scatters. There-
fore I say unto you, Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven
unto men: but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be for-
32 given unto men. And whoever speaks a word against the Son
of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whoever speaks against
the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world
nor in the world to come.

33 'Either hold that the tree is good, and then that its fruit is
good; or hold that the tree is rotten, and then that its fruit is
34 rotten: for the tree is known by its fruit. O offspring of vipers,
how can ye, being evil, speak what is good? for out of that with
35 which the heart overflows the mouth speaks. A good man
out of his good store brings forth good: and an evil man out
36 of his evil store brings forth evil. But I say unto you, That
of every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account
37 in the Day of Judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified,
and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.'

Passing over Mark iii. 13–19 which has been already given, Matthew now comes to Mark iii. 20–30.

The introduction to the Beelzebul disputation differs from that of Mark. Matthew is here partly dependent upon Q, though as he had already (in ix. 34) used the miracle with which Q introduces the Beelzebul speech, he makes certain alterations. The blind and dumb man seems to be due to, and made up from, the blind men of ix. 27–31 and the dumb man of 32–34. The original story in Q seems best given in Luke xi. 14, 15. If Matthew says, 'the dumb man spoke and saw,' this awkward phrase is due to the fact that in Q's narrative the man was dumb and not also blind.

23. The language is varied from ix. 34 and Luke xi. 14. It reproduces ix. 27 which itself anticipates xx. 30 (Mark x. 47). The guess which the crowd makes is here premature. If we are to believe Mark viii. 28, the people had not yet surmised that Jesus might be the Messiah.

24. In Luke the complainants are 'some of the crowd,' which

may be the oldest tradition (Q). Mark has 'Scribes from Jerusalem,' and Matthew the Pharisees as a body.

25, 26. For these opening verses of the speech, containing Jesus's defence against the charge, *cp.* Mark iii. 23–25.

27, 28. These verses are peculiar to Matthew and Luke.

Very interesting is the admission on Jesus's part that the Jewish exorcists also succeed in healing the possessed. If the Jewish exorcists do not succeed through diabolic agency, why should that agency be regarded as the source of *his* successes? Thus they, as it were, shall unconsciously judge and condemn the charge of his opponents.

But the concession is out of place here. For if Jesus and the Jews do the same thing, how can the inference in 28 be otherwise than unsound? Why do not the Jewish exorcisms also imply the advent of the Kingdom? 27 impairs the force of 28. It is, however, quite possible that the two verses had originally nothing to do with each other. It has been argued that 27 was interpolated first, while 28 makes a fresh connection. Both verses reflect the 'preoccupation of Judæo-Christian controversy rather than the thought of Jesus' (Loisy). Another view is that, while 27 is later than Jesus, 28 is authentic. The sceptical Bultmann declares that 28 'can claim the highest degree of authenticity which we are in the position to assign to any of Jesus's words; es ist erfüllt von dem eschatologischen Kraftgefühl, dass das Auftreten Jesu getragen haben muss' (p. 98). A different view is given by Meyer, p. 228. In any case, however, 29 is the original continuation of 26.

Thus even from our existing sources we can distinguish primary and secondary elements in Q. For the interpolations had already been made in Q, when Matthew and Luke read and used this document.

28. The Kingdom of God has already begun with the appearance of Jesus the Messiah. This is one of the few verses in which we find in Matthew 'Kingdom of God,' instead of 'Kingdom of heaven.'

In the new era the machinations and evil influences of Satan and Beelzebul would find no place.

29 = Mark iii. 27.

30. *Cp.* Mark ix. 40; Luke xi. 23. In Mark (and in Luke ix. 50) we have the converse saying used in a tolerant sense; here, and in Luke xi. 23, the saying of Mark is inverted and used in an exclusive

sense. They are not necessarily inconsistent, nor is it quite impossible that, on different occasions, Jesus might have said both the one and the other. Here, a test is given by which a man is to test himself. If he is not for Jesus, he is against him. Before, a test was given by which the disciples are to try others: if they are not against Jesus, they are to be considered as for him. Some think that only the 'tolerant' saying is authentic; others that only the exclusive one is so. Though the saying in verse 30 may have stood in Q, 'the logical connexion with what precedes is not clear. It means: "neutrality as regards me and my work is impossible"—which could hardly have been addressed to implacable opponents like the Pharisees here mentioned. Possibly Matthew thought of them as addressed to the multitudes who were in doubt as to the Messianic office of Jesus (verse 23).' 'The basis of the metaphor of "gathering" and "scattering" is not clear. The saying is probably a proverbial one which was applied differently on different occasions. Here it is apparently applied to "gathering in" ("scattering") disciples like sheep' (Box). Two articles in *Z. N. W.*, 1912, are worth reading about this verse—one by W. Nestle, pp. 84–87, one by A. Friedrichsen, pp. 273–280. The latter's view is that the verse must be interpreted to be a sort of sad interjection of Satan or Beelzebul, who is made to quote a current proverb. Jesus is certainly an antagonist of Satan, for he that is not Satan's ally is against him. This seems doubtful. Jesus is supposed to have turned the exclusive proverb to noble use by twisting it round, even as Cæsar did, of whom Cicero said in his speech and appeal for the banished Pompeian Ligarius: 'Valeat tua vox illa quae vicit. Te enim dicere audiebamus nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes qui contra te non essent, tuos.' A fine testimony for Cæsar's magnanimity.

31, 32. The parallel in Mark iii. 28, 29 says that all blasphemies shall be forgiven the sons of men except the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. This agrees with Matt. xii. 31. But in 32 another version is given, corresponding with Luke xii. 10, in which it is said that words against the Son of man shall be forgiven, but not words against the Holy Spirit.

It has been argued (1) that the version of the saying in Mark is more original than the version (from Q) in 32. But the version in Mark is itself an alteration from the earliest form of the saying. The earliest form, instead of the plural 'sons of men' had the singular 'son of man,' but meant by it, not Jesus or the Messiah, but 'man.' If now 'son of man' is interpreted to mean Jesus, what could the verse signify? One attempted signification was what we now find in Luke xii. 10 (Q). Another way out of the diffi-

culty (namely, that it looked as if the Messiah's or Jesus's sins were to be forgiven) was found by changing Son of man to 'sons of men,' an unusual phrase. Matthew used both Mark and Q, and thus we have 31 and 32. The blasphemy against the Spirit consists in speaking against Jesus (=the Son of man), and thus the opposition or distinction between what is and what is not an unpardonable sin falls to the ground. Hence 32 cannot be authentic and original. Hence, too, perhaps, the reason why Luke removes his version (xii. 10) from the context of his Beelzebul story, which nevertheless is needed to explain it. Another (2) view is to suppose that the original meaning of 31 was: 'every sin and blasphemy or slander against man shall be forgiven, but blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven.' This does not seem so likely, and 32 has to be explained as meaning, 'Any insult to me (Jesus) personally will be forgiven, but if you revile the Holy Spirit which works in me, that will not be forgiven,' a too subtle distinction. Another view (3) is that 32 (Q) is prior to 31 (Mark). Jesus quite simply declares that he, Jesus, may be reviled and the reviler may be forgiven; but the Holy Spirit cannot be blasphemed with impunity. That is a sin which can never be forgiven. Only Jesus himself could have said that a 'word spoken against' himself would be forgiven. But here again the difficulty is that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit seems inextricably mixed up with blasphemy against Jesus, and you have once more the subtle distinction. For how was the Holy Spirit reviled except by its being said that *Jesus* cast out devils by means of Beelzebul?

'In Jewish phraseology serious sin was often spoken of as unpardonable. See Num. xv. 30*f.*, He that sinneth deliberately blasphemeth Yahweh, and shall be cut off from his people "with his iniquity upon him," *i.e.* unforgiven. 1 Sam. iii. 14, "The iniquity of Eli's house shall not be atoned for by sacrifice or offering for ever." Is. xxii. 14, "This your iniquity shall not be atoned for till ye die" (*i.e.* never). Rabbinic parallels, "there is no forgiveness for him," "there is no forgiveness for him for ever" are given by Dalman, *Words*, p. 147. And *cp.* Philo, *De profugis* on Ex. xxi. 17 (Mangey, i. 558): "[The lawgiver] wellnigh shouts and cries aloud that no forgiveness is to be given to those who blaspheme the Divine Being. For if those who have spoken evil of mortal parents are carried away on the road to death, of what punishment ought they to be deemed worthy who continue to blaspheme the Father and Maker of all? And what evil-speaking could be more shameful than to say, not concerning us but concerning God, that He is the source of evil?"' (McNeile). The learned theologian continues: If Jesus 'spoke as a Jew to Jews, and used a type of expression current in His day, and derived from the O.T., He meant, and would

be understood to mean, no more than that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, by whose power He worked, was a terrible sin,—more terrible than blasphemy against man.' 'The warning by Jesus about the heinous character of the sin against the Holy Spirit is as solemn and emphatic as it could possibly be; but the actual phraseology must not be unduly pressed—it is in the nature of Oriental hyperbole. In Jewish phraseology serious sin was often spoken of as unpardonable (see illustrations from Rabbinic in Dalman, *Words*, p. 147). What Jesus meant was probably that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was a terrible sin—more terrible far than blasphemy against man' (Box). What both commentators are driving at is clear. They want, as modern Teachers, to free Jesus from teaching that any sin was literally unforgivable. One thing is certain. If Jesus did not mean what *he* said, then Rabbis and Philo did not mean what *they* said. I am more inclined to believe that all three meant what they said. This view seems to me more natural, more critical, more historical. One must not measure the men of old by modern standards. Rabbis, Philo, and Jesus could all believe in unpardonable sins and yet believe in a loving God, just as Rabbis could practise a heap of ritual enactments, and find in the performance of them freedom and joy.

33–35. The saying in 33 and the whole section 33–35 are not here in their original connection. They are closely similar to a paragraph in the Sermon on the Mount, vii. 16–20. Verse 33 can only be brought into relation with the preceding section in a very artificial way. 'You must allow my acts in casting out devils to be good. As the fruit is good, declare then that the tree (the source of the fruit) is good also. If not, both fruit and tree must be bad.' Originally the words meant rather, or meant in their original form, Your words are evil, therefore your heart is evil. The words are the fruit, the tree is the heart. The rather obscure use of the imperative ποιήσατε in the sense of 'assume' may be due to the original having the simple indicative. 'A good tree makes good fruit.' Verse 34 would justify this explanation of 33. Their words cannot help being bad, for they have bad hearts, and the words of the mouth are the expression of that of which the heart is full.

34. That which fills the heart flows out of it. If the heart is brimming over with wickedness, the wickedness flows over into wicked words. The fierce words at the beginning of the verse: 'O offspring of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak what is good,' occur only in Matthew. The words 'O offspring of vipers' are also put into the mouth of John the Baptist (iii. 7). Perhaps, then, we may relieve Jesus from the responsibility of having spoken them.

35. The 'store' is the heart. As the heart is evil, the words and deeds must be evil too. And, contrariwise, the evil words betoken an evil heart, so that for evil words condemnation may rightly follow.

36, 37. Matthew only. Perhaps proverbial sayings, older even than Jesus. The two verses may have originally belonged to another connection or been spoken by Jesus on another occasion. In 36 the word ἀργός probably reproduces an Aramaic original, meaning 'vain'—*i.e.* wicked. It does not mean 'idle' in our modern sense. There is no implication that 'acts' will be excluded from the Judgment. In their present connection the words mean: every bad word will be brought before the Judgment, how much more a blasphemy. Some think that ἀργός means 'ineffective,' 'frivolous.' 37 may (note the sudden change of person) be intended as a quotation.

How far was the vehement expression 'offspring of vipers' justified? Whether said by Jesus or no, was it true? That Jesus did attack the Rabbis, or some of them, pretty stiffly is probably accurate. That by such attacks he went the wrong way to convert them, and that the attacks were inconsistent with some of his own teaching, seems to me clear. But were the attacks justified on the facts? It is not easy to say. Prof. Burkitt has devised a new theory in order to save the accuracy of Jesus (*The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 169–174). The Professor is without the faintest tinge or trace of anti-Jewish prejudice; he is also quite open-eyed. Yet he is a sincere and whole-hearted disciple of Jesus, whom in his lectures he habitually calls 'Our Lord.' He wants to do two things. First, as I have said, to maintain the accuracy and propriety of the language of Jesus in his violent attacks upon the Scribes and Pharisees of his day. Secondly, to admit that Rabbinical Judaism can be, and for many centuries, prevailingly was, a spiritual religion.

He achieves his ends by drawing a sharp distinction between Rabbinic Judaism and its teachers before and after the destruction of the Temple. Roughly he would have us believe that the Scribes and Pharisees of the first century were bad, while the Rabbis and Jews after Hadrian and Bar Cochba gradually became spiritual and good. Humility and grace, and even mysticism, can be predicated of the later, but not of the earlier, Judaism.

It is desirable to quote Professor Burkitt's words in full. 'Between the Judaism of the time of Christ and the Judaism of the early Middle Ages intervened two catastrophes, or rather one catastrophe in two great shocks, such as hardly ever befel any nation that has survived. The two great Jewish rebellions in the

times of Vespasian (A.D. 70) and of Hadrian (A.D. 135) ended in utter collapse, and most of the leading features of the older Judaism perished in them for ever. In A.D. 70 perished the Jewish State, the Temple, the annual pilgrimages to the Feasts, the Priestly aristocracy, all the worldly political hopes of the Jews. Everything which the Gospels connect with the Sadducees or with the Herods disappeared for ever. The Revolt of Bar-Cochba against Hadrian was equal to the Great Revolt in fierceness; it also contained a Pharisaic element. Bar-Cochba was supported by Rabbi Aqiba, himself in some ways to be regarded as the founder of modern Judaism. Aqiba died a martyr, and with him died the last effort of militant Pharisaism. What was left to the Jews? We may answer with St. Paul "much every way," for they were left with the Oracles of God; but they were left with little else. In these awful catastrophes had perished a great part of what Jesus had most opposed. Thousands of Jews had been killed outright: we cannot doubt that many of the survivors lost their nationality and became merged into the Gentiles. Very likely many became Christians: it is difficult, for instance, to explain certain features in the rise of Christianity in Edessa, except on the supposition that the original congregation was largely composed of converted Jews. The Remnant who were left, who still remained Jews, were attached to their religion from motives which were in many ways akin to the motives that made men Christians. They had learnt that the Kingdom of God was not of this world; there was now no inducement to serve the God of Israel left for those who did not still love Him and trust His promises. Can we wonder that Judaism tended to become a more spiritual religion, narrow indeed in its outer aspect, but animated within by humility and grace, even by mysticism? But in so far as the Rabbinical religion is all this, it has been metamorphosed from the prevailing Judaism of the first century. I do not think we need deny the real spirituality of the Rabbinical religion because we believe what the Gospels say about the Scribes, or that we need disbelieve what the Gospels say about the Scribes in the first century because we recognize the real spirituality of the Rabbinical religion. We have a right to believe that the spiritual descendants of the Scribes whom Jesus denounced perished in the two Revolts during the century after the Crucifixion, while the spiritual ancestor both of the Jews who became Christians and the Jews who developed and maintained the Rabbinical religion is represented by the Scribe who was not far from the Kingdom of God' (pp. 171–173).

Now it is at once evident that this view is an immense advance. Prof. Burkitt says: 'Let us be fair to the Jews,' and he is far 'fairer' than many 'liberal' Protestant German theologians.

His new theory seems to me to throw over Paul in order to save Jesus. For the German theologians say that the Rabbinical religion is bad, and its teachers are bad, because it is a legal religion. Legalism is the enemy. Now undoubtedly legalism was still more emphatically and predominantly the religion of all Jewish teachers after Hadrian than before him. So if Judaism became spiritual and its teachers good, legalism can produce all that is required. Letter and spirit can go well together. In fact, all that those of us, who have sought to defend the Rabbinic religion from the prejudiced, and often ignorant, assertions of the German theologians, have claimed for it is now conceded. One can be good and pure and loving and humble and hopeful and truthful and happy not merely through the Gospel, but also through the Law. One can win one's way to the Father without Jesus and without Paul as well as with them. That is all for which we contend. Many pathways to God. Many means to the one result.

Thus the interest—the religious and theological interest—of the question largely falls. If the Rabbis and the Jews of the age of Jesus happened to be bad, that is a historic fact of importance, but its religious significance is comparatively small. At any rate it is independent of the really interesting question: Can legalism produce pure and high religion? This is conceded by Prof. Burkitt. I for my part would not mind—so great is his concession—conceding him, in return, all the bad Jews and bad Rabbis that he requires for the first century in order to save the accuracy of his Master.

Whether *history* can allow his theory is a different matter. There is indeed some evidence that there were a good many bad Jews at the time when the Temple was destroyed. The Talmudic tradition would seem to show this. The famous passage about the bad Pharisees, which Prof. Burkitt might have quoted, may specially apply for the pre-Hadrianic period. Again, Prof. Burkitt admits that when Jesus attacked *some* Scribes, the reporters and Evangelists may have twisted his words into an accusation against *all* Scribes. It is not, perhaps, strange that the Professor should hesitate to go a step further. Why may Jesus, like Jeremiah, and every other prophet, not also have exaggerated?

If we assume three things: (*a*) that for some reason or other there were a fair number of bad Jews and bad Rabbis existing about A.D. 30, (*b*) that the reporters sometimes exaggerated Jesus, and (*c*) that Jesus himself sometimes exaggerated, we shall perhaps be somewhere near the truth. Neither side need excite itself over this result; the whole battle might be described as drawn; and the quarrel could be regarded as settled.

But whether Judaism *as a religion* was really so very different

in 30 from what it was in 300 is rather more doubtful. Is there any good evidence *outside the Gospels* that 'the Rabbinical religion is *not* the immediate descendant of the main current of the Judaism of the first century A.D.'? We may put the Sadducean element on one side. Moreover, the Pharisees, even before the fall of the Temple, were not identical with the Zealots. It is true that the revolt of Bar Cochba against Hadrian 'contained a Pharisaic element,' but the deductions made from this fact by Prof. Burkitt seem somewhat dubious. He says that 'Bar Cochba was supported by Rabbi Akiba, himself in some ways to be regarded as the founder of modern Judaism. Akiba died a martyr, and with him died the last effort of militant Judaism.' What is implied by this? I suppose that 'militant Pharisaism' was bad and unspiritual. But the prevailing Pharisaism of the Rabbis of Jesus's age was not militant, and on the other hand Akiba and many other heroes show that you could be militant and yet not unspiritual. Is not the story of the death of Akiba (if historical) one of the most exquisite of all the martyrologies in the world? The shortest and perhaps oldest version of it runs something like this. 'When Akiba was being tortured, the hour for saying the Shema arrived. He said it and smiled. The Roman officer called out, "Old man, art thou a sorcerer, or dost thou mock at thy sufferings, that thou smilest in the midst thy pains?" "Neither," replied Akiba, "but all my life, when I said the words, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and might and soul, I was saddened, for I thought, when shall I be able to fulfil the command? I have loved God with all my heart and with all my possessions; but how to love Him with all my soul (*i.e.* life) was not assured to me. Now that I am giving my life, and that the hour for saying the Shema has come, and my resolution remains firm, should I not laugh?" And as he spoke his soul departed.' Why people could not love their country, their Temple, and even desire their political independence, and yet love God, I do not understand. Even after Akiba the hope of restoration of Temple and state still continued. It was passionately prayed for and believed in. Prof. Burkitt hardly appreciates Judaism with complete adequacy when he says that the Jews after Hadrian had learnt that the Kingdom of God was not of this world. Judaism taught and teaches that this world is to become the Kingdom of God. In fact there is no real proof that the Rabbinical religion has been 'metamorphosed from the prevailing Judaism of the first century.' Prof. Burkitt says that 'we have a right to believe' that 'the spiritual descendants of the Scribes whom Jesus denounced perished in the two revolts.' This view, if not flattering to the Judaism before Hadrian, is at least flattering to the Judaism after Hadrian. I fancy the truth is rather that the leading Scribes of

Jesus's day were not so bad as Jesus thought and as Prof. Burkitt thinks, and that the Scribes and the Jews who 'developed and maintained the Rabbinical religion' after Hadrian were less unlike their progenitors than the Professor is inclined to suppose. Both before and after Akiba, Judaism, like Christianity, had its good qualities and its defects. *Cp.* note on xv. 20.

38–42. A Sign is asked and refused

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 11–13 ; Matt. xvi. 1–4 ; Luke xi. 29–32)

Then some of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered him, saying, 'Master, we desire to see a sign from thee.' But he answered and said unto them, 'An evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign ; and no sign shall be given to it, but the sign of Jonah, the prophet. For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the Judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : because they repented at the preaching of Jonah ; and, behold, more than Jonah is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the Judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon ; and, behold, more than Solomon is here.

Between his reproduction of Mark iii. 20–30 and 31–35 Matthew has a paragraph which is parallel with Mark viii. 11–13. The refusal to work a sign was narrated in Q as well as in Mark, and Matthew gives the story twice over, first from Q, and then (xvi. 1–4) from Mark.

38. The particular setting of the story in this verse may be due rather to Matthew than to Q. The wording in Luke xi. 29 is more general. In any case we may take it that in Q the speech about signs followed closely upon the speech about Beelzebul and the incredulity of the Jews.

39, 40. The sign is refused. But an important addition is made to what was said in Mark. For the words are added : 'Except the sign of Jonah.' What is this 'sign' ?

There are many different views. It is generally agreed that verse 40 is a late addition. But some think that the whole statement about the 'sign of Jonah' both in Matthew and in Luke has been

inserted in Q, and is, at all events, later than Jesus. For how can the sign of Jonah be his mere preaching to the Ninevites? Therefore it is argued that even Luke xi. 30 also refers to what Matthew refers to in 40, or, at least, to Jonah's deliverance from the whale. (One has to assume that the Ninevites had been told of it.) As Jonah was delivered from the whale, so Jesus shall be delivered from the grave. Others suppose that Luke's sign refers 'to the Messiah's advent. The Son of man will come, as it were from a foreign land, with a message of doom to this generation as Jonah did to the Ninevites. Luke's saying may well be a genuine utterance" (McNeile). So 40 is a gloss, and the sign is the Judgment which is to come. If the Ninevites had *not* repented, the destruction of Nineveh would have shown them that Jonah was a true prophet of God. If Jesus's contemporaries do not repent and believe, the Judgment will be the sign for them that Jesus spoke truly.

The 'heart of the earth' in 40 refers to Jesus's supposed descent into Hades. The interval between Jesus's death and the resurrection is here three days and three nights. Usually the resurrection is supposed to have taken place 'on the third day,' *i.e.* not seventy-two hours, but only some thirty to forty hours after the death, and even 'after three days' in Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34, Matt. xxvii. 63, 'does not include a third *night*' (McNeile).

41, 42. Matthew may possibly have meant us to understand by these words what is put in the translation; originally, perhaps, what was meant (in the Aramaic) was 'the men of Nineveh will accuse this generation and cause their condemnation' (not by words, but by the very fact that Nineveh repented, whereas the contemporaries of Jesus did not).

41. 'More than Jonah is here.' The 'more' is neuter in the Greek, and the reference may be (or may originally have been) not to Jesus, but to the incipient or approaching Kingdom of God.

Some modern theologians are delighted that Jesus refuses to work a miracle: they would prefer that his biographies did not contain so many miracles as they do. They like to think that the wicked Jews and Pharisees had a *lust* for wonders and signs. 1 Cor. i. 22 is enough for them to prove conclusively that the charge of Jesus is true. I am by no means sure that it is. These theologians cannot, at any rate, have it both ways. If the Jews were so very hard-hearted and bad because they did not believe in Jesus, even though he worked miracles and wonders, they cannot also be charged with a lust for 'signs.' On the other hand, as both the Rabbis and Jesus performed, by Jesus's own admissions, exorcisms of the same kind, it was not so irrational to ask for a sign from

heaven of a different sort, which the Rabbis would presumably have been unable to achieve. Dr. Plummer says fairly enough: 'Some have interpreted "a sign shall not be given" as meaning either that Jesus wrought no miracles, or that he refused to use them as credentials of his divine mission. It is sufficient to point to Luke xi. 20 (Matt. xii. 28), where Jesus appeals to his healing of a dumb and blind demoniac as proof that he is bringing the Kingdom of God to them. The demand for a sign and the refusal to give it are no evidence as to Christ's working miracles and employing them as credentials. What was demanded was something quite different from wonders such as prophets and (as the Jews believed) magicians had wrought. These Scribes and Pharisees wanted direct testimony from God himself respecting Jesus and his mission, such as a voice from heaven or a pillar of fire. His miracles left them still able to doubt, and they ask to be miraculously convinced. This he refuses.'

43–45. The Relapse

(*Cp.* Luke xi. 24–26)

'But when the unclean spirit has departed out of a man, it passes through desert places, seeking rest, and finds none. Then it says, I will return into my house whence I departed; and when it has entered, it finds it empty, swept, and garnished. Then it goes, and takes with it seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becomes worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation.'

In this passage we have, if we can, to distinguish four things. (1) What the passage meant originally, (2) what it meant to the first compiler—the compiler of Q, (3) what it meant to Luke, (4) what it meant to Matthew. As regards the fourth, the key is found in the last words of verse 45, words which must have been added by Matthew who is also responsible for the position of the whole paragraph, which in Luke comes before the demand for a sign and immediately after the conquered warrior (Matt. xii. 29). Matthew means that this generation, which at first showed some welcome and appreciation of Jesus, is now relapsing. Its later condition, like that of the man possessed by the wicked spirits, will be worse than its previous condition. The temporary acceptance and belief given and shown by many Jews to Jesus in his early career is ending as badly as when a man possessed with a demon,

and then cleansed of it, suffers a relapse. To Luke, and perhaps to Q, the passage may have meant that unless a man wholly attaches himself to Jesus, he becomes his enemy. If he is not fully with him, he becomes against him. Partial acceptance is of no avail. It will end as badly as the case of a man to whom the expelled demon returns with his companions. Or the passage may refer to the admission that Jewish exorcists can also heal. Such healings are often not real and complete, for the demon comes back with many a colleague, and the last state of the unfortunate demon-possessed man is worse than the first. The original meaning of the passage is very hard to see. It may, perhaps, mean that of those persons who have had their demons expelled from them by Jesus, only those are guaranteed against the return of the demons in an even strengthened form who will receive the Word and attach themselves to him who is stronger than Satan.

There is no real connection of 43–45 with what precedes it.

43. The demon has no body of its own, but lodges in a strange body. Driven from this, it wanders in the wilderness, but soon seeks another resting-place, and if it finds none, it returns to the old home from which it had been expelled. Demons were commonly supposed to dwell in deserts.

44. ' Free from litter or lumber, swept from dirt and cobwebs, and put in order ' (McNeile). The unclean spirit makes its dwelling also unclean.

The passage is written in a sort of half-jocular, half-ironical vein, which is very peculiar. At the same time there is no reason to doubt that Jesus shared these popular superstitions. The impartial historian who ' stands above ' his material is not concerned to find in Jesus every moral and religious perfection, just as on the other hand, he is not anxious to whittle down his originality. In this position of impartiality and detachment the liberal Jew should find himself placed. Thus he, if any one, ought ultimately to be able to judge and assess the moral and religious worth of Jesus with some approach to accuracy.

The original meaning of the passage is hardly ascertainable. See Bultmann, p. 100.

46–50. Jesus and his Family

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 31–35 ; Luke viii. 19–21)

46 While he yet talked to the people, behold, his mother and his
48 brothers stood without, desiring to speak with him. But he

answered and said unto him that told him, 'Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?' And he stretched out his hand toward his disciples, and said, 'Behold my mother and my brothers. For whoever does the will of my Father who is in heaven, *he* is my brother, and sister, and mother.'

Matthew now returns to Mark's third chapter, and continues where he had broken off (Mark iii. 29 = Matt. xii. 32).

46. Matthew had not said that Jesus was in a house.

47. Should be omitted. It is wanting in the best MSS.

48. Matthew omits Mark iii. 31; hence the harshness of Jesus's reply is unexplained and unmotived. Note, too, that though he had been speaking to the 'multitudes,' he limits the reference to the disciples when he says, 'Behold my mother and my brothers.' We can hardly doubt that the ideal pictured to us in these verses was at least suggested by Deut. xxxiii. 9.

Nevertheless, it seems somewhat off the Jewish line. Whether for good or evil, Deut. xxxiii. 9 has not been regarded as an ideal in the general run of Jewish teaching, but the words of Jesus (religious ideals may transcend, and render secondary, all earthly and family ties) have become a lodestar to many Christians.

CHAPTER XIII

1–23. The Parable of the Sower

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 1–20 ; Luke viii. 4–15)

1 The same day Jesus went out of the house, and sat down by
2 the side of the lake. And crowds of people were gathered unto him, so that he went into a boat, and sat down ; and the whole crowd
3 stood on the shore. And he spoke many things unto them in
4 parables, saying, ' Behold, a sower went out to sow. And as he sowed, some seed fell by the way side, and the birds came and ate
5 it up. Some fell upon stony ground, where it had not much earth : and it sprang up quickly, because it had no depth of earth.
6 And when the sun rose up, it was scorched ; and because it had
7 no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns ; and the
8 thorns sprang up, and choked it. But some seed fell upon good ground, and bore a crop, part an hundredfold, part sixtyfold, part
9 thirtyfold. Who has ears, let him hear.'

10 And the disciples came, and said unto him, ' Why speakest
11 thou unto them in parables ? ' He answered and said unto them, ' Because to you it has been given to know the mysteries of the
12 kingdom of heaven, but to them it has not been given. For whoever has, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance : but whoever has not, from him shall be taken away even that
13 which he has. Therefore speak I to them in parables : because seeing, they see not, and, hearing, they hear not, neither do they
14 understand. And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, Ye shall indeed hear, but ye shall not understand ;
15 and ye shall indeed see, but ye shall not perceive : for this people's heart is waxed fat, and their ears are heavy of hearing, and they have closed their eyes ; lest haply they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should turn again, and I might heal them.

'But happy are *your* eyes, that they see: and *your* ears, that they hear. For verily I say unto you, Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see what ye see, and have not seen; and to hear what ye hear, and have not heard.

'Do ye, then, hear the parable of the sower. When any one hears the Word of the kingdom, and understands it not, then comes the Wicked One, and snatches away that which was sown in his heart. This is he who was sown by the way side. But he that was, as it were, sown on stony ground, is he that hears the Word, and immediately receives it with gladness. Yet has he not root in himself, and so endures but for a time: for when affliction or persecution arises because of the Word, immediately he falls away. He that was sown among thorns is he that hears the Word; and the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, chokes the Word, and it remains unfruitful. But he that was sown on good ground is he that hears the Word, and understands it; he accordingly bears a crop, and brings forth, now an hundredfold, now sixtyfold, now thirtyfold.'

Still following Mark's order Matthew now comes to Mark's fourth chapter and the parables. Matthew gives us a larger number of them than Mark.

1. Matthew gives an appearance of preciseness and accuracy by adding the words 'on that day.' He had not himself mentioned a house before, but it is mentioned in the previous narrative of Mark (iii. 20). It is another awkwardness of Matthew that he makes Jesus sit down by the shore of the lake and then immediately get into a boat and sit down again.

10. Matthew avoids the awkwardness of Mark's 'when they were alone,' but he falls into another, for the disciples now ask the question and receive the answer in the presence of the 'people.' The disciples ask generally: 'Why does Jesus speak in parables?' Later on Jesus explains the parable of the sower without an extra special request.

11–13. Matthew somewhat softens the full acerbity of Mark. Jesus does not speak in parables *in order* to darken the Jews, and *in order* not to be understood by them: he speaks in parables that, while the Jews may not understand, the disciples may apprehend the true meaning. It is a rather awkward compromise: why

should not Jesus have left the people to themselves, and told the disciples the truth direct without figure or parable? Matthew in his softening is as unhistoric as Mark.

12. This verse is equivalent to Mark iv. 25. *Cp.* also Matthew xxv. 29; Luke xix. 26. The disciples had accepted Jesus and his teaching, or, as the Evangelist would mean, they had accepted Jesus as the Messiah. The Jews had not. Therefore the truth the disciples possess shall be added to. From the Jews, even the light which they had before Jesus came shall be taken away.

13. Jesus speaks in parables because the Jews do not understand. This comes to much the same thing as if it were said that the *object* of his speaking in parable is that they may not understand. The meaning is *not*: because the Jews *refuse* to see, *therefore* the secrets of the Kingdom are withheld from them. It is, perhaps, the result of *previous* sin that they have now no capacity to understand, but, in any case, it is part of the divine scheme. The doctrine of Calvinistic predestination is here in the making, but it is not the doctrine of Jesus.

16, 17 are not in Mark. They occur in Luke x. 23, 24. They seem more original in Luke, who felicitates the disciples on *what* they see and hear, *i.e.* on what they experience, namely, the coming of the Messianic age. In Matthew, 'see' in 16 has to be taken as 'perceive,' understand,' which conflicts with the obvious meaning of 'see' in 17 (Bultmann, pp. 65, 66).

18. In Mark the disciples ask for the meaning of the parable, and are (iv. 13) rather scolded that they do not understand it. In Matthew (verse 10) they only ask why Jesus speaks in parables, and they are accounted happy for their higher privileges and intelligence.

18, 19. 'Matthew omits "The sower sows the word" (Mark iv. 14). This is no error, but intention. He is no longer thinking of the sowing and the seed, but only of the sown field, and this field is for him (like the vineyard) the Kingdom of God; and by the Kingdom he understands, as usual, the Christian community, or, as one may say, the Church. xiii. 24 *seq.* shows that, but 19–23 shows it also, and not merely in the omission of Mark iv. 14, but also in slight changes which are made in Mark's text. The hearers, to Matthew, are no longer the soil on which the seed falls, but the plants (*cp.* xiii. 38, xv. 13) which grow from the seed' (Wellhausen). (There is, however, a temperate, but not conclusive,

defence of the authenticity of the explanation of the parable in McNeile, largely repeated in Box.)

24–30. The Wheat and the Tares

(Matthew only)

Another parable he laid before them, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man who sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed weeds among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade had sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the weeds also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? whence then has it weeds? He said unto them, An enemy has done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, No; lest while ye gather up the weeds, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, First gather together the weeds, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but bring the wheat into my barn.'

The parable appears based upon Mark iv. 26–29. The Kingdom would appear to be present, not future. It is the Christian community which already exists. The Last Judgment is to come some long time after the community has appeared and developed. This would seem to show that the parable is later than Jesus.

24. 'Likened.' 'A regular form of expression employed in introducing a parable. A similar expression is regularly used in the Rabbinic parables. Strictly speaking the man is but the symbol of his experiences, which, however, centre in him' (Box).

29. The good and bad plants are to be allowed to grow up together; to tear up the bad would only endanger the good. At the harvest (*i.e.* the Last Judgment) God will Himself see to the reward and the punishment.

It may be asked why would the destruction of the bad plants endanger the good? What was in the writer's mind? Did he mean that God alone could know and distinguish the good from the bad? If so, that is a new and noble idea. Anyway, the parable preaches tolerance. Would that the Church had taken its lesson to heart.

31–35. The Mustard Seed and the Leaven

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 30–34 ; Luke xiii. 18–21)

31 Another parable he laid before them, saying, ' The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and
32 sowed in his field. Now it is the least of all the seeds : but when it is grown, it is the greatest among plants, and becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.'
33 Another parable spoke he unto them : ' The kingdom of heaven is like unto yeast, which a woman took, and buried in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.'
34 All these things spoke Jesus unto the people in parables ; and
35 without a parable spoke he not unto them : that that might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, ' I will open my mouth in parables ; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.'

31, 32 correspond with Mark iv. 30–32. The parable must have stood in Q as well as in Mark. Matthew's version is a conflation of the two. See this worked out in Streeter, p. 247. It is difficult to keep up the purely future and eschatological interpretation in this parable, as it is also difficult in the preceding parable and in the succeeding parables to do so. Those who would like to read an able exposition and defence of the Kingdom as future in all these parables should undoubtedly read Mr. Allen's commentary. But it seems, however, very doubtful whether this eschatological and future sense of the Kingdom can be so thoroughly carried through. In the drag-net, for instance, the good and bad persons are surely in the Kingdom already. The Christian community exists in them, and the community is already the Kingdom. Not indeed the completed or perfected Kingdom, but still the Kingdom as begun, though not as purified and perfected at the end of the Age.

31. The ' subject is the development of the Kingdom of God, or rather the propagation of the doctrine of the Kingdom, which will be out of all proportion to its beginnings ' (Box). But that is just the point. The subject is undoubtedly the development of the Kingdom, but *is* it ' rather ' the development of the propagation of the *doctrine* of the Kingdom ? Hardly. And could the Kingdom in its old eschatological sense ' grow ' ? The mustard plant of the parable is not our familiar small mustard, but another sort of

mustard which, while it has a very tiny seed, grows into a big tree-like shrub. It attains in Palestine to a height of over twelve feet.

33. Not in Mark. Leaven is elsewhere a principle of evil; here it is the driving, penetrating ferment of good. The Christian community is the leaven, as elsewhere it is called the salt, of the world. The leaven will ultimately transform the face of the whole world. In order to keep to his single, eschatological interpretation of the Kingdom of heaven, Mr. Allen has to say that this parable, like that of the mustard seed, describes the propagation of the *doctrine* of the Kingdom. Like leaven, this will spread rapidly, until it has accomplished the purpose for which it was taught. This seems somewhat strained.

35. Matthew, as usual, likes to show the fulfilment of a Biblical passage. Here, oddly enough, it is no prediction of a prophet, but the statement of a psalmist of which he sees a fulfilment (Psalm lxxviii. 2). The psalmist is called a prophet. In some MSS. he is said to be Isaiah. The point of the quotation is partly or predominantly contained in the last words: 'things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world' are now revealed by Jesus. The Kingdom of God upon earth, which Jesus has now started and ushered in, was hidden with God from the beginning. It was predestined, fore-ordained.

As 34, 35 must be meant, like Mark iv. 33, 34, to be a conclusion to the parables, it is noticeable that more parables are added. 36–52 is thus probably a later appendix, bringing up the number of parables to the favoured seven. But some think that this deduction is false, and that the parables of the treasure, pearl and net, like the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, come from Q and are authentic.

36–43. Interpretation of the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares

(Matthew only)

36 Then Jesus sent the people away, and went into the house.
And his disciples came unto him, saying, 'Explain unto us the
37 parable of the weeds in the field.' He answered and said unto
38 them, 'He that sows the good seed is the Son of man; the field
is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but
39 the weeds are the children of the Wicked One; the enemy that

sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the Age; and
40 the reapers are the angels. As the weeds are gathered together
41 and burned in the fire; so shall it be at the end of the Age. The
Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather
together out of his kingdom all those who have caused men to go
42 astray, and doers of lawlessness; and they shall cast them into
the furnace of fire: there shall be the wailing and the gnashing
43 of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the
kingdom of their Father. Who has ears, let him hear.

Here we have allegory full blown. The position of Jesus is already tolerably developed. The Kingdom is his kingdom; he is the Judge; angels are at his disposal.

Burkitt makes a sharp distinction between the Parable and its Interpretation. As to the latter he says: 'I can well believe that the Explanation is altogether the handiwork of the Evangelist or of his contemporaries, but the original picture of the good and the bad, growing together unhindered until the harvest is ripe, seems to me to come from another and a more creative mind. And I know of no one else to whom to ascribe this picture save our Lord, who taught His disciples to imitate their Father in Heaven whose sun shines alike on bad and good, and whose rain falls on the just and the unjust' (p. 196). I am not converted by this argument.

38. In 37 the seed which is sown is the teaching; in 38 the good seed are men, 'children of the Kingdom.' These are the true, good Christians in the Christian community or Church.

39. The phrase *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* is apocalyptic (Authorized and Revised Versions, 'end of the world'; Revised Version Margin, 'consummation of the age'; *cp.* Daniel ix. 27, xii. 4, 13). It occurs elsewhere in the New Testament in Matt. xiii. 40, 49, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 20; Heb. ix. 26. It means the end of the present order and the period of the final Judgment.

41. *σκάνδαλα* is a hard word to translate. 'They that cause stumbling' is hardly strong enough. Here the 'scandala' are persons. They are false or bad Christians, who must be allowed to remain within the flock till the End, when final judgment and punishment await them; *cp.* vii. 23.

Are the 'doers of lawlessness' (*cp.* vii. 23) the antinomians and false prophets (*cp.* xxiv. 11) who later on caused the Church much trouble? The question how far such heretics and evildoers were to be tolerated or eradicated may be also alluded to in xviii. 17.

The writer believes that they are not to be destroyed till the end of the world and the final Judgment. It may be also noted that the Kingdom of the Son of man appears to be already existent in the Church. The Kingdom of the Father will only come at the end of the world.

42. The conception of hell or Gehenna is just the popular one. For 43, *cp.* Dan. xii. 2.

'Their Father': the only instance in the New Testament in which Father, meaning God, has the prefixed pronoun 'their.'

44–46. The Treasure and the Pearl

(Matthew only)

'Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field; which a man found and concealed, and in his joy he went and sold all that he had, and bought that field.

'Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.

Here we have a very simple illustration of a true parable. The details are not to be pressed or allegorized. We must not enquire: Was the man justified in concealing his find? The whole point of the parable is the joy with which the man finds the treasure, and his abandonment of everything else in order to secure it. So must each individual sacrifice everything else in order to obtain the highest good, the Kingdom of God.

In these two parables the Kingdom need not be identified with the Christian community, and though the two beautiful little parables occur in the 'appendix,' there seems no reason why they should not be authentic. The point is the same as in Mark viii. 36. To gain eternal life, for the sake of the Highest Good, no effort or no sacrifice is too great. The Kingdom is rather future than present, something for which a man yearns and struggles rather than something into which or amid which he is born.

And in these short parables we recognize too that fine novel note of Jesus's teaching—its passion, its enthusiasm, its glow. There is to be no compromise; no half measures will serve our turn. The great end demands and deserves our complete self-surrender. To gain the great prize we must give our all. But the all is infinitely less than the prize. It is this urgency and *abandon*; this intensity and absoluteness, which constitute in large

measure the newness and originality, as also the appealingness and driving force, in the teaching of Jesus.

47–50. The Parable of the Net

(Matthew only)

47 'Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast
48 into the sea, and collected fish of every kind. And when it was full,
they drew it to shore, and sat down, and collected the good into
49 vessels, but the bad they cast away. So shall it be at the end of
the Age: the angels shall go forth, and sever the wicked from the
50 righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall
be the wailing and the gnashing of teeth.

The parable has much the same meaning as the wheat and the tares. But it is less cogent, because the sifting of the bad from the good follows too closely upon their appearance.

Here the Kingdom would again seem to have to be identified with the Christian community. Some would separate 47, 48 from 49, 50, and would claim 47, 48 as authentic. The preaching of Jesus is the work which prepares the way for the grand drama to be inaugurated by the Judgment. It is the means to an end, and only the end will give perfection to the means.

51, 52. The Householder and his Storehouse

(Matthew only)

51 'Have ye understood all these things?' They said unto him,
52 'Yes.' Then said he unto them, 'Therefore every scribe who has become a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like unto a householder, who brings forth out of his storehouse both new things and old.'

51. The question comes rather suddenly, without 'And he asked the disciples,' as one would expect.

52. The connection is artificial. Every scribe is not like a householder, etc., *because* the disciples have understood the parables. He would be no less like the householder if they had not. The saying had originally nothing to do with the parables. It may have been a current saying adopted by Matthew for its present place.

But even in its present place its intended meaning is obscure. Some think that Matthew meant that the Old things are the facts of nature and of human life employed as parables, while the New things are the spiritual meanings which can be drawn from those facts. Or the 'new' may be the 'mysteries' embodied and contained in the parables, the 'old' may be the prophecies of the Old Testament which corroborate the new. Or the old is that part of the teaching of Moses and the prophets which is still serviceable and true; the new is the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom and the methods of its attainment. The religion of Jesus is a combination of old and new. Or the saying may be later than Jesus. There the Scribe is the Christian 'scribe' or preacher who is 'schooled' or taught in regard to, or in the truths of, the Kingdom. As a steward gives out his stores, so he gives out or teaches both what is old and what is new.

So in itself, and out of connection with the context, the saying may express the view that the religion of Jesus is a combination of old truths and new truths, while, and in a still earlier stage, the saying may be pre-Christian. Another explanation can be read in McNeile. 'The saying may have been spoken when Jesus was maintaining (as in v. 17) the true relation of His teaching to the Jewish law: the former does not annul the latter. Therefore any scribe, learned in the law, who accepts instruction as a disciple in the truths taught by Jesus, is enriched; he can teach "new truths *as well as* old." γραμματεύς thus has its ordinary meaning, and διὰ τοῦτο has full force. The words, in this case, though Matthew adapted them to the Christian disciple, balance the stern denunciations against the Scribes, of which Matthew preserves so many. The Lord could sometimes speak hopefully of them (*cp.* Mark xii. 34), and perhaps did so more often than our scanty records represent' (pp. 205, 206).

53–58. The Rejection in Nazareth

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 1–6; Luke iv. 16–30)

And when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence. And he came into his own native city, and he taught them in their synagogue, insomuch that they were amazed, and said, 'Whence come to this man this wisdom, and the miracles? Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brothers, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas? And are not also his sisters all with us? Whence then come to this man all these things?'

57 And he was a stumbling-block unto them. But Jesus said unto them, 'A prophet is not without honour, save in his native city,
58 and in his own home.' And he did not perform many miracles there because of their unbelief.

Matthew has already used and given Mark iv. 35–41 and v. 1–44. So now he passes on to Mark vi. 1–6.

55. In Mark, Jesus is himself called the carpenter; here he is said to be 'the son of the carpenter.' S.S. has: 'the son of Joseph,' which is perhaps the original reading.

58. Matthew significantly modifies Mark here. 'Because of their unbelief' Jesus does not perform many miracles: *i.e.* not because he cannot (as in Mark), but as a punishment.

CHAPTER XIV

1–12. Herod, Jesus, and John the Baptist

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 14–29 ; Luke iii. 19, 20, ix. 7–9)

At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and he said unto his servants, ' This is John the Baptist ; he is risen from the dead ; and therefore miraculous powers are active in him.'

For Herod had seized John, and bound him, and put him in prison on account of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip. For John had said unto him, ' It is not lawful for thee to have her.' And he would have liked to have put him to death, but he feared the people, because they counted him as a prophet. But upon Herod's birthday, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod. Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask. And she, being instigated by her mother, said, ' Give me here on a dish the head of John the Baptist.' And the king was sorry : nevertheless for the oath's sake, and for the sake of them who sat with him at table, he commanded it to be given her. So he sent, and had John beheaded in the prison. And his head was brought on a dish, and given to the girl : and she brought it to her mother. And his disciples came, and took away the corpse, and buried it, and went and told Jesus.

Mark vi. 7–13 has been already used. So Matthew now passes to Mark vi. 14–29, which he considerably abbreviates. Goguel notices that from iii. to xxv. the three chapters xiv., xv., xvi. are the only three which contain nothing from Q.

5. Note that in Mark it is Herodias who wants to kill John ; here it is Antipas himself. And yet in 9 he is ' grieved.'

8. *προβιβασθεῖσα*, ' induced.' One must assume that she anticipated great results from her daughter's dancing.

In Matthew, though not in Mark, the disciples of John tell Jesus

of John's death, and thereby cause him to flee (verse 13). But the execution of John had happened some while before, and is here merely reported as a belated parenthesis. Thus 13 cannot really be the consequence of 3–12. But Matthew's changes are very worthy of notice, when taken by themselves and apart from their connection. For in Matthew traces still glimmer through of the *old* tradition which was altered by a later redaction in Mark. The fact that the *return* of the apostles is not mentioned in Matthew is significant. The story of their despatch in Mark is an isolated and interpolated section, the combination of which with what follows led to a very artificial connection. A further glimmer of the old tradition is that in Matthew Jesus flees from Herod. The original cause of his flight was not because Herod had killed John ; for that had happened some time before. The real reason was that Herod sought to kill *him* (Jesus). Now xiv. 5, applied to John, contradicts the point of 6–10. Hence we may infer that this verse has been brought here from some other place or connection, where the man whom Herod wanted, but feared, to kill was not John, but Jesus. It is a parallel verse to Luke xiii. 31. Matthew may have known the old tradition as well as Luke. He perverted it by attempting to combine it with the interpolated and secondary narrative of Mark.

There are the arguments and deductions of Wellhausen. There are other theories and other explanations of Mark's and Matthew's narratives into which, for my purposes, it is needless to enter.

13–21. Feeding of the Five Thousand

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 31–44 ; Luke ix. 10–17)

13 Now when Jesus heard of it, he departed thence by boat to a lonely place, by himself. But when the people heard of it, they
14 followed him on foot from the cities. So when Jesus disembarked, he saw a great crowd, and he was moved with compassion toward
15 them, and he healed their sick. And when it was evening, the disciples came to him, saying, ' This is a lonely place, and the hour is already late ; send the people away, that they may go into the
16 villages, and buy themselves food.' But Jesus said unto them,
17 ' They need not depart ; do ye give them to eat.' But they said
18 unto him, ' We have here only five loaves and two fishes.' He
19 said, ' Bring them hither to me.' And he bade the people sit down on the grass, and he took the five loaves, and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he said the blessing, and he broke the loaves, and gave them to his disciples, and the disciples gave them to the

people. And they did all eat, and were satisfied ; and they took up of the fragments that were over twelve baskets full. And they that ate were about five thousand men, beside women and children.

Matthew has to give another motive for Jesus's departure with his disciples to a solitary and desolate spot. For as he had described the despatch of the disciples upon their mission some while ago, he assumes that they have already returned. They are present in chapters xii. and xiii. So he replaces their arrival by the arrival of disciples of John who report to Jesus the death of their master. The device provides a means of getting Jesus away to the solitary spot.

14. In Mark, Jesus pities the spiritual desolation of the people, and teaches them. In Matthew he, less appositely (for how could they have come all this way ?), pities and heals the sick. *Cp.* for the wording ix. 36.

21. The miracle is magnified by the women and children being added to the 5000 men.

22–33. Jesus walks on the Lake

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 45–52)

And straightway Jesus made his disciples get into the boat, and cross over before him to the other side, while he sent the people away. And when he had sent the people away, he went up on to the mountain, by himself, to pray. And when the evening was come, he was there alone. But the boat was then already in the middle of the lake, harassed by the waves : for the wind was against them. And in the fourth watch of the night he came unto them, walking on the lake. But when the disciples saw him walking on the lake, they were troubled, saying, ' It is a ghost ' ; and they cried out for fear. But straightway Jesus spake unto them, saying, ' Be of good cheer ; it is I ; be not afraid.' And Peter answered him and said, ' Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee upon the water.' And he said, ' Come.' So Peter stepped down from the boat, and walked upon the water, and went towards Jesus. But when he saw the wind, he was afraid ; and he began to sink, and he cried out, saying, ' Lord, save me.' And immediately Jesus stretched out his hand, and took hold of him, and said unto him, ' O man of little faith, why didst thou doubt ? ' And when they got up into the

33 boat, the wind dropped. Then they that were in the boat did him reverence, and said, ' Verily thou art the Son of God.'

25. Jesus apparently intends to enter the boat. In Mark his intention was merely to pass by and exhibit his miraculous powers.

26. For the Greek *φάντασμα* S.S. has ' demon,' which Merx regards as the original. The alteration was due to feelings of politeness.

28–31. Matthew only.

A fine, if impossible, illustration of the power of faith and the result of doubt. For the striking and exact parallel in Buddhist literature see Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, pp. 179–182.

As to the origin of the legend opinions differ. It may be modelled upon the ' denial ' of Peter. He had love for the Master, but not adequate courage ; it may be a product of the resurrection stories ; it may have some symbolic intention. There are classical parallels. Dr. Carpenter has some excellent remarks in the passage I have referred to as to how the legend might have grown up from a metaphor, an image, an expression of trust. Klostermann quotes a nice bit from Goethe (*Gespräche mit Eckermann*): ' This is one of the most beautiful legends, and I love it above all others. The lofty teaching is contained in it that man will conquer the most difficult tasks by faith and courage, but will succumb should the smallest doubt assail him.' Bultmann points out how one miracle leads on to another (pp. 133, 134, 140, 145). Box apparently would like to believe in the historical character of the first miracle, but not of the second. Thus he says : ' This episode is peculiar to Matthew, and is apparently derived from a special source embodying Palestinian traditions. It is to be noticed how faithfully the story reflects the apostle's character, yet it is obvious that the story has not the strong historical attestation of the narrative in which it is embedded. It may easily have grown out of the latter as a sort of Christian Midrash—an " acted parable " of the apostle's character, illustrating his proud impulsiveness, his full repentance, and restoration. From this point of view it may be regarded as an early product of the apostolic age. It is obviously not a late ecclesiastical legend.' If I could believe in the first miracle, I should not boggle at the second.

33. In Matthew the disciples are allowed to recognize that the miraculous powers of Jesus imply his Messiahship. (Son of God equals Messiah.) This recognition deprives the scene at Cæsarea Philippi (xvi. 16) of its special importance.

34–36. The Arrival at Gennesaret

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 53–56)

And when they had crossed over, they came to land at Gennesaret. And the men of that place recognized him, and they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were sick. And they besought him that they might only touch the border of his garment: and as many as touched it were healed.

34. Gennesaret is still in Galilee. The motive which had led Jesus to 'withdraw' (verse 13) is forgotten or ignored.

CHAPTER XV

1–20. Washing of Hands: Inward and Outward Purity

(*Cp.* Mark vii. 1–23)

1 Then came to Jesus from Jerusalem some scribes and Pharisees,
2 saying, 'Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the
3 elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread.' But
he answered and said unto them, 'Why do ye also transgress the
4 commandment of God because of your tradition? For God com-
manded, saying, Honour thy father and thy mother: and, He that
5 reviles father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say,
Whosoever says to his father or his mother, That by which thou
mightest have been benefited from me is Corban' (that is, an
6 offering)—'he shall not honour his father or his mother. Thus
have ye made the commandment of God void because of your
7 tradition. Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying,
8 This people honours me with their lips; but their heart is far
9 from me. And vainly do they worship me, teaching as their
doctrines the commandments of men.'

10 And he called the people unto him, and said unto them, 'Hear
11 and understand: not that which goes into the mouth makes a
man unclean; but that which comes out of the mouth, this makes
a man unclean.'

12 Then came his disciples, and said unto him, 'Knowest thou
that the Pharisees were offended when they heard this saying?'
13 But he answered and said, 'Every plant, which my heavenly Father
14 has not planted, shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they are
blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both
15 will fall into the ditch.' Then answered Peter and said unto him,
16 'Explain the parable to us.' And Jesus said, 'Are ye too still
17 without understanding? Do ye not understand, that whatever
enters into the mouth goes into the belly, and is cast out into

the privy? But those things which issue from the mouth come forth from the heart; and these make a man unclean. For out of the heart come evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, unchastity, thefts, false witness, blasphemies. These are the things which make a man unclean: but to eat with unwashed hands does not make a man unclean.'

Matthew shortens and systematises. He combines Mark vii. 6–8 with 9–13, and avoids the repetition in 8 and 9. The divineness of the Pentateuchal Law (not merely of the Decalogue, for Exodus xxi. 17 is cited as well as xx. 12) is still more sharply emphasized by the substitution of 'God' for 'Moses' in 4.

3. Merx calls attention to the fact that S.S. has a 'command' where the Greek has παράδοσις. This he thinks is original. For the order to wash the hands before meals was not a tradition; it was comparatively modern. It was only instituted by Hillel and Shammai, and could not have been called a 'tradition.' The point of the argument is: 'Your Rabbinic laws annul God's laws: why then should I observe your laws? You have no right to make laws which bring about a conflict with God's laws.'

5. 'He shall not honour his father': *i.e.* he need not do so; he is relieved of the obligation of honouring his father (by helping him). The text I have followed is indicated in R.V. M.

11. Matthew makes the implicit and wider statement of Mark explicit and narrower by the addition of 'into' and 'out of the mouth.' But substantially he hits the meaning.

'Jesus could rebuke the Scribes for annulling the Mosaic law, and yet, on this fundamental point, annulled it Himself. He felt free to commit Himself to this formal inconsistency, because the kernel of His teaching was that the spirit transcends the letter. The scribal tradition had the effect of exalting the external. His ethics subordinated it to the spiritual; and He made no exception in the case of Mosaic commands' (McNeile). There is an interesting passage in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs quoted by Walker, *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age*, p. 292. 'As the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, but dries up both and drives away the evil smell; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather cleanses them and is not itself defiled' (T. Benjamin viii. 3).

12–14. Matthew only.

Though the verses are editorial, yet it is doubtless true that the Pharisees were 'offended.' As I have explained in the notes on Mark vii., the principle of Jesus is inconsistent with the teaching of the Law. If the Law is perfect and divine, then the principle could not be one or the other.

13. The 'plants' are the Pharisees. S.S. has '*the* Father who is in heaven,' not '*my* Father.' Jesus is made to announce the ruin of the Pharisees and, so we may also suppose, of Pharisaic Judaism.

It is possible that the meaning of 13 is that while the Pharisaic and Rabbinic ordinances will be rooted up, the Law, a divine plant, will be maintained (Holtzmann, *N.T. Theologie*, 1. p. 498, 2nd ed.).

14. Both the leaders and the followers who believe in them are blind, and in their blindness will suffer a common doom. The second part of the verse is also found substantially in Luke xii. 39, and was doubtless a metaphor used by Jesus, and taken by Matthew from Q, or some other source.

17–20. 'Probably not a genuine utterance of Jesus, but a popular exposition' (McNeile).

18. This verse puts the point clearly. But the opposition between 'into the mouth' and 'from the mouth' carries the redactor somewhat too far. For what comes 'from the man' (so Mark) is wider than what comes 'from the mouth.' Yet though Matthew throughout presses 'from the mouth' instead of the more general 'from the man,' he includes in his catalogue of sins many which do not literally proceed from the *mouth*, though they do proceed from the *man*.

To eat with unwashed hands is no 'sin of the heart,' and therefore cannot defile.

20. The second half of the verse, added by Matthew, has the effect of representing the criticism of Jesus in 10–20 as aimed, not against the Mosaic law, but against the scribal tradition (McNeile).

The long discussion of the 'Corban' passage in the notes on Mark in my first edition has been somewhat severely criticized by Prof. Box. He says, 'M. has fallen into the mistake which vitiates a good deal of his discussions of the Gospels. He argues that what the Mishnah enjoins was necessarily true of Pharisaic practice in the time of Jesus. The very discussions in the Mishnah itself ought to have put him on his guard. They show that the decisions arrived at were only reached, in many cases, after acute

controversy. There is every probability that in the earlier period a different position was taken up by the uncompromising school of Shammai. The Hillelites, who were in the ascendant after AD. 70, were addicted to compromise. They were later and more human. The Gospel evidence—which is the only strictly contemporary, or nearly contemporary, evidence we possess—cannot be waved aside in the airy fashion M. adopts. Probably the stricter view about the binding character of vows and oaths *was* maintained by the school of Pharisees who were in the ascendant in the time of Jesus. To imagine that the whole thing has been invented is as uncritical as it is uncalled for.' Now I do not think that I stated that 'the whole thing has been invented.' I only pointed out the difficulties in the way, and finally I suggested that the only way out of the difficulties would be to assume that Jesus came in contact with some Rabbis who held that, even when the Law directly affected the parents, it must nevertheless be upheld, and that even here it could not be annulled. See notes on Mark. Surely this is a somewhat different conclusion from that of declaring the Gospel evidence to have been 'invented.' I do not think that it will be often found that I contrast the *Mishnah* as such with the evidence of the Gospel. There would, I think, be few cases found in which I use the decisions of the Mishnah to controvert sayings in the Gospel. It is true that I do use Rabbinic evidence, though with caution, in criticizing Gospel sayings. Not, I hope, that I wave Gospel evidence aside, in 'an airy fashion.' If I have done so, I sincerely regret it. I have said, and I repeat, that Jesus put his finger upon the dangers of Rabbinic religion and of 'legalism.' There *were* doubtless *some* 'formalists' in the Rabbis of his time, *some* Rabbis who cleansed the outside of the cup and left the inside dirty, *some* Rabbis who neglected 'mercy,' but were, nevertheless, sanctimonious and self-righteous. But none the less must we always use—and for no more than this have I contended—the Gospel evidence as regards Pharisaism with great caution, because it is the product of antagonists. Jesus was an antagonist of the Pharisees and of the Rabbis, and still more so were the editors and compilers of the Gospels. My quarrel with many Christian commentators is that they—I venture to think uncritically—assume that because *Jesus* said so and so about the Pharisees and about the Rabbis, therefore it must be true. What he said must undoubtedly be most carefully weighed. But it may, or may not, be true. The words of an antagonist reported by still fiercer antagonists must not be taken as evidence of the people and the system that are attacked without the most careful scrutiny. I should have thought that this was one of the most elementary rules in history, but in many commentaries it seems to me to be neglected. And theories are

devised to show why nothing that is said in criticism of any Gospel utterance, so long as that utterance is supposed to be authentic, need be regarded as of any great weight. But why should inerrancy in his judgment of others be claimed for Jesus? Is it not uncritical to do so? Even if he was more usually in the right than his antagonists, or than most teachers, why need he have been in the right *always*? I have elsewhere referred to the theory, of which the most brilliant exponent is Prof. Burkitt, that Rabbinic Judaism changed immensely for the better, even though it became much more 'legal,' after the Hadrianic Revolt. Therefore, as most Rabbinic material is later than Hadrian, it does not count. All that Jesus said in A.D. 30 may be true, and all that you can fish out of the Talmud may be true, even though the two are in contradiction with each other. For the state of affairs in 30 was so very different from, and religiously and morally so very inferior to, the state of affairs after Hadrian. This theory, Dr. Abrahams thinks, has little to go upon, and rests, in his opinion, upon shaky foundations. It is, in his judgment, just as uncritical to assume that, in the days of Jesus, Pharisaic opinions about religion and morality, and Rabbinic practice in matters of religion and morality, were markedly different from what they afterwards became as it would be to 'use the evidence of the Mishnah,' untested and offhand, as rebuttal of any Gospel criticism or attack. Nor must it be forgotten that we have a certain amount of first-century Rabbinic evidence about Rabbinic religious opinions and practice. We know, at all events, a certain amount about men like Hillel, Jochanan b. Zakkai, Akiba, and others who lived and died before the supposed great change and improvement after Hadrian had time to make itself felt. We do not find any great moral and religious difference between them and their successors. I wonder what R. Tarphon would have said had he read Matt. xv. 3–6. Still more do I wonder what R. Tarphon's mother would have said. And, by the by, was not R. Tarphon an adherent of the school of Shammai? But he certainly seems to have honoured his mother, if the story be true that one Sabbath day her sandals split and broke, and as she could not mend them, she had to walk across the courtyard barefoot. So Tarphon kept stretching his hands under her feet so that she might walk on them all the way. When we reflect on a story like that about a first-century Rabbi, when we remember the general line of Jewish morality and its extreme, and almost exaggerated, insistence upon, and adoration of, the fifth commandment, when we further remember that all Rabbinic evidence is 'in undress'—not intended to be used as evidence—written, it is true, by Rabbis about Rabbis, but written artlessly, and not for the special purpose of exalting or of laudation,

on the one hand, and of masking or denying faults upon the other—I am inclined to think that it can have been true of very few Rabbis that in this respect 'they made void the word of God by their tradition.' And that is the sort of way in which, I think, we may, temperately and carefully, use 'late' Rabbinic evidence even to correct an early Gospel utterance.

21–28. The Canaanite Woman

(*Cp.* Mark vii. 24–30)

Then Jesus departed thence, and withdrew to the district of Tyre and Sidon. And, behold, a Canaanite woman from that region came forth, and cried out, saying, 'Pity me, Lord, son of David; my daughter is grievously possessed with a demon.' But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, 'Send her away; for she keeps crying out behind us.' But he answered and said, 'I am not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' Then came she and did him reverence, saying, 'Lord, help me.' But he answered and said, 'It is not lawful to take the children's bread, and to throw it to the dogs.' And she said, 'Yes, Lord: for also the dogs eat of the morsels which fall from their masters' table.' Then Jesus answered and said unto her, 'O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou desirest.' And her daughter was healed from that hour.

In this story Matthew does not, as so often, curtail Mark, but expands him. 23 and 24 are his own contribution to the story. The additions may be his own (editorial), or it may be that Matthew is following another source than Mark (perhaps Q), which Mark may, or may not, have known.

22. The woman recognizes and realizes that Jesus is the Messiah, and so proclaims and addresses him. An addendum, the historical character of which is very doubtful. 'It can hardly be unintentional that Matthew omits the statement that Jesus entered into a house in this heathen territory, and represents the woman as coming out of those boundaries (*ὁρίων*) to Jesus' (Allen). Matthew could not let Jesus perform a miracle on heathen soil, after having forbidden the disciples (x. 5) to enter it.

23. 'Send her away': grant her request, and so get rid of her.

The interpolated verses seek to show that Jesus only yielded after hesitation and an inward struggle. Verse 24 explains 26 more clearly. The artistic effect of 23 is excellent.

24. The verse may have been a separate and independent saying, which Matthew has used. It is parallel to, or the product of, x. 5, 6. Matthew would give us to understand that the mission of Jesus was limited to Israel, as was also the mission of the disciples before the resurrection. The verse explains the undoubted, but perplexing, fact that Jesus, the universal Saviour and Mediator, did actually confine himself to the Jews. The explanation is that God had ordered this limitation. Only after his resurrection he will send his disciples to all the world (Matt. xxviii. 19). Harnack considers that 24 is authentic. It must have been inconveniently particularistic even for Matthew, and was not invented. From the mission of Jesus were excluded the Samaritans and the heathen (x. 5, 6). 'Das hat Jesus unzweifelhaft gesagt.' 'Jesus felt himself to be the exclusive Saviour of his people, and he gave to this feeling strong expression in the words of 24.' 'Jesus hat sich ausschliesslich als den Heiland seines Volks empfunden, und er hat dieser Empfindung einen starken Ausdruck gegeben: meine Sendung gilt den Verlorenen aus dem Hause Israels.' ('Ich bin gekommen,' p. 21). These words of the great theologian are not lightly to be passed over.

26. In this reply Matthew may have reproduced the source more accurately than Mark. He does not say that the children are to be fed *first*, thereby allowing that the dogs (*i.e.* the Gentiles) are, at all events, to be fed second. Jesus does not look to the future. He says unconditionally that his help is for the Jews alone.

Streeter thinks that we have here a passage in which Matthew used the Judaistic source M. He considers that M had parallel versions, of the same incidents which are recorded in Mark, and that sometimes Matthew used M as well as Mark in *his* version of these incidents. This 'overlapping' between M and Mark, *i.e.* the occurrence, and the use thereof by Matthew, 'of parallel versions of the same incident in Mark and M would explain three cases where Matthew's account appears to be in some ways more original than Mark's.' Matt. xii. 9-13 was, as was noted above, one of these cases, xix. 3–12 is a second, and here is the third. 'The account of the Syrophenician woman, as given by Matthew, is made, by an addition of the two and a half verses (Matt. xv. 22*b*–24) (which suggest very great reluctance on the part of our Lord to heal a Gentile), very much more Judaistic than the version given by Mark (vii. 24–30). But Divorce, the Sabbath, and the position

of Gentiles were all burning questions, especially among Jewish Christians. Hence we should expect that sayings or stories which could be quoted as defining Christ's attitude towards them would be current at a very early time in nearly every Church—and most certainly in the Church of Jerusalem. It seems likely, then, that in these three instances Matthew had before him a parallel version in M. But in each case he tells the story in the context in which it occurs in Mark. Probably, then, he takes Mark's version as his basis, adding only a few notable details from that of M. Thus only fragments of the M version are likely to have been preserved, and its original form may have differed considerably from Mark. Hence, here as so often, we cannot reconstruct the M version' (p. 260).

28. The emphasis upon the woman's faith and Jesus's commendation of it are added and noteworthy features of Matthew.

29–31. Fresh Healings

(*Cp.* Mark vii. 31–37)

And Jesus departed thence, and came to the lake of Galilee. And he went up on to the mountain, and sat down there. And great crowds came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and they cast them down at Jesus's feet; and he healed them: so that the crowd marvelled to see how the dumb spoke, the maimed became sound, the lame walked, and the blind saw: and they glorified the God of Israel.

Instead of the one miracle in Mark vii. 31–37 we have here a sort of general survey. 'The magical healing of the deaf and dumb man is passed over like the magical healing of the blind man, Mark viii. 22–26. Yet these two tales have cast their shadow before in Matt. ix. 27–33. That Jesus here ascends the mountain, whither the sick follow him, is odd. The mountain here precedes the desert place (33), whereas in the parallel passage the mountain (xiv. 23) follows on the desert' (Wellhausen).

30. 'At his feet.' S.S. and the MS. 'D,' 'Under his feet,' which is probably more original. It was apparently an old method of healing, still to be observed in the East, for the healer to put his foot upon the diseased body. The words in 31 appear to be

suggested by the omitted section in Mark. For Mark vii. 37 seems to suggest Matt. xv. 31 (Streeter, p. 170).

32–39. Feeding of the Four Thousand

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 1–10)

32 Then Jesus called his disciples unto him, and said, 'I feel pity for the people, because they have tarried with me now three days, and have nothing to eat: and I do not wish to send them away
33 fasting, lest they faint by the way.' And his disciples said unto him, 'Whence could we get so much bread in the wilderness, so as
34 to satisfy so great a crowd?' And Jesus said unto them, 'How many loaves have ye?' And they said, 'Seven, and a few small
35, 36 fishes.' And he bade the people sit down on the ground. And he took the seven loaves and the fishes, and spoke the blessing, and broke them, and gave them to his disciples, and the disciples gave
37 them to the people. And they all ate, and were satisfied: and they took up of the broken bits that were left seven baskets full.
38 And they that ate were four thousand men, beside women and
39 children. Then he sent the people away, and went into the boat, and came into the district of Magdala.

Matthew keeps pretty close to the version in Mark. As in the feeding of the five thousand he heightens the marvel by adding some children and women, and he makes Jesus arrive at the district of Magadan instead of Dalmanutha, a locality equally unknown to us.

CHAPTER XVI

1–4. A Sign is Refused

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 11–13 ; Luke xii. 54–56, xi. 29)

Then the Pharisees and the Sadducees came, and demanded him to show them a sign from heaven in order to tempt him. But he answered and said unto them, ' [In the evening, ye say, It will be fair weather : for the sky is red. And in the morning, It will be stormy weather to-day : for the sky is red and overcast. Ye can discern the face of the sky ; but can ye not discern the signs of the times ?] A wicked and adulterous generation seeks after a sign ; and no sign shall be given unto it, except the sign of Jonah.' And he left them, and departed.

The Sadducees are added by Matthew. *Cp.* iii. 7. They complete the circle of Jesus's enemies.

2 and 3 are an awkward adaptation of Luke xii. 54–56, and are wanting in several good MSS. The signs of the times are not the miracles of Jesus, as the inserter of these verses would seem to mean, but important events, indications of the coming *dénouement*, the final Judgment and the end of the existing order of things. To the interpolator they seem to mean the miracles which Jesus had already wrought, and which had left the Jews irresponsive and unbelieving.

4. The sign of Jonah is added from xii. 38, which chapter contains an independent variant of the whole story from Q.

5–12. Bread and Leaven

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 14–21 ; Luke xii. 1)

And the disciples came across to the other side, and forgot to take with them bread. Then Jesus said unto them, ' Take heed and

7 beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.' And
they argued in themselves, saying, 'It is because we have taken no
8 bread.' But Jesus knew their thoughts, and he said unto them,
'O ye of little faith, why argue ye in yourselves, It is because we
9 have brought no bread? Do ye not yet understand, and do ye not
remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many
10 baskets ye took up? or the seven loaves of the four thousand, and
11 how many baskets ye took up? How is it that ye do not under-
stand that I spoke not to you concerning bread? But beware of
12 the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.' Then they
understood how that he bade them beware, not of the leaven of
bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

6. For Herod, Matthew substitutes the Sadducees. For Matthew understands the leaven to be false teaching, hence the 'leaven of Herod' becomes an impossible phrase.

7. Mark has διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, which appears to mean that the disciples discussed out loud with each other the meaning of Jesus's warning, and interpreted it to refer to their forgetfulness to take enough bread with them. In any case they discuss out loud. Matthew has διελογίζοντο ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, which apparently means a silent pondering or arguing within their own hearts. That Jesus reads their inward thoughts heightens the solemnity of the story.

Another rendering of the verse is: 'They were anxiously discussing among themselves, saying, We did not bring any bread.' 7 would be the immediate continuation of 5. This view supposes that the lack of bread 'being due to the hurried departure from the hostility of the authorities, and the warning about leaven referring to the same, they were wrongly combined in the Marcan tradition, so that the disciples are represented as thinking, with extraordinary obtuseness, that Jesus meant "leaven" literally' (McNeile).

11. Matthew now deviates from Mark. He makes Jesus definitely say that he was not speaking of material bread when he warned the disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees. This broad hint is enough for the disciples, and we are informed in the next verse that they understand what he had meant. But Matthew also appears to interpret 8–10 to mean that Jesus wished the disciples to understand that they need have no care about material bread. He with his miraculous powers would always see that they had enough to eat.

Perhaps 11 should be translated: 'How is it that ye did not perceive that it was not in respect of (material) bread that I said to you, Beware, etc.'

13–28. The Declaration of Messiahship—The Conditions of Discipleship

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 27–ix. 1; Luke ix. 18–27)

Then Jesus came into the district of Cæsarea Philippi. And he asked his disciples, saying, 'Whom do men say that the Son of man is?' And they said, 'Some say John the Baptist: some Elijah; and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets.' He said unto them, 'But *ye*—whom say ye that I am?' And Simon Peter answered and said, 'Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.'

And Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Happy art thou, Simon Bar-jonah: for flesh and blood revealed it not unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. So I say also unto thee: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatever thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

Then he enjoined his disciples that they should tell no one that he was the Messiah.

From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer much from the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised. Then Peter took him aside, and began to rebuke him, saying, 'God forbid, Lord; this shall never befall thee.' But he turned, and said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art a stumbling-block unto me: for thou thinkest not the thoughts of God, but of men.'

Then said Jesus unto his disciples, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever would save his life shall lose it: and whoever would lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? or

27 what shall a man give as the price of his life? For the Son of man
is about to come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and
then will he render to every man according to his works. Verily
28 I say unto you, There are some of those standing here, who shall
not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.'

Matthew omits Mark viii. 22–26. He probably objected to the manner in which the miracle is conducted. It has already been pointed out how both Mark viii. 22–26 and vii. 31–37 have 'cast their shadows before' in Matt. ix. 27–33.

13–16 correspond with Mark viii. 27–29.

13. Note that 'the Son of man' is put instead of Mark's 'I'; in some MSS. it is added to 'I' in apposition. As the 'Son of man' is in Matthew equivalent to the Messiah, the change from the simple 'I' is very awkward, for the question anticipates the reply.

14. Jeremiah is added. Was there also some legend that he too like Elijah had not died? The wording points in the direction of Luke ix. 19: 'a prophet' being interpreted to mean, 'one of the old prophets resurrected.'

16. 'The Son of the living God' is added. The Messiah is the Son of God, but this is scarcely to be understood yet in a Johannine or full Christian sense.

17–19. Matthew only. This is the famous passage about the primacy of Peter and his position in the Church. To make up for the rebuke in 23, Peter here receives a magnificent praise and promise.

17. No man has told him, including Jesus himself. Only inward divine revelation could have enabled Peter to make the right guess. (But after all that in Matthew has happened, this is extremely odd. It contradicts xiv. 33.) Human sight and judgment could not discern in Jesus, as he walked on earth, the divine Sonship.

18. 'So I,' *i.e.* in addition to what God has told you, I now announce, etc. Or, 'since God has also thus honoured thee, I now announce, etc.' 'Thou art Peter.' It is assumed here that Simon Bar-jonah already possesses the additional name of Peter, *i.e.* Rock, in Aramaic *Kepha*. Peter then is to be the basis, the corner-stone, of the Church. Elsewhere (not in the Gospels) Christ himself is so described. The passage points to an Aramaic original. 'The

Greek equivalent to the Aramaic word, which is feminine, is *petra* (fem.) = " rock " ; but for the proper name of a man this feminine form was unsuitable ; hence the choice of *Petros* (= " stone "), no difference of meaning being intended ' (Box). In order to avoid the obvious meaning that Peter himself is the rock, the old Protestant commentators devised the interpretation that the rock is the faith of Peter, and not Peter himself. It is the Messiahship and divine Sonship—a most artificial interpretation.

The word ἐκκλησία is in the Gospels only found here, and in Matt. xviii. 17. It corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic word *keneset*, and means ' congregation ' or ' community.'

' The gates of Hades ' (or ' Hell '). What does this mean ? (1) The gates may be a metaphor for the greatest dangers, as in the Psalms. The community will not succumb to persecutions. Or (2) the ' gates ' stand for the powers of darkness which may issue from it. The conceptions of ' Hades ' as the dwelling-place of the dead, and of ' hell ' as the abode of the devil and his myrmidons, are mingled together. Death and its powers shall not prevail against the Church, which shall be eternal.

19. Peter is given here a double office. He is the Rabbi who ' binds and looses,' and he is the steward or majordomo. It is as the steward that he bears the keys. The keys of the Kingdom are the signs of office. The basis of this part of the verse is Isaiah xxii. 15–25. (In the Apocalypse iii. 7 Jesus himself holds the keys.) Thus Peter, as majordomo or steward, is to occupy the same position towards the ' Kingdom ' as Eliakim occupied towards the house of David in Isaiah. He is to be the first minister, the chief officer, with full powers.

The ordinary interpretation according to which Peter is the gatekeeper of heaven is false. It is not ' heaven,' but ' the Kingdom of heaven ' of which he has the ' keys,' and that is a very different thing. The keys symbolize the office. They need not be used. Or, as a chief duty of the majordomo is to grant or refuse access to the royal presence, the keys may symbolize the power of receiving into the Church those who wish to enter, of keeping out those who would cause trouble, and generally, every exercise of ecclesiastical authority towards men. The use of the keys implied in Rev. iii. 7 suggests that this interpretation is, perhaps, more probably correct.

' Heaven ' in the second part of the verse is different from ' the Kingdom of heaven ' in the first part. The ' Kingdom of heaven ' is here practically the same thing as the Christian community. ' Heaven ' by itself is the dwelling-place of God, as opposed to earth.

'Whatever thou bindest.' Here the second office allotted to Peter is alluded to. He is not only the steward, but the Rabbi, and therefore the judge. We can illustrate the passage by a reference to Matt. xiii. 52. There the scribe is compared with the steward; here the two are combined.

Binding and loosing mean in Jewish jurisprudence forbidding and allowing. What Peter on earth declares right and wrong, allowed and forbidden, is to be ratified in heaven.

A very different interpretation of the two verses 18, 19 is given by Dell in *Z. N. W.*, 1914, pp. 1–49. He argues that the Aramaic Cepha, or Kaypha, means stone, not rock. For some unknown reason Jesus gave to Simon this name Kaypha or stone, of which the Greek is Petros. The words in 18 are just a pun, a popular word-play or etymology. 'Petros' suggested 'petra'; the stone suggested the rock. The verse is not a translation from the Aramaic. The keys are real keys, not a mere symbol of office. The conception of gates in heaven and of a door-keeper or key-keeper is shown to be very ancient, and to run through many mythologies. Similarly with the gates of Hades or the Underworld; that too is a very old conception. In our verse the reference is to the story of Jesus's descent into Hades, whereby he opened the gates, so that the members of the Ecclesia are not kept back by them, and can live again in the resurrection world. *Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. And Peter lets them into the Kingdom of heaven. Nor does Dell accept the ordinary view of binding and loosing. The power which Peter enjoys is the power to loose men from the spell of demons, to free them from 'possession,' or the power to bind them with spells so that they die (*cp.* Acts v. 1–11). This explanation also has its difficulties; not least is the necessary interpretation of the 'kingdom of heaven' to mean, not the Christian community, as is usual in Matthew, but heaven itself, or, at any rate, the eschatological Kingdom.

Whether the passage 17–19 was composed by Matthew, or is a very early, or a very late, insertion need not be discussed here. The prominence given to Peter is characteristic of Matthew. But whether early or late, the passage can hardly be 'authentic' in the sense that it was said by Jesus himself. In any case, too, 'Peter' must, it would seem, be meant to include Peter's representatives and successors. Some would like to keep 17 and 18 for Jesus, and to exclude 19, or at least the first half about the keys. 'The conception of the "Kingdom of Heaven" is utterly different from that expressed elsewhere in the Lord's teaching. It is here the Christian Church in which the apostle is given the chief authority. And if Jesus really gave him this authority in the hearing of the disciples, the subsequent dispute (xviii. 1) as to which of them was the greatest is inexplicable, and scarcely less so the question asked

by the apostle himself in xix. 27' (McNeile). 'In the Jewish idiom, "I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" means "I appoint thee my Grand Vizier"; and "to loose" and "to bind" are technical terms for declaring permissible or the reverse particular lines of conduct in the light of the obligations of the Law. The passage, in the form in which we have it, is an emphatic declaration that Peter is the Apostle who on these points could speak with the authority of Christ. What our Lord really said to Peter, and what at the time of speaking He meant by it, is an entirely different question; and it is not one to which we are likely to find an answer with which everybody will be convinced. But whatever the words meant as originally spoken, it is hard not to suspect that they have since been modified by some controversy between the followers of different leaders in the early Church. But to my mind it is less likely to have been the controversy between the party who said "I am of Peter" and the admirers of Paul, than that between the extreme Judaisers who exalted James to the supreme position and the intermediate party who followed Peter. In that case "Thou art Peter" will have been derived, not from M, but from the local traditions of Antioch—the headquarters of this intermediate party. But we shall refer to M the doublet of this saying, Matt. xviii. 17, which confers the power "to bind and loose" upon the Ecclesia, that is, on the righteous remnant of the People of God, of which the Jerusalem Church was the natural headquarters and shepherd' (Streeter, pp. 258, 259. *Cp.* p. 515).

Harnack, with his usual wealth of learning (*Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1918, pp. 637–654), has sought to show that the words, 'And upon this rock will I build my church' are a late interpolation into Matthew's text, which brought with it the change of σου into αὐτῆς in the next clause. (The original reading was therefore, 'The gates of Hades shall not have power over thee.') The 'gates of Hell,' or 'gates of Hades,' do not mean powers of Hades, or the devil, but simply death. "Wem verheissen wird, dass der Tod nicht die Oberhand über ihn gewinnen wird, dem wird damit verheissen, dass er nicht sterben wird—dies und nichts anderes. Also gilt die Verheissung Petrus und nicht der Kirche." The word ἐκκλησία in the Gospels only occurs here and Matt. xviii. 17, but there it means the single community. There is no parallel to the idea that Jesus is going to build a separate community over and above, or by the side of, the house of Israel. The interpolation was intended to get rid of the difficulty that Peter *did* die before the Messianic age and kingdom appeared, to glorify him all the same, and to glorify the Church. It was probably inserted about the age of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) in Rome. The passage without the interpolation belongs to the

oldest tradition. The Aramaic original is everywhere apparent. Μακάριος, flesh and blood, Father in heaven, gates of Hades, etc., are all Semitic terms. Harnack clearly regards the passage as authentic. In 18 Πέτρος is probably not original. The word should be Κηφᾶς as in John i. 43. 'Because of your faith and testimony I now herewith give you the name of Rock.' In a very interesting article in the *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift* of 1921 (pp. 174–205) Völter argues that Harnack is wrong. There has been no interpolation in Matthew's text. The passage as a whole is unauthentic; Matthew found 15, 16 in his source, and for the rest only a statement that Simon should henceforth be called Peter (*cp.* John i. 42). The subject is of immense historic interest, but outside the proper province of my book, and I cannot discuss it further.

20 corresponds with Mark viii. 30.

21–23. *Cp.* Mark viii. 31–33.

21. The corresponding verse of Mark (31) is emphasized, and the journey to Jerusalem is specially mentioned. Matthew indicates here, from his use of the same words as in iv. 17, 'from that time began Jesus,' that here begins the second great division in the life of Jesus. The preaching in Galilee is ended. Now come the journey to the capital, the Passion and the death.

It is to be noted that for the last words of Mark viii. 31 (καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι) *both* Matthew and Luke have καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι. How is this identity to be explained? Not in all probability in the use of Matthew by Luke or of Luke by Matthew. But though the compiler of Matthew did not know Luke, and *vice versa*, the text of the one may have been occasionally altered in accordance with the other. Again, some MSS. and the S.S. read in both Matthew and Luke here 'after three days,' which may be the primitive reading. And lastly it is by no means certain, and is indeed unlikely, that 'after three days' meant originally 'in a short time,' or that it is older than 'on the third day,' or even that 'after three days' and 'on the third day' may not be used indifferently with the same meaning. The common use of ἐγερθῆναι may be due to chance, or to conflation.

22. The words of Peter are only found in Matthew. The first three mean literally, '[God be] gracious to thee, Lord.'

23. 'Thou art a stumbling-block unto me' is added by Matthew. Peter is a stumbling-block or temptation to Jesus,

because he implies that Jesus ought not to go up to Jerusalem to suffer and die, but to triumph and conquer as the 'Jewish' and 'political' Messiah. 'The words ("Get thee behind me," etc.) have been explained metaphorically as a command to the Satan that spoke in the apostle to move behind Jesus, instead of standing in His way to the Cross. But "me" is possibly an early mistake for "thee," which would make the words mean merely, "Depart." Jesus treats Peter as possessed, and addresses him and Satan in the same sentence [or him as Satan]' (McNeile). *Cp.* iv. 10.

24–28. Mark viii. 34–ix. 1. In Matthew, Jesus, more properly, speaks to the disciples only. In Mark he summons and addresses the 'crowd.'

27 corresponds with Mark viii. 38, but is shortened, because part of Mark viii. 38 had been practically quoted already in Matt. x. 33 (Q). The words 'and then he will render every man according to his works' are in Matthew only. Matthew is not afraid to let Jesus announce a judgment according to works. Prov. xxiv. 12 is not antiquated for him.

28. The position of Jesus after the resurrection and at the judgment has become still grander than in Mark ix. 1. There we had 'the kingdom of God comes with prayer'; here we have 'the Son of man coming in his kingdom.' The Son of man brings his Kingdom with him at the Parousia. He ushers it in and represents it. In the older conception the Kingdom is God's. Here it is the Messiah's (*cp.* xiii. 41).

The Greek 'in' may perhaps be translated 'with,' for it is itself a translation of an Aramaic particle that meant either 'with' or 'in.' 'In' makes much less good and simple sense. Jesus is now the Judge. *Cp.* Bousset on the gradual growth of the transcendental and heavenly position of the risen Jesus in *Kurios Christos*, 2nd ed. p. 18.

CHAPTER XVII

1–13. The Transfiguration

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 2–13 ; Luke ix. 28–36)

1 And after six days Jesus took Peter, James, and John his
brother, and brought them up on to an high mountain by them-
2 selves. And he was transfigured before them : and his face shone as
3 the sun, and his raiment became white as the light. And, behold,
there appeared unto them Moses and Elijah talking with him.
4 Then Peter answered and said unto Jesus, ' Lord, it is good for us
to be here : if thou wilt, I will make here three tents ; one for
5 thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.' While he yet spoke,
behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them : and behold, a voice
out of the cloud, saying, ' This is my beloved Son, in whom I am
6 well pleased ; hear ye him.' And when the disciples heard it,
7 they fell upon their faces, and were sore afraid. And Jesus came
8 and touched them, and said, ' Arise, and be not afraid.' And when
they had lifted up their eyes, they saw nobody except Jesus only.
9 And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus enjoined
them, saying, ' Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man has
risen again from the dead.'
10 And the disciples asked him, saying, ' Why then say the scribes
11 that Elijah must first come ? ' And Jesus answered and said unto
12 them, ' Elijah comes and puts all things in order. But I say
unto you, Elijah has come already, and they did not recognize
13 him, but they did unto him whatever they pleased. So also is the
Son of man about to suffer from them.' Then the disciples under-
stood that he spoke unto them of John the Baptist.

1–8 correspond pretty closely with Mark ix. 2–8. 7 (which is a human and characteristic touch) is, however, wanting in Mark and in Luke as well as 6.

2. The shining of the face is added by Matthew. *Cp.* Exodus xxxiv. 29. Dan. xii. 3.

5. The cloud which 'overshadows' is 'bright.' Thus 'overshadow' has lost its original literal meaning, and merely represents the presence or coming down of God.

10 corresponds with Mark ix. 11. But the question of the disciples as here put may possibly mean, Why do the Scribes say that Elijah must come before the advent of the Messiah? He has only *now* appeared (*i.e. after* the coming of Messiah, just now at the transfiguration).

Of the two replies of Jesus in Mark ix. 12, 13, Matthew preserves the second only. And further: John (=Elijah) was a type of the Messiah, who is also about to be rejected, to suffer and to die.

13. The disciples are allowed to understand the meaning of what Jesus says. In Mark it is implied, if not stated, that they remain obtuse.

14–21. An Epileptic Child

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 14–29; Luke ix. 37–43, xvii. 5, 6)

And when they returned to the people, a man came up and knelt down before him saying, 'Lord have pity on my son: for he is moonstruck and suffers sorely: for often he falls into the fire, and often into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.' Then Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I bear with you? bring him hither to me.' And Jesus rebuked the demon; and it departed out of him: and the child was cured from that hour.

Then came the disciples to Jesus privately, and said, 'Why could not *we* cast it out?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Because of your little faith: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye could say unto this mountain, Move from this place to that, and it would move; and nothing would be impossible unto you.'

The narrative in Mark is considerably shortened. It may even be that Matthew and Luke here depend on another source as well as on Mark. Streeter holds that Luke 'gives the saying as it stood

in Q, while Matthew, as usual where Mark and Q overlap, conflates the two' (p. 284). Matthew avoids, so far as he can, the 'demoniac possession' features of the story. The child's malady appears to have been epilepsy.

15. 'Moon-struck.' Matthew only. *Cp.* iv. 24. Here is the source of the famous words, 'Kyrie eleison,' 'O Lord have pity.'

20. Instead of Mark ix. 29, Matthew substitutes Mark xi. 22, 23. The disciples' lack of success is attributed to their lack of faith. The illustration may be regarded as an illustration only, and yet the speaker must be supposed to believe that physical miracles are possible for man to achieve, if only he fully believes and trusts that he *can* through faith achieve them. *Cp.* xxi. 21, where the thought and illustration are repeated. S.S. has 'unfaith,' ἀπιστία, for 'little faith,' which is probably original. 'No faith' seemed too strong to be attributed to the apostles, so 'little faith' was substituted. Again, S.S. has: 'If there were in you faith' (which ye have not), 'then,' etc. This would be in Greek εἰ εἴχετε, 'If ye had faith' (which you have not). The present reading, εἰ ἔχητε, 'If ye' (which may be the case) 'have faith,' is again perhaps a softening down.

21 (Mark ix. 29) is wanting in the best MSS., and may be regarded as 'not genuine.' Nevertheless, it shows the value attributed to fasting at an early period of the Christian Church. Moreover the addition of 'and fasting' in Mark ix. 29 has good authority (S.S. etc.), and is accepted by Wellhausen in the second edition of his commentary on Mark. On the relation between Mark and Matthew (Q) in this passage *cp.* Meyer I. p. 229.

22, 23. Second Prediction of the Passion and Resurrection

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 30–32; Luke ix. 43–45)

22 And while they were journeying in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, 'The Son of man is about to be delivered up into the hands
23 of men: and they will kill him, and on the third day he will rise.' And they were exceedingly grieved.

The disciples understand what Jesus meant, and, indeed, his words are clear. Matthew does not maintain, like Mark, an absurd degree of obtuseness in the disciples. The sufferer is the Son of

man; and here Matthew does not, as in xvi. 21, substitute the personal pronoun. The Son of man is intended to signify Jesus; but the question remains why Jesus spoke of himself, if so he did, under this title, and especially on these occasions.

22. *παραδίδοναι* 'need not be an exact prediction of the action of Judas, as though the Lord added a fresh detail to his former prediction. *παραδίδοναι* is used quite generally of 'handing over' some one to the authorities (iv. 12, v. 25, x. 17, 19, 21, xx. 19, xxiv. 9)' (McNeile).

24–27. On Temple Tribute

(Matthew only)

And when they came to Capernaum, they who collected the temple tax came to Peter, and said, 'Does not your master pay the tax?' He said, 'Yes.' And when he had come into the house Jesus anticipated him, saying, 'What thinkest thou, Simon? from whom do the kings of the earth collect toll or tax? From their own children, or from strangers?' Peter said unto him, 'From strangers.' Jesus said unto him, 'Then are the children free. Yet, so that we give them no offence, go thou to the lake, and throw out thy line, and take up the fish that first comes up; open its mouth, and thou wilt find therein a coin; that take, and give it unto them for me and thee.'

The passage only occurs in Matthew. The tax referred to is the Jewish tax of two drachmai (= half a shekel), paid by every Jew while the temple was in existence towards its upkeep. It was collected about March in every year. The story again gives prominence to Peter, as in xiv. 28–31 and xvi. 17–19.

25. *τέλη*, 'toll'; *κῆνσος*, 'tax.' Both, according to Oriental conception, are to be levied on, and exacted from, the foreigner and the tributary only. But, if so, and if the 'king' in this case is God as the Lord of the Temple, no Jew ought to pay the tax. The argument is really too wide. All the citizens of the theocracy should be exempt from toll or tax. But perhaps Jesus took the line that those who would not believe in him are no longer 'sons' and 'free.' Thus Jesus is not thinking of the Jews, but of himself and his disciples. He and they are sons of the Kingdom, and therefore should be free of taxes.

But the tax depended upon a Pentateuchal law (Ex. xxx. 11–16). Would Jesus have wished to disobey it, or suggested that it had been wrongly imposed? He never definitely says that the Law was only to continue till his own appearance, or that he did not believe that God had ordered every enactment in it, or that God had told him, the Messiah, that he might violate it. It is not certain that he was definitely hostile to the sacrificial system. He wanted the Temple to be respected. Perhaps the bearing of his words upon the law in the Pentateuch was not present to his mind. We must remember the extreme fragmentariness of the Gospel narratives. Are we to suppose that Jesus had secret views about the Law which he did not dare to mention to the disciples or to the people? Certainly the people loved the Law too well, and were too ready to die for it, to have tolerated any open disparagement of its excellence, validity, or divineness. It is also possible that what Jesus actually said upon this occasion has not been accurately preserved.

Perhaps 'sons' means the actual sons of the kings, the princes. Jesus and his disciples would then be the 'princes,'—'kings of the earth' as contrasted with God, the King of heaven. Conceivably the story is not authentic. It may reflect the debates in the old Palestinian Christian community about their right attitude to the Temple Tax before A.D. 70. Jesus, it was held, obeyed the law, though he need not have done so. The parallel passage in Succah 30 *a* is interesting. The half-shekel tax, after the destruction of the Temple, was added to the taxes which had to be paid to the Romans, and Suetonius says that under Domitian, in whose reign Matthew's Gospel may have been written, the Jewish taxes were very strictly exacted. It has, therefore, been supposed by some that the payment to the Romans is the real subject of the story. The Christians, as 'sons of God,' ought not really to have to pay this tax, which was originally a tax paid to God; still they had better pay it, in order to give no offence (not to the Jews, but) to the heathen. The question whether the Christians should pay the tax is answered by a story as to whether Jesus had paid the Temple tax of his own day. Though he was 'free,' he paid it. His concession to the Law is to be typical for the Christian as regards the tax to the Romans. Thus the story, though the fact that Jesus paid the tax may be true, perhaps grew up only after his death.

It is also possible that an old Logion, the purpose of which is now irrecoverable, is contained in 25 and 26, and was used in this story (Bultmann, p. 17).

26. The verse 'reflects so strong an anti-Jewish feeling that its genuineness must be considered extremely doubtful' (McNeile). The 'representation of the Jews as "strangers" who pay taxes to

the " Great King " (v. 25), while the Son of God and his followers are exempt, is a striking antithesis. But is it any stronger than Christ's denunciation of his contemporaries generally—especially the orthodox religious leaders who were most zealous in the matter of the Temple services—as " an evil and adulterous generation " ? ' (Box).

27. ' In its present form the narrative cannot be rationalized. It relates a miracle of foreknowledge. It is unnatural to make the words mean " as soon as you have opened its mouth, *i.e.* extracted the hook, you will be able to [sell the fish and thereby] obtain a stater " ' (McNeile). Nor can it mean: earn the tax (' stater = shekel = four drachmai) by fishing. It is true that the story is not completed; the order is given by Jesus, but we are not told that Peter carried it out. Nevertheless, there are too many parallels in the legends and tales of many nations to make the argument probable that some simple explanation such as one of those suggested above lies at the bottom of the story. The miracle is only in process of formation, as the *dénouement* is omitted. The narrator in Matthew clearly intended to indicate a providential arrangement which Jesus foresaw. *Cp.* the Ring of Polykrates and the Talmudic pearl story in Sabbath 119 *a*.

CHAPTER XVIII

1–9. The Question of Superiority—of Stumbling-blocks

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 33–37, 42–48; Luke ix. 46–48, xvii. 1, 2)

1 At that time the disciples came unto Jesus, saying, 'Who is
2 the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' And Jesus called a
3 little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them. And he said, 'Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little
4 children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whoever then shall humble himself as this little child, he is greatest
5 in the kingdom of heaven. And whoever receives one such little
6 child in my name receives me. But whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in me to stumble, it were better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

7 'Woe unto the world because of the stumbling-blocks! for the stumbling-blocks must needs come; but woe to the man by
8 whom the stumbling-block comes! But if thy hand or thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off, and throw it away from thee: it is better for thee to enter into Life maimed or lame, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.
9 And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, pluck it out, and throw it away from thee: it is better for thee to enter into Life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

Matthew still follows the order of Mark, and uses Mark as his main authority.

1. *Cp.* Mark ix. 33–35. Matthew is perhaps right in making the disciples ask Jesus the question 'who is greatest,' instead of Mark's supernatural manner of starting the subject. But he does not indicate that what the disciples wanted to know was which of *themselves* would be the greatest. Perhaps we may assume that Jesus

overheard them disputing with one another. Matthew omits many questions put by Jesus in Mark, just as he also omits phrases which seem to ascribe any inability to Jesus. He also likes to omit disputes among the disciples. Rebukes addressed to them are softened. Statements that they did not understand or know what to say are passed over. It is expressly stated that they did understand, xvi. 12, xvii. 13.

The addition 'in the Kingdom of heaven' is not found in Mark. But the meaning is probably the same. The present tense must be supposed to refer to the future. The Kingdom is future.

2. The child is differently treated here from Mark ix. 36. The application made of it is like Mark x. 15. Only the pure in heart, the trustful, the humble, and the unassuming, shall enter the Kingdom. In Matthew, Jesus at once uses the illustration of the child. Mark ix. 35 is omitted. It is used in xxiii. 11. The participle προσκαλεσάμενος replaces Mark's ἐναγκαλισάμενος, for Jesus, in Matthew, is not allowed to embrace the children, and it also usefully indicates that the child had to be summoned. The argument seems to be: 'You talk about who is to be first and greatest in the Kingdom. But unless you are humble, like a child, you will not enter the Kingdom at all. He who does so humble himself shall not only enter the Kingdom, but be the greatest in it.'

3, 4. *Cp.* Mark x. 15. 'Return' is used in the Biblical and Rabbinical sense of 'repent.' Jesus demands a kind of moral and religious regeneration. Such regeneration involves a child's simplicity and *Anspruchslosigkeit.*

4. Contains the answer to the question in 1. He who is most humble and lowly, and thinks least of himself, shall in the Kingdom be thought the greatest. *Cp.* Matt. xx. 26, 27 and xxiii. 11, 12.

5. Mark ix. 37. The child seems here intended to be symbolical of lowly, humble, and insignificant believers or would-be believers.

6–9. The section on stumbling-blocks, which corresponds with Mark ix. 42–48. Verses 8, 9 have already appeared in the Sermon on the Mount, v. 29, 30.

6. Mark ix. 42. The 'believers' are here specially qualified as 'believers in me,' the Christ, a phrase which only occurs here in the Synoptics and in some MSS. in Mark ix. 42.

7. Not in Mark. (*Cp.* Luke xvii. 1). The source may be Q. The sentence is remarkable. Does it allude to incidents in the

Christian community which happened after the death of Jesus? Dr. Carpenter says that the verse may well go back to Jesus himself. For he must have had plenty of experience of back-sliding even after a few months of his ministry. Because apostasies are certain to occur, blame none the less attaches to those through whose conduct (whether it be uncharitableness, contempt, or indifference) such apostasies arise.

8, 9 correspond with Mark ix. 43–48. They are also found in Matt. v. 29, 30. Here they interrupt the connection. The stumbling-blocks spoken of are a totally different kind from those in 6 and 7. There the reference is to the seduction or lapse of others; here to personal fall and personal temptations.

10–14. The Saving of the Lost: The Value of the Small

(*Cp.* Luke xv. 3–7)

10 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I
say unto you, that their angels in heaven always behold the face of
12 my Father who is in heaven. What think ye? if a man have an
hundred sheep, and one of them goes astray, does he not leave the
ninety and nine upon the mountains, and go and seek the one which
13 has gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto
you, he rejoices more over that one sheep than over the ninety
14 and nine which went not astray. Even so it is not the will of your
Father who is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

Matthew apparently thought it desirable to introduce in this connection the parable of the lost sheep, in order to indicate the great value which God sets upon the humble believer and upon his salvation. He connects the parable with 6–9 by means of 10.

10. The injunction not to despise one of these little ones must surely refer not to children, but to the humble believers. Yet the second half of the verse about the angels probably related originally to real children, 'little ones' in age and stature.

The statement in the second half of the verse rests upon the idea that individuals (as well as nations) have their guardian angels. Was the original meaning that the angels of children stand nearer to God, inasmuch as children are more precious to Him? In its present connection the verse asserts that those who are lowly and

insignificant in the eyes of men are specially precious in the eyes of God. 'To see God's face continually' is a metaphor taken from Oriental court ceremony. Those most intimate with, and honoured by, the king have constant, unimpeded access to his presence (*cp.* Luke i. 19; 2 Kings xxv. 19).

11 is a gloss, wanting in many good MSS. It has been inserted to make the connection better between 10 and 12. It comes from Luke xix. 10.

12–14. The parable is perhaps found in a better connection and with a more original meaning in Luke. For there the words have to do with the repentance of sinners, the desire which God has that none of His human children, however erring or despised, should go permanently astray; here they are used with a special reference to the humble believers of verse 6. They are gentler and more forgiving in tone than xviii. 17, which contemplates the 'loss' of a recalcitrant and obstinate sinner with some equanimity. The 'little ones' of 14 are the same as the 'little ones' of 10 and 6. Verse 14 seems mainly the work of the Evangelist to make the end of the parable fit in with its application and with the wording of 6 and 10*a*. The source of the parable may be Q.

According to Streeter—and his arguments are strong—Matthew's version of the parable comes from M, while Luke's version comes from Q (pp. 244, 245).

The honour paid to repentance, the desire shown by God that man should repent, God's willingness to receive the penitent, are all characteristic features of the Rabbinical religion. What is new and striking in the teaching of Jesus is that this process of repentance takes an *active* turn. Man is bidden, not merely to receive the penitent gladly, but to *seek out* the sinner, to try to redeem him, and *make* him penitent.

It is curious that Streeter should say, as regards the saying in 13, that 'no saying attributed to Jesus can have struck those who heard it as so utterly daring as this' (p. 244). To those who know the sayings about repentance in the Rabbinical literature, this verse is only a vivid and paradoxical way of putting a thought which would have struck those familiar with the teaching of the Rabbis as beautiful and impressive if you please, but not as 'daring.' One Rabbi said that where the penitent stand the righteous 'who go not astray' stand not, and I am sure that he was not regarded as specially 'daring' in saying so. And I think it is almost indifferent that the date of this Rabbinic saying is far later than Jesus. It needs tact and impartiality and a certain *flair* to recognize what sayings of Jesus are within the ambit of Rabbinism

and which are truly original. But I believe it can be done, and that dates have not *very* much to do with the matter.

15–20. Duties and Rights of the Community

(Matthew only ; but *cp.* Luke xvii. 3)

15 'But if thy brother have sinned, go and reprove him between
thee and him alone: if he hearken to thee, thou hast gained thy
16 brother. But if he hearken not, take with thee one or two more,
that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter may be
17 established. And if he refuse to hearken unto them, tell it unto
the church: but if he refuse to hearken even unto the church, let
18 him be unto thee as an heathen and a tax-collector. Verily I say
unto you, Whatever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and
19 whatever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Further-
more I say unto you, If two of you on earth shall agree about any
thing that they ask, it shall be given them from my Father who is
20 in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my
name, I am in the midst of them.'

15–20 is not found in Mark. But as Matt. xviii. 6, 7 has its parallel in Luke xvii. 1, 2, so xviii. 15 in Luke xvii. 3. A comparison with Luke shows that a short sentence in Q about the erring brother (Luke xvii. 3) was probably expanded by Matthew into 15–20. That sentence was followed by the saying about forgiveness (Luke xvii. 4) out of which Matthew has made a little scene with Peter, and has appended to it the parable of the ungrateful servant. 'It is probable that behind the section lie some genuine sayings ; but in its present form it belongs to a date when the Church was already an organized body. It is the most distinctly ecclesiastical passage in Matthew's Gospel' (McNeile).

15. In verse 6 the duty of preventing any humble believer from falling away or from sinning had been dwelt upon. The humblest believer (or would-be believer ?) is not to be neglected or despised. For it is not God's will or wish that any should perish. Now Matthew passes on to describe the right conduct of disciples of Christ to those who *have* stumbled on their way, to those who *have* erred. Great patience is to be shown with the erring. (What sorts of errors are alluded to ? Probably those which are connected with specifically Christian conduct or Christian faith.) The usual

text has 'sin against thee,' but the parallel in Luke xvii. 3, as well as general reasons, lead one to think that some MSS. are right in omitting 'against thee.' It is not a question of forgiveness of personal injury.

An attempt is first to be made to bring back the erring brother to the right path by reprimanding him privately. One person only is to be sent to reprove him. *Cp.* Lev. xix. 17. If that fails, a fresh attempt is to be made in the presence of two witnesses, according to the rule of Deut. xix. 15. If that fails, the congregation must be informed, and if the sinner is still recalcitrant, he is to be abandoned to his fate. Does this mean excommunication? At any rate it means exclusion from the community.

We have, in 15 *seq.*, a piece of ancient Christian law or usage put into the mouth of Jesus. 17 is scarcely consistent with 22, and Jesus would hardly have spoken so harshly of the 'tax-collector.' 'The "Church," whose authority may be invoked, is very different from the Master's "Kingdom of God"; and the rejection of the unrepentant evildoer on to the level of the heathen and the publican hardly savours of the tireless love which came to seek and to save the lost.... The practice of the later community seeks shelter under the Founder's sanction' (Carpenter). Yet: 'The obligation upon the individuals no longer to regard *him* as a brother whom the community refuses any longer to count as one of its members is dictated by the interests of social morality in an already organized community: the Christian is not thereby dispensed from forgiving anybody who has committed a personal injury against him. In the Gospel as Jesus preached it, sin was looked at as an individual act, which only wrongs individuals; as God pardons sins, so man, so far as the sin has hurt him personally, must forgive it also; in the community which the Evangelist is thinking of, sin is not only a wrong against God, and capable of causing injury to individual men, but it is also a malefaction (*un attentat*) against the society of the saints, and it must be got rid of, whether by the repentance of the evildoer or by his elimination and removal' (Loisy).

18. *Cp.* xvi. 17–20. The right or power there assigned to Peter is here given to the congregation or community as a whole. This version is perhaps the older. But M. Loisy thinks that the people intended by 'you' in this verse are the apostles, or rather those who, when the Evangelist wrote, had replaced them. He says: 'Protestant exegesis makes great efforts to attribute this power to the community, and not to the apostles as such. But, apart from the fact that the parallelism of this sentence with the words that Jesus addressed to Peter contradicts this hypothesis, the nature of the case does not countenance it, as a group of persons

without a head cannot be supposed to be invested with judicial power; and the Evangelist, who had no thought of formulating a theory on the seat of authority in the Church, had in view the organization of communities as it existed in his time, in which the paternal authority of bishops and presbyters had been substituted for that of the apostles' (*E. S.* II. p. 91).

'Binding and loosing' must be understood here precisely as in xvi. 19. Its meaning is equally large. It includes a full judiciary and disciplinal power, conferred on and exercised by the chiefs of the community.

It is usually said that 'church' (in verse 17) means here each individual congregation; while in xvi. 18 it means the Christian community as a whole.

Perhaps, however, in both cases the mother congregation of Jerusalem is intended (Wellhausen). Streeter says: 'The section (Matt. xviii. 15–22) "If thy brother sin against thee . . . till seventy times seven" differs in wording from Luke xvii. 3–4 so much that it is not likely that both passages were taken from Q; especially as we know of another version of this particular saying—in some ways intermediate between those of Matthew and Luke—preserved in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It must therefore be assigned to M. Now an important little point, affording confirmatory evidence that the sayings of a Judaistic type are connected with M rather than with Q, is the fact that on examination it appears that this saying, as it occurred in M, was set in a Judaistic context. Only here, and in the passage "Thou art Peter" does the word "Church" occur in the Gospels; and the word "Church" in this context clearly means the little community of Jewish Christians. In a Gentile community tradition would surely have modified the form of the injunction "If he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican"' (p. 257). 'In Luke the saying about Forgiveness (xvii. 1–4) follows immediately after one about Offences, a version of which seems to have stood in both Q and Mark. In Matt. xviii. 15 ff. also the saying about Forgiveness follows that about Offences in the same discourse—only with half a dozen verses (from Mark and M) intervening. Seeing there is no very obvious connection of thought between the two topics, the connection (Offences—Forgiveness) must have been made in the common source Q. How, then, are we to explain the fact that, while the Offences saying is virtually identical in Matthew and Luke, that on Forgiveness appears in versions exceptionally diverse? I suggest that M also contained a version of the latter saying, which Matthew on the whole prefers; and this is not pure conjecture, for in the fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews we

have evidence that this saying was in circulation in more than one version' (p. 281).

19 is scarcely connected with 18 by more than the verbal coincidences of 'on earth' and 'in heaven.'

20. The continued presence of Jesus in his community is the guarantee that their requests will be granted by God.

The assertion in this verse could only have been made by some one who believed that he was *a* divine, though not necessarily *the* divine, Being. For such a continued and mystical presence could hardly be claimed by, or asserted of, any *man*. If, therefore, Jesus said this verse, he must have believed himself to be such a being. Most probably, however, he did not say it. Assemblies of persons praying together in the name of Jesus did not exist while he was alive.

The idea of the continued and mystic presence of Jesus in his community is adapted and borrowed from the Jewish idea of the presence of God in Israel. *Cp.* Joel ii. 27, and other passages. Also the maxim in the *Sayings of the Fathers*, 'If two sit together and exchange words of Torah, the divine presence abides between them; and even when a single individual occupies himself with the Torah, the Shechinah is said to rest upon him' (iii. 3, 7).

The remarks upon this interesting passage in J. Weiss's commentary are a curious illustration of the inability of the German Protestant theologian to avoid pitfalls in dealing with the Rabbinic religion. Weiss holds, rightly enough, that the verse could not have been spoken by Jesus. It is based upon the faith of the Christian community in Christ's invisible presence through the prayers of those who believe in him. It is probably not merely a parallel to, but a Christian version of, the Jewish saying already quoted. Then Weiss must needs go on to show how much nobler and better and greater it is than the Jewish original. For instead of 'the abstract Law' you have a 'living personality'; instead of casuistic legal discussions you have the cultivation of pious memory and reverent obedience; instead of the 'incomprehensible phantasm of the "Glory" which is separated off from God and hovers as a sort of spirit over men,' you have the 'concrete' conception of the presence of the 'heavenly Lord himself with his spirit and his gifts.' How much more personal, intimate, and joyous the new religion is than the old! But must we always glorify our own possessions by running down our neighbours? Moreover, a mere tiro in Rabbinics knows that the 'Law' in this passage is by no means limited to 'casuistic legal discussions'; there might be nothing casuistic or even legal about it. A

conversation about holiness, nay, even a joint prayer, would constitute in Rabbinic terminology 'words of Torah.' But suppose the discussion *were* about a legal matter, must it necessarily be 'casuistic'? And why is not the spiritual presence of God as pure and noble a thing as the spiritual presence of Christ? For the 'Shechinah' does not mean what J. Weiss says it means; it means just simply the mystic, yet real, presence of God. Might one not argue that the belief in this presence is just as joyous, as intimate, as 'personal,' as the belief in the presence of a being who, to the writer of our passage, was not quite God, although divine? To some persons the conception of the presence of God may even seem the grander, purer, and nobler idea. The joyousness, the 'Innigkeit' of the Rabbinic religion cannot be known to an outsider who only conceives of it as a dark foil and lurid contrast to his own creed. But so too the joyousness and 'Innigkeit' of Christianity cannot be more than dimly imagined by the Jewish outsider. Why may we not be satisfied with our own joyousness, our own 'Innigkeit,' without seeking to cheapen and disparage the joyousness and 'Innigkeit' of our neighbour?

21–35. The Duty of Forgiveness and the Parable of the Ungrateful Servant

(Matthew only; but *cp.* Luke xvii. 4)

21 Then came Peter to him, and said, 'Lord, how often shall my
brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?'
22 Jesus said unto him, 'I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but,
Until seventy times seven.
23 'Therefore the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a king, who
24 desired to settle accounts with his servants. And when he began
the settlement, one was brought to him, who owed him ten thousand
25 talents. And as he was unable to pay, the lord commanded him
to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, so that
26 payment should be made. Then the servant fell down, and did
him reverence, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay
27 thee all. Then the lord of that servant was moved with com-
28 passion, and he released him, and forgave him the debt. But the
same servant, when he went out, found one of his fellow-servants
who owed him an hundred shillings, and he seized him, and took
29 him by the throat, saying, Pay me what thou owest. And his
fellow-servant fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience

30 with me, and I will pay thee. Yet he would not: but he went
31 away and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt So when
his fellow-servants saw what was happening, they were very grieved,
and they came and related unto their lord all that had happened.
32 Then his lord called him unto him and said to him, O thou wicked
servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou besoughtest me:
33 shouldest not thou also have had pity on thy fellow-servant, even as
34 I had pity on thee? And his lord in his wrath delivered him up to
35 the torturers, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So also
will my heavenly Father do unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive
not every one his brother.'

21, 22. It is disputed by the authorities whether the original form of Jesus's saying is better preserved by Matthew or by Luke (xvii. 4).

For Rabbinic teaching on forgiveness, see Abrahams, *Studies* I., chaps. xix., xx.

22. 'Seventy times seven.' If the Greek is a cardinal number, it does not answer the question, How often? For ἑπτά the MS. 'D' reads ἑπτάκις, *i.e.* seventy times seven times. Jesus means that there should be no limit to human, any more than there is to divine forgiveness. There may be a conscious reference to, and contrast with, Gen. iv. 24. 'A definite allusion to the Genesis story is highly probable. Jesus pointedly sets against the natural man's craving for seventy sevenfold revenge, the spiritual man's ambition to exercise the privilege of seventy sevenfold forgiveness' (Moulton). It is disputed whether 'brother' has the same meaning here as in 15. If Jesus is the author of the saying, it is possible that 'brother' is generally equivalent to neighbour. Jesus was not definitely thinking of his own disciples only; he was laying down a general rule. On the other hand, it would not be fair to press the inclusiveness of the word 'brother.' It does *not* mean—though the motive for giving it as wide an implication as possible is very obvious—'your brother, whether a Christian or no.' Jesus was not thinking of these subtleties. He just means your neighbour. He did not consciously mean to imply: 'The unrepentant Jew as well as the believing Christian.' Matthew omits what Luke retains, namely, the repentance of the neighbour, which may, however, be implied.

25. With the money that the man and his family brought in, the king was to be paid.

27. 'Released,' that is, from slavery.

34. Torture was introduced by Herod into Judæa. In Rabbinic law it is forbidden. Thus the story would not be possible under the merciful rulings of the Jewish law, but that law was doubtless not always enforced. The punishment of Gehenna or Hell is alluded to. 'Till,' but this means 'perpetually, for the debt could never be paid' (McNeile).

35. *Cp.* Mark xi. 26. The king is dropped after the first verse of the parable, and we seem then to have only to do with a wealthy master or merchant and his slave. We may, however, suppose that the ungrateful servant is the chief prefect or viceroy of the king. He has farmed the taxes of the whole kingdom, and owes the king the huge sum of 10,000 talents (= £2,062,500). The viceroy tries to get in the moneys due to him from the under-prefects or satraps. Torture was commonly applied in the east when governors of provinces failed to hand in the taxes and tribute to the treasury, or were detected in cheating.

The parable is one of the simplest, though not the deepest, in the Gospel. There is no reason why it should not be authentic. The moral is clear, and wholly in accordance with Rabbinic teaching. The king is God who has to forgive man far more than man has to forgive his neighbour. But unless man forgives his neighbour, God will not forgive him. *Cp.* Sirach xxviii. 1–7; Matt. vi. 14, 15.

The opening words, 'Therefore the Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto,' would mean that in the Kingdom such a forgiving disposition is expected of all its members. The aorist ὡμοιώθη is said by some to indicate that the Kingdom is thought of as already begun. How far such an intention existed in the Aramaic original is very doubtful.

[35. It is noticeable that Jesus has no hesitation in ascribing to the 'merciful' Father in heaven conduct which we should now regard as exceedingly unmerciful. Jesus has no modern qualms about the punishments of Hell.]

CHAPTER XIX

1–12. Divorce and Adultery

(*Cp.* Mark x. 1–12)

1 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings,
he departed from Galilee, and came into the district of Judæa
2 beyond the Jordan; and great crowds followed him; and he healed
them there.

3 And some Pharisees came unto him, to test him, saying unto
him, 'Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife for every cause?'
4 And he answered and said unto them, 'Have ye not read, that
5 the Creator made them from the beginning male and female, and
said, For this reason shall a man leave his father and mother, and
6 shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Where-
fore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What then God has
joined together, let not man separate.'

7 They said unto him, 'Why then did Moses command to give
8 a bill of divorce, and to send her away?' He said unto them,
'Because of the hardness of your hearts Moses permitted you to
9 divorce your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And
I say unto you, whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity,
and marries another, commits adultery.'

10 His disciples said unto him, 'If such is the position of a man
11 to his wife, it is not desirable to marry.' But he said unto them,
'All men cannot receive this saying, but only they to whom it
12 is given. For there are eunuchs, who were born so from their
mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, who were made eunuchs
by men: and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves
eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He that is able
to receive it, let him receive it.'

Mark's order is still followed, as it has been since xiv. Chapter xviii. had ended the section which began with xiii. Now begins the penultimate section reaching to xxv. inclusive.

2. He teaches the multitude in Mark; he heals them in Matthew.

3. The form of the discussion here has already been spoken about in the notes on Mark x. Jesus gives his own view at once, and it is the Pharisees who raise the difficulty about the Mosaic law.

In the notes on Mark the question whether Matthew or Mark more truly represents the real intention and teaching of Jesus has been briefly discussed. It will be useful here to give a quotation from the excellent English scholar (Allen) who upholds the priority of Mark. He takes the line that Jesus prohibited divorce altogether. He supposes that 'for every cause' and 'except for unchastity' are insertions by the editor of Matthew into the narrative. 'The motive of these insertions can only be conjectured. But in view of other features of the Gospel it is probable that the editor was a Jewish Christian who has here judaized, or rather rabbinized, Christ's sayings. Just as he has so arranged v. 16–20 as to represent Christ's attitude to the Law to be that of the Rabbinical Jews, who regarded every letter of the Law as permanently valid, so here he has so shaped Christ's teaching about divorce as to make it consonant with the permanent validity of the Pentateuchal Law and harmonious with the stricter school of Jewish theologians. It is probably to the same strain in the editor's character, the same Jewish Christian jealousy for the honour of the Law and for the privileges of the Jewish people, that the prominence given to Peter (xvi. 19) and the preservation of such sayings as x. 5, 6, 23 is due. And to the same source may probably be attributed the judaizing of Christ's language, in such expressions as "the Kingdom of the heavens," "the Father who is in the heavens."'

Mr. Allen allows that 'at first sight Matthew seems more likely to be original than Mark. The Jews did not question the legality of divorce. That was legalized by Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. But they debated about the scope and limits of reasons for divorce. *Cp.* Gittin 90a, where the views of the schools of Hillel and of Shammai are given. The former allowed divorce for trivial offences, the latter only for some unchaste act. But it is clear that Matthew is editing Mark, and that in *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν* and *(εἰ) μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, he has inserted into Mark's narrative matter which is really inconsistent with it. In Mark the Pharisees first put their leading question, Is it lawful to divorce a wife? They themselves would have no doubt of the legality of this, but they "test" Christ, knowing probably from previous utterances of His that He would reply in words which would seem directly to challenge the Mosaic law.

Cp. His criticism of the distinction between clean and unclean meats, Mark vii. 14–23. Christ answers with the expected reference to the law, What did Moses command? They state the Old Testament law. Moses sanctioned divorce. Christ at once makes His position clear. The law upon this point was an accommodation to a rude state of society. But a prior and higher law is to be found in the Creation narrative, "Male and female He created them," Gen. i. 27 LXX, *i.e.*, God created the two sexes that they might be united in the marriage bond, which is, therefore, ideally indissoluble.' In Matthew the 'Pharisees are represented as inquiring, Is it lawful to put away a wife in any pretext? Christ answers as in Mark, that marriage from an ideal standpoint is indissoluble. The Pharisees appeal to the law against this judgment. In reply we should expect the Lord, as in Mark, to state the accommodating and secondary character of the legal sanction of divorce, and to reaffirm the sanctity of marriage. But instead, He is represented as affirming that *πορνεία* constitutes an exception. Thus He tacitly takes sides with the severer school of Jewish interpretation of Deut. xxiv., and acknowledges the permanent validity of that law thus interpreted in a strict sense, which immediately before He had criticized as an accommodation to a rude state of social life. This inconsistency shows that Mark is here original, and that *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν* and (*εἰ*) *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* are insertions by the editor of Matthew into Mark's narrative' (pp. 201, 202).

5. As in Genesis it is not God who says the quoted words, the subject of 'said' is perhaps Jesus. 'The idea seems to be that God created a single pair, who were therefore destined for one another. It was also written that a man should forsake his parents and cleave to his wife, and that he and his wife should be one flesh. In other words, married couples were in respect of unity, as the first pair created by God, destined for one another. Divorce therefore should be out of the question' (Allen).

8. Matthew adds, 'from the beginning it was not so.' The higher law, now resumed at the advent of the Kingdom, was for a time modified owing to the hardness of the Israelite heart. Of course, the implication which Jesus finds in the words of Genesis is not really to be found there.

Merx is interesting, if not convincing, on this section about divorce. His conclusions are perhaps vitiated by his theory that Matthew is earlier than Mark.

In 4 he reads with the S.S.: 'Have ye not read that he who made the male made also the female?' This he thinks means that the woman is as much a creature of God as the man; the two

sexes are equal and co-ordinate. Woman is not the dependent of man. Just because of this equality (so the S.S. in 5, 'because of this') does man become one flesh with his wife. This conception of marriage as the union of two persons with equal rights ('zweie gleichberechtigte Personen') was wholly new, for in Jewish law the woman was subordinate. Hence the unity effected by marriage is insoluble by man. Man and woman were once for all united together by God at the creation. Merx thinks that there is also a further implication in Jesus's words. Not only can no third party (*e.g.* a court) dissolve that which has become a perfect unity by divine decree, but because the two parties are equal and co-ordinate, one of them cannot of his own will dissolve the unity. Then Merx adds: 'This is valid for the ideal marriage, as the sentences of the Sermon on the Mount are valid for the ideal society. Society which is still under the dominion of sin needs the safety-valve of divorce to obviate greater evils. Churches which forbid it confuse the actual condition of the world with the ideal condition of the kingdom of God, with which such Churches falsely identify themselves' (*Das Evangelium Matthäus*, p. 272). Thus no divorce is an ideal to which at present we cannot conform. Jesus in fact announces an ideal to which we cannot as yet attain.

The specific addition of Matthew in verse 3, κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, 'for every cause,' is warmly defended by Merx as original. The Jews could not have asked any other question. They could not have asked whether divorce be allowable, for the Law says it is. The only question in dispute was whether it was allowable (as Hillel taught) 'for every cause.' Or was it only allowable (as Shammai taught) for some shameful cause, *i.e.* for some unchaste action upon the part of the woman? The Pharisees ask Jesus which side he takes in the controversy. He, as is his wont, does not reply directly to the question asked, but lifts the whole subject on to a higher plane. Merx adds: 'Mark has omitted the principal element in the question of the Pharisees, the κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, *i.e.* for every cause, whereby the narrative is placed very accurately in its historical setting. This omission makes the question no longer Jewish but universal: namely, as to the permissibility of divorce. This is a palpable remodelling of the original form into a purely ecclesiastical discussion. Mark writes in circumstances in which the Jewish question discussed in the Jewish schools had lost its interest. He is later than Matthew' (*Das Evangelium Matthäus*, p. 274). Merx urges that the further argument is much more logical in Matthew. The Pharisees, amazed by the boldness of Jesus's reply, say (according to the slightly different version of the S.S.), 'How can you say that divorce is wrong seeing that we have an order from Moses that if a man wishes to divorce his wife, he shall

give her a bill of divorce?' Then Jesus replies that a concession was made by Moses—not willed by God—on account of the hardness of their hearts. D. H. Müller (*Die Bergpredigt im Lichte der Strophentheorie*, p. 19) takes the same line as Merx, and apparently without any knowledge of what Merx has written. The question can, he thinks, have only been put to Jesus in the form in which we find it in Matt. xix. For the current question in dispute was whether divorce must be limited to those cases where a man has found in his wife עֶרְוַת דָּבָר (R.V. 'some unseemly thing'), or whether it might be extended wherever the woman no longer 'found favour in the eyes' of her husband. But there was a further dispute as to the exact meaning of עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, words which are by no means easy to understand. It might mean a physical blemish; *cp.* the use of the same words in Deut. xxiii. 15 (E.V. 14) where R.V. renders 'no unclean thing.' Jesus cut the knot by proclaiming the indissolubility of marriage upon the basis of Gen. ii. 24. He might have quoted Malachi ii. 16, 'For I, the Lord, hate divorce.' Müller also, like Merx, calls attention to the obviously intended correction of the Pharisees' *ἐνετείλατο* by Jesus's *ἐπέτρεψεν*. Moses 'allowed' divorce; he did not 'command' it. Thus the new teaching of Jesus does not annul the Law; it fulfils it. *Cp.* Luke xvi. 17, 18.

Streeter thinks that we have here the third case where Matthew's account of an incident seems to be in some ways more original than Mark's, and where this is to be accounted for by Matthew having used a parallel version in M. 'Matthew's section on Divorce (Mt. xix. 3–12) is both more naturally told and more closely related to Jewish usage than the parallel in Mark (Mk. x. 2–12). The words "for every cause" in the question put by the Pharisees look more original, since they imply that the point submitted to the reputed Prophet in regard to the grounds of divorce was one actually debated at the time between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. So does our Lord's reply, referring them for an answer to the fundamental principle stated in Genesis, "They two shall be one flesh." The reference to the law of divorce in Deuteronomy comes more appropriately, as in Matthew, in *their* reply to Him than as in Mark, as our Lord's original answer. And, finally, Matthew's arrangement makes His final rejoinder, that this was merely permissive, more effective' (p. 259). These arguments of Streeter are most vigorously maintained by Dr. Charles. On the other hand, Klostermann essays to show that Matthew has deliberately altered Mark. He, the 'Jewish-Christian' evangelist, was anxious to make the story relate to the question in actual dispute among the Jews of his day. The apparent smoothness and suitability of the discussion, and the apparent propriety of the language and the sequence

of ideas in 3–8, are fallacious and artificial. The repetition of the words 'from the beginning' (*ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* 4 and 8) is 'the strongest proof for the priority of Mark.'

9. The text in this verse varies. The best reading after the word *πορνείᾳ* appears to be *καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται.* I have translated according to this text (which is also adopted by R.V.). But another reading has *ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, i.e.,* he who divorces his wife except for unchastity makes her (if she marries again) an adulteress (or rather, causes her, if she marry again, to make this new 'husband' commit adultery). This reading is given in R.V. M. Some MSS. add to the first reading the words, *καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται, i.e.,* he that marries the divorced woman commits adultery. This addition is found in R.V., but I have rejected it.

Once more the question presents itself. Is 'except for unchastity' (or, as the S.S. has it, 'except for adultery') an addition of Matthew's which expresses or misrepresents the real meaning of Jesus? As an illustration of the views of those who suppose that Jesus taught what is now the familiar doctrine of High Churchmen, I may quote the following: 'The saving clause is added in Matthew only. It cannot be supposed that Matthew wished to represent Jesus as siding with the school of Shammai (see on *v.* 3); the close connection of *v.* 9 with *v.* 8 shows that he understood Him to be further emphasizing the ideal of creation, and any reference to Rabbinic disputes is beside the mark. The addition of the saving clause is, in fact, opposed to the spirit of the whole context, and must have been made at a time when the practice of divorce for adultery had already grown up. Whether the writer of the gloss thought that the divorcer was free in such a case to marry again is not clear, though it seems to be implied. But that either Jesus thought so, in spite of his clear teaching on the first man and woman, or Matthew, who coupled *v.* 9 with *v.* 8, is inconceivable' (McNeile).

10–12. An appendix peculiar to Matthew. The saying or Logion in 12 may be authentic, and verses 10 and 11 may be the editorial means of linking it with 1–9.

10. 'If the case of the man is so with his wife' (A.V. and R.V.). 'If that is a man's position with his wife' (Moffatt). *αἰτία* does not apparently refer back to the *αἰτία* in 3. Here it means 'relation to.' (It is, scholars tell us, a Latinism, 'causa' being similarly used.) If, the disciples say, the relation of a man to his wife is such that marriage is either indissoluble or only

dissoluble for adultery, it were better not to marry at all. 'If the cause or reason of divorce between man and wife be so, *i.e.* if it is to be limited to unchaste acts, it is better not to marry, because marriage with a woman of bad temper, or malicious tongue, *e.g.*, is in that case an intolerable burden which cannot be thrown off' (Allen).

11. As 11 and 12 now read, the reply of Jesus is very remarkable, and not, it must be allowed, in good consistency with 1–9. For the object of that section is to sanctify and exalt marriage, not to discredit it. 'In its present connection, the teaching of 11, 12, which seems to exalt celibacy at the expense of marriage, is inconsistent with the previous section in which Jesus enforces the sanctity of the marriage-tie' (Box).

What is 'this saying'? (1) Is it the foolish remark of the disciples, that it were better not to marry, which Jesus then turns into a serious principle or maxim in verse 12, or (2) does it refer to the saying in 12, even though this, as the text now stands, is not an independent saying, but is only the justification of 11? Only those to whom God grants the necessary insight can receive or comprehend the true meaning of the saying. Let those who have this insight receive it.

Another view is indicated by McNeile and accepted by Dr. Charles. The former scholar says: 'If οὕτως in 10 refers to the indissolubility of marriage, the Lord's reply is difficult. He cannot be supposed to agree with the disciples that "it is not advantageous to marry," after His solemn statement that marriage was a divine ordinance; and it is awkward to make τ. λόγον [τοῦτον] refer to the quotation in v. 4 f.: "all cannot make room in their lives for the divine ordinance of indissoluble marriage, because some for physical reasons cannot marry, and some for spiritual reasons will not." It is probable that *vv.* 10–12 originally stood in another context, following some utterance on self-denial for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven, which might include the renunciation of marriage (*cp.* Luke xiv. 26, xviii. 29); and both οὕτως ἐ. ἡ αἰτία and τ. λόγον [τοῦτον] refer to this.'

12. A strange and startling saying, indeed, is now given, whether it be the saying referred to in τὸν λόγον [τοῦτον] ('the saying' or 'this saying') or not. For the sake of the Highest, for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven, in order to labour for it exclusively, without any obstacle or tie, there are those who have voluntarily refrained from marriage. The first two classes of eunuchs are so actually and physically. The third class is described metaphorically. Such metaphorical eunuchs are men who, for the

sake of the Kingdom of Heaven—for the sake, as we may interpret the phrase, of the highest life and of some absorbing duty and goal—have deliberately renounced the joy of marriage and have accepted a life of self-sacrifice. 'If the words are genuine,' the aorist of the verb εὐνούχισαν may show that Jesus is 'referring to the fact that some of the disciples had given up thoughts of marriage in order to follow him' (McNeile. The same scholar thinks that in the case of Jesus himself, his devotion to his mission 'may possibly have involved a conscious act of abnegation.') I had always thought that there are certain difficulties in supposing that the third class of eunuchs is to be taken metaphorically, and I am interested to find that Meyer interprets the third class literally no less than the first and second. But I see difficulties in supposing with him that the passage is due to the specifically Judæo-Christian source of Matthew—Streeter's M (pp. 215, 241). These are some of his words: "Somit [after the evidence adduced] ist evident, dass das Matthäusevangelium aus den judenchristlichen Kreisen Palästinas stammt. Von der Entwickelung, die das Christentum gleichzeitig in der übrigen Welt durchmacht, ist er, im Gegensatz zu Lukas, kaum berührt; daher steht er denn auch den ursprünglichen Anschauungen meist wesentlich näher als dieser, wenn er sie auch nicht so rein bewahrt, wie Marcus. Wohl aber tritt in der schroffen Ablehnung der Ehe, in der er an die Essäer erinnert, über die es aber mit der unverhüllten Empfehlung der Selbstentmannung noch weit hinausgeht, ein sektarischer Zug hervor, wie es sich in isolierten, der grossen Weltbewegung fernstehenden Gemeinden in der Regel entwickelt."

We have to consider 12 not only in itself, but also in its setting. And in its setting it places celibacy above marriage, and virginity above wedded life. Here there is a feature in the teaching of the Gospel which is distinctly anti-Jewish.

Doubtless the saying in 12 has its partial justification. 'Renunciation of the marriage tie, like other forms of renunciation, may, under certain circumstances, be a desirable form of self-denial' (Box). The celibacy of the Roman Catholic priest has undoubtedly its noble and its useful side. That could easily be illustrated in half a dozen ways. And if Jesus believed that the ordinary life of man was soon to come to a sudden and dramatic close, if the regular propagation of mankind was soon to cease, and the flow of generations to end, it was perhaps tolerably justifiable to say that, in the short interval left, the best thing was to prepare for it, and not to think of ordinary earthly ties, duties, and pleasures, which were all soon to pass away. But, without this background and expectation, the saying, even read by itself, and without 10 and 11, seems off the Jewish line. For, even read by itself, it does

give a certain impulse, a certain encouragement, a certain sanction, to celibacy, which most Jews would consider somewhat dangerous and objectionable. It needs, at best, much qualification.

Again, taken as it stands, the passage 10 to 12 seems also to imply a doctrine of a sort of double morality, one for the ordinary man, another for him who would be perfect. (For those ' in the world ' and for the ' religious ' as Roman Catholics would say.) In spite of the noble lives to which this double morality has led, Judaism has never seen its way to adopting it. Judaism has consistently deprecated and depreciated celibacy ; it has required its saints to show their sanctity *in* the world and amid the ties and obligations of family life. Asceticism has its justifications, but, on the whole, when its practice involves a separation from the world and from the ordinary ties of man, it is rather an evil than a good. At certain epochs in the world's history the celibate ascetic may have been necessary and desirable, but husband and wife surely constitute a more permanent and nobler excellence.

It is true that for some people, *e.g.* for a man who has a tendency to consumption or to insanity, not to marry may be the higher duty. A fine, temperate, and eloquent exposition and defence of Roman Catholic teaching upon marriage and virginity may be read in Baron v. Hügel's great book, *The Mystical Element in Religion*, II. pp. 126–129 (1st edition).

A dear friend of mine, far abler than I, with whose opinions I yet often venture to disagree, has finely said : ' There are some, specially gifted by God, whose mission it is to stand apart from ordinary life, to overlook the actual world about them and dwell with God. The world cannot do without them, but neither can it do with many of them, for the temporal world is also real, and cannot be saved by those who forget it, or condemn it, or leave it alone. It cannot be saved even by those alone who love humanity with a great love, yet for their very love of what it may become refuse to involve themselves in what it is, lest their witness suffer. Those " souls apart " reveal the full perfection of the religious life on earth, yet untrammelled by earth, so that men may ever have the vision splendid before their eyes, and come both to desire and strive to bring their share of earth as near to the vision in spirit and in fact as may be, hoping some day that the two may be brought into full accord. It is not an accident that Jesus, like many other prophets and teachers, was alone and kept himself alone. He deliberately cut himself off from human relationships. He was a man without family, without home, without country. He knew in advance what some other teachers discovered to their cost as they went along, that there is a kind of life and a kind of purpose, the pursuit of which makes you what is rightly called " an impossible

person " : that is to say, it leaves no room for the ordinary relationships ; it is too absorbing, too urgent, and the mission involved is of such a nature that it can only be fulfilled from outside society by one completely independent of society. I suppose the fact that there are men thus set apart by God to be " impossible " persons is the one sound argument for a celibate priesthood, if one could only make sure that the two groups [*i.e.* the " impossible persons " and the celibate priests] would ever be reasonably coextensive.'

13–15. Jesus and the Children

(*Cp.* Mark x. 13–16 ; Luke xviii. 15–17)

13 Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should
put his hands on them, and pray : and the disciples rebuked them.
14 But Jesus said, ' Permit the little children, and forbid them not,
15 to come unto me : for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' And
he laid his hands on them, and departed thence.

The more active human touches are lost in Matthew's version. Jesus is not allowed to be ' displeased ' with the disciples ; he may not take the children in his arms. Mark x. 15 is wanting here. Matthew has already used it in xviii. 3. Matthew adds, ' he laid his hands on them ' ; the outward accompaniment of blessing. Mark's words, ' they brought young children to him for him to *touch* them,' mean the same thing.

16–30. The Danger of Wealth

(*Cp.* Mark x. 17–31 ; Luke xviii. 18–30, xxii. 28–30)

16 And, behold, one came up to him and said, ' Master, what good
17 shall I do, that I may obtain eternal life ? ' And he said unto him,
' Why askest thou me about the good ? One is the good : but if
18 thou desirest to enter into life, keep the commandments.' He said
unto him, ' Which ? ' Jesus said, ' Thou shalt do no murder, Thou
shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not
19 bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother : and, Thou
20 shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' The young man said unto him,
21 ' All these things have I observed : what lack I yet ? ' Jesus said
unto him, ' If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell thy goods, and give them
to the poor, and thou shalt obtain treasure in heaven : and come,

follow me.' But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.

Then said Jesus unto his disciples, 'Verily I say unto you, A rich man shall with difficulty enter the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.' But when the disciples heard that, they were greatly appalled, saying, 'Who then can be saved?' But Jesus looked at them, and said, 'With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible.'

Then answered Peter and said unto him, 'Lo, *we* have abandoned all, and followed thee; what then will be ours?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, At the New Birth, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye who have followed me shall also sit yourselves upon twelve thrones, ruling the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that has abandoned house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are now first shall be last; and the last first.'

17. It is important and interesting to note the changes which Matthew has made to avoid the declaration of Jesus in Mark that only God is good, and that he, Jesus, is not to be so called.

In Mark we have, '*Good* master, what shall I do?' etc.

In Matthew it is, 'Master, what *good* shall I do?'

In Mark Jesus says: 'Why callest thou *me good*? No one is good except God alone.'

In Matthew Jesus says: 'Why askest thou me *about the good*? *One is the good.*'

Matthew very awkwardly writes εἷς ὁ ἀγαθός, which is based on Mark's οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός, although the words have really no meaning without the repudiation of 'goodness' as applied to Jesus.

Klostermann says very honestly: 'However great or varied the effort' (and many commentaries can give examples of such efforts), 'the εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός, when put beside the neuter ἀγαθόν and περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ no longer makes sense.'

It may be questioned whether Prof. Bacon does not press the difference between Mark and Matthew too far. For 'thou knowest the commandments' Matthew has the imperative, 'keep the commandments.' 'Could anything,' says Bacon, 'more flatly

contradict both spirit and letter of the original? Mark has the definite, distinct declaration that the keeping of these commandments *leaves lacking* the essential thing, which is—the doctrine of the cross, life through death, the world to come by surrender of this world. And Matthew, by the alteration of a phrase or two, states the contrary. Eternal life is the reward of keeping the commandments' (*Gospel Story*, p. 132). Nor can I see that the 'one thing thou lackest' is equivalent to 'self-surrender by faith' as opposed to 'works of the law.' Prof. Bacon would perhaps hold that a morality and religion which honestly preach salvation by means of works of the law are a poor morality and a poor religion; and yet no religion and no morality have produced a higher percentage of saintly lives and martyrs than these. 'On that essential issue the Gospel of Mark here shows itself no less squarely Pauline than on the practical one of the Mosaic distinctions.' I gather, however, that though in both these cases 'squarely Pauline,' it is also authentic. Can we have it both ways?

18. Matthew makes the man ask which commandments he should keep in order to attain the result which he desires. In the reply of Jesus, 'Thou shalt not defraud' is omitted, and instead of the Tenth Commandment the famous 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. xix. 18) is inserted. *Cp.* xxii. 39.

20. Matthew specially dubs the questioner a young man, and hence he is compelled to omit 'from my youth up.' Matthew makes the man ask what the commandments are, and turns Jesus's words, 'One thing thou lackest' into a question of the man, 'What yet do I lack?' Is this change due to a wish to ascribe a certain ignorance or self-satisfaction to the man, or a 'pathetic despair'?

Bonhöffer compares the dialogue with the remarkable conversation in Epictetus, *Dissertations*, ii. 14, and especially with the passage, 'You have come to me now, etc.' Matheson's translation, p. 189, vol. i. (*Epiktet und das Neue Testament*, p. 311).

21. Matthew omits, as usual, the human touches about Jesus. He does not 'look at' or 'feel love for' the man.

'If thou wilt be perfect' is peculiar to Matthew. He seems to distinguish between a morality which is realized in keeping the commandments and is adequate for salvation, and a higher 'perfection' which is conditional on absolute self-devotion, abnegation, and poverty. Later writers elaborated this theory. It is the Church compromise between the capacities of the ordinary man, the needs of society, the propagation of the race, on the one hand,

and the unrestricted ascetic rigorism of some of the Master's utterances, upon the other. It is the theory of a double morality, and of the higher perfection of an ascetic life of poverty and celibacy. Some think that this interpretation goes too far. Matthew is merely contrasting Christian perfection with the insufficiency of 'legal works.' But the fundamental meaning is no more and no less than what is found in Mark. 'What is wanting' refers to the attainment of eternal life, and Jesus means to imply that he who is intensely keen on the Kingdom, and wants to be sure of a place in it, must quit all and follow the Master. For an example of the way in which thoughts may be read into the words of Matthew I may cite Mr. Allen: 'What could be said to a man of this sort, one who conceived of eternal life as something to be acquired by merit, as a day labourer earns a wage; one who regarded "goodness" as a definite and ascertainable quantity which could be worked off; one who so misunderstood the Commandments, and so deceived himself as to suppose that he had kept them; one who could ask the question, "What do I yet lack?" "If thou wilt be perfect," says the Lord. The words are of course a descent to the level of the questioner. He thought of perfection as attainable by works, and the Lord took him at his own estimation, and proposed to him a task which would not lead him to perfection, but which would do one of two things. If he obeyed, he might learn in the service of Christ something of the spirit of the Gospel, which sets before men the ideal of the divine perfection, v. 48, and which never can conceive of perfection as a goal reached; *cp.* Luke xvii. 10. If he found the task too hard for him, he would have learned to be less confident of his own capacity to do the one thing needful for inheritance of eternal life.' But surely the words of Jesus are 'of course' not meant to be 'a descent to the level of the questioner.' They are meant quite simply and seriously. There is no question here of works *versus* faith, or grace *versus* merit, or goodness as quantity *versus* an unattainable ideal of the divine perfection. All this is read into the text and is not in it. To point out how works are yet compatible with spirit, or how there can be Pharisaic and legal saints just as well as there can be Pauline and Gospel saints is beyond the limits of a note. But it would be a good thing if Pauline Christians could be made to see Rabbinic holiness from the inside, alive and at work, and if Jewish legalists could be brought into close contact with Pauline holiness in a similarly experimental way.

And does not Mr. Allen himself in another place and mood speak of those 'who spend their lives *in endeavours to fulfil the requirements of the Law*, and to obtain the "righteousness" which God demands'? And does he not say of them that 'such

whole-hearted search will not fail'? That is a very fair definition of the true Pharisee or disciple of the Rabbis, and of them it may be truly said: 'such whole-hearted search will not fail.'

22. In the 'Gospel of the Hebrews' the words 'give to the poor' are expanded thus: 'Another rich man said unto him, "Master, by doing what good thing shall I live?" He said unto him, "Man, do the law(s) and the prophets." He answered him, "I have done them." He said unto him, "Go, sell all that thou possessest and distribute to the poor, and come, follow me." But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, "How sayest thou, I have done the law and the prophets? Whereas it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and lo, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying from hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing at all goes forth from it to them." And he turned and said to Simon his disciple sitting by him, "Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven"' (McNeile).

26. Matthew omits any general assertion that it is hard for *anybody* to enter the Kingdom. He speaks only of the rich. But the amazement of the disciples, and their question, 'Who then can be saved?' seem now unmotived. It is, however, possible that 'Who' means 'What rich man?'

27. Peter, by the addition of the words, 'What then will be ours?' expresses his meaning rather more definitely in Matthew than in Mark. He says: 'What will be *our* fate?' Surely, he would imply, *we*, at any rate, shall win eternal life.

28. This verse is not in Mark. It is paralleled in Luke xxii. 28–30. The twelve apostles are here given a special place and prerogative. *παλιγγενεσία* is a word only found here and in one other passage (Titus iii. 5) in the New Testament. It is used by Josephus for the new birth of the Jewish nation after the return from Babylonian exile, and by Philo of the new birth of the earth after the flood and after its destruction by fire. The new birth here denotes the world or Israel at the time of the second advent—at the Parousia. The Son of man is Jesus, who sits upon his Messianic throne. Around him sit the twelve apostles as princes, judging, or *ruling*, the tribes of Israel. Does this verse, or do the ideas expressed in it, go back to Jesus? Some think they do. The 'Kingdom,' as Jesus taught, has to be realized on earth, just

like the Messianic Kingdom of the Jews. Others hold that the verse and its ideas probably do *not* go back to Jesus, partly because the conception of the future Kingdom is so naïvely particularist (there is no thought of a rejection of the Jews or an inclusion of the heathen : contrast viii. 11), and partly because Jesus was rather inclined to damp than to encourage the ambitious hopes and wishes of his disciples. *Cp.* xviii. 1, xx. 20.

We may, perhaps, assume that 28 (corresponding as, to some extent, it does with Luke xxii. 28–30, is based upon Q. And perhaps 29 also depends upon the same source. Note the correspondence of *πολλαπλασίονα* in 29 and in Luke xviii. 30 as against Mark's *ἑκατονταπλασίονα*. It is also to be observed that Mark's long enumeration, which wears a late and secondary character, of the details of the reward in this life are omitted by both Matthew and Luke.

Streeter points out that, apart from the sitting on thrones and judging the tribes, ' there are no points of contact between these parallels. No doubt the words found in both are the most striking, but to assume that these alone stood in Q, and that all the rest in both Matthew and Luke is " editorial " is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of a written source, only possible under the distorting influence of an *a priori* Two Document Hypothesis. Rather, this is a good example of the currency of widely different versions of the same saying ; and since neither in Matthew nor Luke is it found in a Q context, we naturally assign the two versions to M and to L ' (p. 288).

30. The saying in this place is explained by some as ' the continuation of the promise in v. 29 : " the great ones of the world (*e.g.* the rich man above) and My humble followers who have forsaken all for Me will find their positions reversed, receiving condemnation and bliss respectively." But it is more probably a rebuke to Peter, and refers to *ranks* in the Kingdom ' (McNeile).

[See note at end of Chapter XX.]

CHAPTER XX

1–16. The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard

(Matthew only)

1 'For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a householder, who
went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard.
2 And when he had agreed with the labourers for a shilling a day, he
3 sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour,
4 and saw others standing idle in the marketplace, and he said unto
them, Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatever is right I will
5 give you. So they went. Again he went out about the sixth and
6 ninth hour, and did the same as before. And about the eleventh
hour he went out, and found others standing about, and said unto
7 them, Why stand ye here all the day idle? They said unto him,
Because no man has hired us. He said unto them, Go ye also into
8 the vineyard. But when the evening had come, the lord of the
vineyard said unto his steward, Call the labourers, and pay them
9 their hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they
came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every
10 man a shilling. But when the first came, they supposed that they
would receive more; yet they likewise received every man a shilling.
11 So when they received it, they murmured against the master of the
12 house, saying, These last have worked but one hour, and thou hast
made them equal unto us, who have borne the burden and heat of
13 the day. But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee
14 no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a shilling? Take what
is thine, and go thy way: I like to give unto this last, even as unto
15 thee. Have I not the right to do what I like with mine own? Is
16 thine eye evil, because I am good? [So the last shall be first, and
the first last.]'

This parable, one of the greatest of all, occurs only in Matthew. It would seem that it was not originally intended to illustrate the

proverb about the first being last and the last first. That proverb, as used in Mark x. 31 and Matt. xix. 30, meant that many of those who were then first (in wealth and position) should in the new era be last: *i.e.* excluded from the Messianic glory or the 'future life' altogether. Those who had renounced all, and were now 'last,' will then be first. Or, again, it meant that many who thought themselves most virtuous and most worthy of the Kingdom should see the repentant tax-collectors and sinners enter in before them.

But the parable was originally intended to teach something quite different. It was intended to teach that the 'eternal life' is the result of grace rather than of work; or, at any rate, that the laws which govern admission to it are quite different from those which govern business transactions upon earth. A little in the eyes of God may be equivalent to a great deal in the eyes of man; from unequal opportunities God will not demand equal results, but to unequal results God may give equal 'rewards.' Even if, at the last hour, a man chooses the better part, and does his best, his reward after death may be the same as that given to another who had laboured for goodness much longer. God gives of His own, and He gives His grace in full measure. He does not bargain and chaffer. It is not implied that there are no grades in the eternal life, but only that God, in His grace, will grant this one great, priceless, and always undeserved, boon to a number of persons who, looked at from human, business lines, on rigid tit-for-tat principles, should be rewarded most unequally. Tit for tat may do for earth; it is not good enough for heaven. Though there may be grades in eternal life, the mere possession of it puts all who possess it on an equality of 'reward' and an equality of grace and demerit. Though the unbeliever and bad man may not gain it, it is only by God's grace that the good man gets it. It narrows the parable too much to say that its purpose is only to show that in the Kingdom all are on an equal footing, for all receive the same reward.

It is not implied that the actual sinner obtains the Kingdom, or that there are *no* 'tests' in order to be admitted to it. M. Loisy says, rightly enough, 'one must have merited it in some sort, but the divine goodness supplies what is wanting to the "merit" of many.' Eternal life is not a reward 'proportioned to the time a man has passed in the practice of religious rites or to the quantity of works of piety he has performed.' 'God gives as a grace to repentant sinners what He gives to the just as a remuneration.' It is not meant that 'absolute equality is the law of the Kingdom, for other discourses show that there is a relation between sacrifice and recompense, and that there is a distinction of places in the eternal city' (*E. S.* II. p. 228).

The parable, in fact, supplies a close parallel to the frequent

Talmudic phrase (used most aptly at the end of the amazing story in Abodah Zarah 17 *a*, Wuensche, *Der babylonische Talmud*, II. 3, p. 334), 'Some obtain and enter the Kingdom in an hour, while others hardly reach it after a lifetime.'

In this general sense the parable may well go back to Jesus and be perfectly authentic. To Matthew, it may, however, have implied that those who joined Jesus and his community early, and those who joined it late, may expect the same reward. At the Parousia all believers will be treated alike. To Matthew the vineyard (which goes back ultimately to Isaiah v.) is the Christian community. The workmen, whether they began to work in it early or late, are all Christians, and will all enter into the perfected Kingdom.

1. 'The Kingdom is not like the man, but his actions illustrate an aspect of it' (McNeile).

2. Some commentators lay stress upon the first set of labourers working for a fixed hire, upon an agreement. But this does not seem an incident to be pressed. It only gives a point, and supplies an occasion, for the *dénouement* and the moral.

3. The labourers are not blamed for being idle. Nor are differences intended between those in 3, 5, or 6. All are alike. The 'third hour,' that is, about 9 A.M.

9. Only the last and the first are mentioned, on account of the proverb; but the end of 8 implies that all the labourers received the same sum.

13. As the first labourers got the amount for which they had agreed to work, they had nothing to complain of. We are not, I imagine, to translate the argument into the moral. It is not intended to imply that the eternal life will be for any the mere reward of a pact, a retribution for service agreed upon and rendered. Only this is meant: that just as the first labourers had no reason to complain, for they got their due, so have none reason to complain if the same life eternal is given alike to those who 'deserve' it more and to those who 'deserve' it less. From one point of view none deserve it; from another, if those who most deserve it obtain it, how can they complain if, by God's goodness, those also obtain it who deserve it less? Perhaps, too, it may even be hinted that in the perfected Kingdom, if grades there be, none have a right to claim special place on the ground of special service. The services which precede (but are not the purchase-money of) eternal life are not considered to possess so many varying degrees of worth. The

services are on an equality. God treats them in His goodness alike, for it is only through God's goodness (which all men need) that eternal life can be attained.

Is the teaching of this parable a contrast to the teaching of the Rabbis? It is usually said to be so in the highest degree; for the Rabbinic teaching is said to ask men to be good for the sake of reward, and to declare that the entire action of God is governed, both here and hereafter, by the strictest application of measure for measure and tit for tat. Such criticism is exaggerated. But it cannot be denied that both in the Old Testament and in the Rabbinical literature the principle of measured retribution and reward is very prominent. That the Rabbis had a peculiar 'lust for reward' is false. They were no more and no less anxious for the joys of the Hereafter than their Christian contemporaries. But the doctrine of the superb parable does supply a corrective to a frequent element of their teaching. It emphasizes that, in addition to the principle of retribution (which Jesus by no means denies), there is also the principle of grace. It teaches the doctrine of *In Memoriam*, that

> merit lives from man to man,
> And not from man, O Lord, to Thee.

It is reasonable enough that Jülicher and others should laugh at the Rabbinic parallel to this parable which is quoted by Wuensche; for that parallel has precisely the opposite moral. It says that God can justly reward two hours' work as he rewards ten, because one man in two hours may do (*i.e.* deserve) as much as another in ten. The parable in Matthew says the reverse. The workmen have *not* done the same: there *is* inequality of service; and yet the reward is the same. That is the higher justice of grace and love upon which God acts.

But there are not wanting even in the Rabbinic literature examples of this view. Nevertheless the worth of the parable for us, and its originality, are not impaired by these parallels. Moreover, most Jews know intimately no sacred literature beyond the Old Testament. The loss of such a grand parable is grave.

14. 'I like to give.' Better, perhaps: 'I choose to give,' and so in 15 'choose' for 'like' would be more in accordance with our English idiom.

16. It is probable that the adage is superadded and does not belong to the original parable. It can only be kept by giving it a strained sense. Those who are admitted after one 'hour' seem more favoured than those who are admitted after many 'hours.'

But this is surely very awkward. Matthew, however, looks at the parable in a different way. He interprets it either to mean that the last comers may have even a higher place in the Kingdom than the earliest disciples, or of believers and unbelievers. In that case 'last' means, not 'last' *in* the Kingdom, but excluded from it altogether. And in that case too the words, found in some MSS., 'many are called, but few chosen' (xxii. 14), may have been added at the same time. The many who are called are the Jews as a nation, the few chosen are the Christian believers.

17–19. Third Prediction of Suffering and Death

(*Cp.* Mark x. 32–34; Luke xviii. 31–34)

17 And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the Twelve
18 aside privately, and said unto them, 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man will be delivered up to the chief priests
19 and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death. And they will deliver him up to the heathen to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him: and on the third day he will rise.'

19. The crucifixion is added in Matthew to what had been said in Mark. The S.S. has here, as it has in Mark x. 33, 'to the people' (*i.e.* the Jewish people) in the singular, and not like the Greek, 'to the nations' (*i.e.* the heathen). This reading is one more of the tendencies by which the guilt is thrown upon the Jews, and the Romans are exonerated. *Cp.* xxvii. 27–30. Both Matthew and Luke have 'upon the third day' instead of Mark's 'after three days.'

20–28. The Sons of Zebedee

(*Cp.* Mark x. 35–45; Luke xxii. 24–27)

20 Then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her
21 sons, doing him reverence, and petitioning him. And he said unto her, 'What dost thou want?' She said unto him, 'Say that these my two sons shall sit, the one on thy right hand, and the
22 other on the left, in thy kingdom.' But Jesus answered and said, 'Ye know not what ye ask. Can ye drink of the cup that I am
23 about to drink of?' They said unto him, 'We can.' And he said unto them, 'Ye shall drink indeed of my cup: but to sit on my

right hand and on my left, this is not mine to give, but it shall be for them for whom it is prepared by my Father.'

And when the ten heard it, they were indignant against the two brothers. But Jesus called them unto him, and said, 'Ye know that they who rule over the nations lord it over them, and their great ones play the tyrant over them. But it shall not be so among you: but whoever wishes to become great among you, let him be your servant; and whoever would be first among you, let him be your slave. Even as the Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.'

20. In Mark the two apostles themselves make the request; here their mother makes it instead; but Jesus's reply in 22 is addressed to them. 'Two eminent apostles are thus, in part, at any rate, relieved of the charge of ambition.'

21. 'In thy Kingdom' instead of Mark's, 'at thy glory.' The meaning is the same.

22. The second clause in Mark x. 38 about the 'baptism' is omitted by Matthew.

23. Note the addition, 'by my Father.' Jesus does not so speak of God in Mark. In Matthew he is already the *special* Son of God.

28. *Cp.* the words of Eleazar in iv. Macc. vi. 29, 'Let my blood be a purification for them, and take my life to ransom their lives.' (*ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν*) and xvii. 22, 'Our country was purified, they having, as it were, become a ransom (*ἀντίψυχον*) for our nation's sin, and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation (*τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου*) of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel.' So it has been held that the words of 28 'addressed by Jewish lips to Jewish ears would not be startling or obscure' (McNeile). In the Rabbinic literature the death of the righteous is often stated to be an atonement for the sins of the wicked.

29–34. Healing of Two Blind Men

(*Cp.* Mark x. 46–52; Luke xviii. 35–43)

And as they departed from Jericho, a great crowd followed him. And, behold, two blind men sitting by the way side, when

they heard that Jesus was passing by, cried out, saying, 'Have
31 pity on us, son of David.' And the crowd rebuked them, that
they should hold their peace: but they cried the more loudly,
32 saying, 'Have pity on us, son of David.' And Jesus stood still,
and called them, and said, 'What do ye wish that I should do
33 unto you?' They said unto him, 'Lord, that our eyes may be
34 opened.' Then Jesus was moved with compassion, and touched
their eyes: and immediately they received their sight again, and
they followed him.

Matthew turns the one blind man (Bartimæus) of Mark x. 46 into two blind men, perhaps to compensate for the blind man mentioned in Mark viii. 22–26. It is at any rate curious that the wording in 34 (Jesus touches their eyes) recalls part of the procedure of Mark viii. 22–26. In the healing of Bartimæus Jesus does not touch him. *Cp.* also Matt. ix. 27–31.

[xx. A dear Christian friend writes to me that he does not think that Matt. xx. 10–12 necessarily implies a 'double morality.' He adds that there are many persons who are really 'called' and enjoined not to marry: *e.g.* the mentally or physically defective, or the diseased, and some also 'who are called to abstain as an act of reparation.' Again, he says, if there be truth in the idea of vicarious suffering, may there not also be truth in the idea of vicarious virginity? The esteem in which many religions hold *such* virginity (even though marriage be the higher estate) points to a value in it. Lastly, the children in 13, put immediately after the sayings in 10–12, have a significance for the passage as a whole. Family life is clearly exalted and not despised.]

CHAPTER XXI

1–11. The Entry into Jerusalem

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 23–38)

And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and had come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then Jesus sent forth two disciples, saying unto them, 'Go into the village before you, and straightway ye will find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord has need of them; and straightway he will send them.'

All this happened, that that might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, 'Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King comes unto thee, gentle and sitting upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of a beast of burden.'

And the disciples went, and did as Jesus had commanded them. And they brought the ass and the colt, and put garments upon them, and he sat on them. And most of the crowd spread their garments on the way, while others cut down branches from the trees, and spread them on the way. And the crowds, both they that went before him, and they that followed him, kept crying out, 'Hosanna to the son of David: blessed in the name of the Lord is he that comes. Hosanna in the heights.'

And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was excited, saying, 'Who is this?' And the crowds said, 'This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee.'

By an odd and almost comical misinterpretation of Zech. ix. 9, Matthew makes Jesus send for two animals, a she-ass and an ass's colt, whereas Zechariah speaks in poetical imagery of one animal under two names. In 7 he makes matters worse by representing Jesus as mounted upon both the she-ass and the foal! The genesis and purport of the whole story are given by Matthew in his express quotation of the passage from Zechariah in verse 4.

8. The leaves or shrubs of Mark are turned here into branches.

9. Matthew supposes 'Hosanna' to mean hail or welcome, a cry of acclamation or greeting. Hence his dative: 'Hail to the Son of David.'

10, 11. The second half of verse 10 and verse 11 are peculiar to Matthew. Unlike in Mark, Jesus is accompanied by the cheering crowd right into Jerusalem. The city folk are excited, and ask for an explanation of the tumult. It is noticeable that the 'crowds' do not reply 'It is the Messiah,' but, 'It is the [well-known] prophet from Galilee.' Some lay great stress on this. It is supposed to be authentic and highly significant. There is no Messianic entry: Jesus has not claimed to be, and is not described as, the Messiah. He is only the great prophet.

But as 11 is only in Matthew, and is probably the composition of the Evangelist, it is difficult to draw inferences of this kind. More probably the Evangelist chose the wording which appeared to him most in conformity with probability and with the Galilæan antecedents of the preaching of the Gospel; he did not mean that the crowd which had just acclaimed Jesus as Son of David did not regard him as the promised Christ (Loisy).

12–17. The Purification of the Temple

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 15–19; Luke xix. 45–48)

12 And Jesus went into the temple, and drove out all them that
sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the
13 moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves. And he
said unto them, 'It is written, My house shall be called a house of
prayer; but ye make it a den of thieves.'
14 And blind and lame folk came to him in the temple; and he
15 healed them. And when the chief priests and scribes saw the
wonderful things that he did, and the children crying out in the
temple, and saying, 'Hosanna to the son of David,' they were
indignant. And they said unto him, 'Hearest thou what these
16 say?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Yes; have ye never read, Out
of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast prepared praise?'
17 And he left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and
he passed the night there.

12. Matthew omits here the first part of Mark's story of the barren fig tree, and passes on at once to the purification of the

Temple, which in his narrative follows immediately after the entry. It is just possible that this order is historical, and answers to the oldest record. The text I follow is indicated in R.V. M.

14–16. Matthew only. It would scarcely appear as if these verses were taken from a good source. They may indeed be the creation of the Evangelist; he is fond of healings. In Mark there are no healings in Jerusalem. Perhaps Matthew thought Mark xi. 18 premature, and replaced it by another incident more suitable to the occasion.

15. The chief priests and scribes do not seem to complain of the purification, but of the healings and of the acclamations of the children. They only speak of the purification incident on the morrow. This is awkward and unlikely.

16. Does Jesus, by his answer, indirectly admit his Messiahship? If the joyous cries of infants are a praise of God, there is nothing improper in the homage rendered by the children in the Temple to God's messenger.

'It is extremely improbable that children shouted in the temple courts; if they had done so, it would be instantly stopped by the temple police. A band of them collected there is itself an improbability. The shouts are an echo of the shouts on the Mount of Olives. Luke xix. 39 f. contains a more probable account, that some Pharisees on the road with the crowd (perhaps overtaken on their way to the city) said to Jesus "Teacher, rebuke Thy disciples"; and He replied, "I say unto you that if these are silent, the stones will shout." Does an Aramaic original lie behind both narratives, "stones" (Luke) and "children" (Matt.) representing אבניא and בניא? (*cp.* iii. 9). If so, the tradition which reached Matthew, and helped to give rise to his narrative, may have contained the words "the *children* will shout!"' (McNeile).

18–22. The Fig Tree

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 12–14, 20–26)

Now in the morning, as he returned into the city, he was hungry. And seeing a fig tree by the wayside, he went up to it, but found nothing on it except leaves. And he said unto it, 'No more shall fruit come from thee for ever.' And immediately the fig tree withered away. And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying

21 'How instantly the fig tree withered away!' Jesus answered and
said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt
not, ye shall not only do what has been done to the fig tree, but also,
if ye should say unto this mountain, Lift thyself up, and hurl thyself
22 into the sea, it would come to pass. And all things whatever that
ye ask for in prayer, if ye have faith, ye shall receive.'

19. Matthew joins together the two separated parts of the story in Mark. The marvel is made more marvellous by happening at once. The symbolic meaning or moral of the incident is then explained. The adage on faith occurs also in xvii. 20.

23–27. The Authority of John

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 27–33; Luke xx. 1–8)

23 And when he had come into the temple, the chief priests and
the elders of the people came up to him as he was teaching, and
said, 'By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave
24 thee this authority?' And Jesus answered and said unto them,
'I also will ask you one question, which if ye tell me, I too will
25 tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of
John, whence was it? from heaven, or from men?' And they
argued with themselves, saying, 'If we say, From heaven, he will
26 say unto us, Why then did ye not believe him? But if we say,
From men, we fear the people; for they all hold John to be a
27 prophet.' So they answered Jesus, and said, 'We do not know.'
And he said unto them, 'Neither do I tell you by what authority
I do these things.

23. To what does 'these things' refer? Most probably (1) to the purification of the temple. But some think (2) to his teaching, and some (3) to the miraculous healings (14).

28–32. The Parable of the Two Sons

(Matthew only)

28 'But what think ye? A man had two sons; and he came to
29 the first, and said, Son, go and work to-day in the vineyard. He
answered and said, I will not: but afterwards he repented, and

went. And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir; but he went not. Which of the two did the will of his father?' They said unto him, 'The first.' Jesus said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, The tax-collectors and the harlots go before you into the kingdom of God. For John brought unto you the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the tax-collectors and the harlots believed him: and ye, though ye saw it, repented not afterwards, so as to believe him.

We have now three parables, all teaching the rejection of the official teachers. The opposition to, and the attack upon, the Rabbis are now at their height, and as might be expected, the language is severe rather than historical, dramatic rather than deserved. If we had had the attacks of the Rabbis upon Jesus preserved to us, the same judgment would doubtless have been true. Two antagonists in the heat of conflict, each totally incapable of seeing the other's point of view, cannot be expected to speak of one another in measured terms. But we stand to-day above the facts and above the parties to the dispute, and we can give to each the justice which is their due.

28. The parable was once probably not connected with the preceding paragraph. Though only the last verse has its parallel in Luke (vii. 29, 30), the parable may be taken from Q and belong to the section about the status of John, following on xi. 12–15.

Wellhausen makes the important remark that the religious relation between man and God usually appears in Matthew as service, not as sonship. The king or the householder stands usually on the one side; his servants upon the other. Here, instead of king or master, we have father and sons. But the sons must also serve, if willingly. The remark is important, because it helps to show that the contrast which some German Protestant theologians delight to expand—that to the Jews God is a King, to the Christians a Father—is a made-up contrast, which caricatures and misinterprets the facts.

31. There is considerable variety in the MSS. Some turn the position of the sons round, and make the son who says 'Yes' answer first. The usual reading is by far the more probable. Only if the first son had said 'No' would the father have asked the second.

Moreover, some MSS. make the 'elders and chief priests' say that the son who did the will of his father was the one who promised and did *not* perform! This apparently absurd answer is,

however, defended by some scholars. We can best explain it by supposing, not that even the Evangelist meant to represent the chief priests as so ethically obtuse as to believe that a promise unfulfilled was better than refusal and performance; but that, knowing the obvious reply which Jesus expected, they deliberately answered wrong. Whatever the moral which Jesus intended to draw, whatever the application he intended to make, from the parable, they would spoil his argument by making an absurd reply. Jesus, all the same, says what he had all along meant to say; he can, however, only say it, not as an explanation of the parable, but as an indignant assertion. But the ordinary reading remains the more probable.

'Kingdom of God' is unusual in Matthew. *Cp.* xii. 28, xix. 24, xxi. 43. (xix. 24 is, however, taken over from Mark.) The reason for its use here as against 'Kingdom of heaven' 'cannot be ascertained; it may be an oversight, or, more probably an early verbal slip' (McNeile). It is not really meant that 'the chief priests and elders' *will* enter the Kingdom, though after the tax-collectors. On the contrary. The author of the parable probably thought that they never would.

32. *Cp.* Luke vii. 29, 30. This verse is made to give the explanation of the parable in its present setting. But it fits very awkwardly. For the 'tax-collectors and harlots,' so far as we know, did not at first refuse to believe in John, and then afterwards believe in him and amend their lives; nor did the priests first believe in him and then reject him. And it would be strained to say that the Priests are compared with the good son by contraries. He said No, but went; they were not even moved by the example of the tax-collectors and the harlots. This strained interpretation is, however, to all appearance, the explanation of the parable suggested by verse 32. 'Ye seeing [what the tax-collectors, etc., did] did not even then change your minds so as to believe in him.' Perhaps verse 31*b* drew to it verse 32, and then the whole paragraph, thus constituted, was given a place after xxi. 25–27. The mention of John in xxi. 25 seemed to justify putting 28–32 after 27. But 32 must have existed originally independently of the parable.

Hence we may also infer that the parable itself had originally a much more general meaning. It is very strained to suppose that the Scribes, who pretended to be ever ready to do God's will, and refused to obey the first demand of that will (*i.e.* John's baptism), are represented by the elder son. The parable has more aptly been called a popular sermon on the text of Matt. vii. 21. The bad son who promises but does not perform represents the priests and elders and Scribes who make professions (and observe outward rites),

but are inwardly bad, and live immoral lives. The good son, who first refuses and then performs, represents the 'multitude,' the outcasts, etc., who, through the agency of John and Jesus, have changed their lives or are better than their appearance. The historical value of the charge need not be again examined here. That Jesus underestimated the ethical and religious worth of his opponents and exaggerated their faults was natural and human. The only odd thing is that serious historians should not take his charges with many grains of salt, and allow for the invariable exaggerations and perversions of controversy and antagonism.

With truth Havet points out that the words in this verse go much beyond what is said about sinners in Mark (ii. 17). 'This is nothing but a bitter insult addressed to Judaism at a time, no doubt, when Judaism was detested' (*Le Christianisme et ses origines*, IV. p. 58).

It is doubtful whether any of these three parables are the work of Jesus.

33–46. The Parable of the Vineyard

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 1–12 ; Luke xx. 9–19)

'Hear another parable : There was a householder, who planted a vineyard, and set an hedge around it, and dug out a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went abroad. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen to receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen seized his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again, he sent other servants, more in number than the first : and they treated them in the same way. But later still he sent unto them his son, saying, They will have respect for my son. But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves, This is the heir ; come, let us kill him, and seize his inheritance. And they laid hold of him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When then the lord of the vineyard comes, what will he do unto those husbandmen ?' They said unto him, 'He will put those wicked men to an evil death, and the vineyard he will let out unto other husbandmen, who will pay him the fruits in their seasons.' Jesus said unto them, 'Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected is become the corner-stone : this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes ? Therefore I say unto you, The kingdom

of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth its fruits.'

45 And when the chief priests and Pharisees heard his parables,
46 they realized that he spoke of them. And they sought to take him prisoner, but they feared the people, because they regarded him as a prophet.

39. In Matthew they kill the heir outside the vineyard, which may be an allusion to the crucifixion of Jesus outside Jerusalem.

41. The priests and elders are made to pronounce the sentence upon themselves and Israel from their own mouths.

43. Matthew only. The Kingdom is taken away from the Jews, and given to the Christians, who are the nation bringing forth the Kingdom's fruits, *i.e.* leading good lives and believing in Jesus. Kingdom of *God* is perhaps used just because the Kingdom is used in a special sense. 'It means the Jewish theocracy with the privileges conferred by its possession on the chosen people' (Box).

45. The verse is retained from Mark, but in view of 43 is now meaningless and absurd. 44 is probably a gloss, and should be omitted.

It seems somewhat strange that Professor Box should say: 'There is no difficulty in ascribing this parable to Jesus who realized the significance of His coming death.' At the very least it can hardly be fairly said that there is *no* difficulty. For we cannot be *sure* that Jesus thought he was going to be killed, or that he felt that his death was more than a possibility. Nor even if he *did*, at this stage, believe that he was certainly going to be put to death, do we know for *sure* what he thought the result of his death would be as regards the Jews collectively. As to any opposition between them and the world without, or between them and the 'Christians,' that is still more uncertain. He was only sent to the lost sheep of Israel; and the main inhabitants even of the Kingdom he probably thought would still be Jews—though doubtless only the Jews who believed in him. But his whole conception of the future and the results of his appearance at Jerusalem are doubtful.

46. They regarded him as a prophet. Once more this aspect of Jesus is emphasized. *Cp.* verse 11.

CHAPTER XXII

1–14. The Parable of the Messianic Banquet

(*Cp.* Luke xiv. 16–24)

And Jesus answered and spake unto them again in parables, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a king, who made a marriage-feast for his son. And he sent forth his servants to call those who had been invited to the marriage-feast: and they would not come. Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them who have been invited, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all is ready: come unto the marriage-feast. But they gave no heed, and went away, one to his field, another to his business. ⌜And the rest seized his servants, and ill-treated them, and slew them. But the king was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.⌝ Then said he to his servants, The marriage-feast is ready, but they who were invited were not worthy. Go ye, then, to the cross-roads, and whomever ye find, invite to the marriage-feast. So those servants went out into the highways, and collected all whom they found, both bad and good; and the marriage hall was filled with guests. And when the king came in to look at the guests, he saw there a man who was not clad with a wedding garment: and he said unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither without a wedding garment? But he was speechless. Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outer darkness; there shall the weeping be and the gnashing of teeth. For many are invited, but few are chosen.'

The more original form of the parable may be that which we find in Luke. There are Rabbinic parallels. The meaning of 1–10 would appear to be that the Jews are rejected; others are called in their place. But even of those others there is a sifting.

Not all the Christians will pass the scrutiny of the Judgment. This is the meaning of the addition in 11–14. Or, perhaps, and, especially, if we want to keep 1–10 as 'authentic,' the Kingdom is to be taken away from the leading Jews, the 'Priests and the Rabbis and the Elders,' and given to the humble and despised multitude and to the repentant sinners, tax-collectors, and outcasts.

1. Matthew's setting for the parable is awkward. Jesus continues to speak to 'them' in parables, but 'they' to whom the Evangelist would have us understand that the parable was spoken have really left the stage. Yet we may notice that in his reproduction of Mark xii. 12, Matthew does, at all events (xxi. 45, 46), omit definitely to say that the priests and Pharisees 'left him and went away.'

2. The banquet of the original parable is turned by Matthew into a wedding feast prepared by a king. Moreover, it is given for his son.

The Messianic Kingdom and beatitude were often represented under the figure of a banquet. In Matthew's wedding feast the Messiah is the bridegroom; the Christian community should be the bride. But this part of the figure is dropped: the guests take the place of the bride.

3–5. The many servants sent out to call the guests may be the prophets. And the fresh servants of 4 may be John and Jesus, even although Jesus is the son. Or the fresh servants may be the apostles. A *general* reference of the *main* incidents of the parable to historic circumstances is all that must be looked for. And a certain amount of confusion was inevitable in the gradual formation of the parable as we now possess it. The words in 4 are modelled on Prov. ix. 2–3, 5.

6, 7. Later verses. The reference is to the rebellious Jews who reject the message of Jesus and John and kill them. Their city is Jerusalem, which is burnt. The date of these verses is clearly after 70. The insertion is very incongruous. After the city is burnt, the king continues the wedding feast as if nothing had happened. Did he not live in his own city? And where did the new guests come from if the city is destroyed?

8 connects with 5, when 6 and 7, the later insertions, are omitted.

11–13. An addition, which would seem to be borrowed from

another current parable. The addition is hardly suitable here. For if the guests were to be brought in, almost pell-mell, from the streets and roads, how could they be expected to have wedding dresses on? Matthew wants to imply that in the Christian community itself there will be a sifting at the Judgment Day. Only those whose works are good will be admitted into the perfected Kingdom. Faith is not enough. There must also be Works. This again is a Church compromise. The outer darkness and the gnashing of teeth refer to hell. Matthew agrees with the original parable in so far as the excluded Scribes and Pharisees are concerned. But those who remain in the Kingdom finally are not especially the sinners and the tax-collectors, the humble and the afflicted, but those who are righteous in deed as well as in name—true disciples of the great Master. For many listened gladly to his teaching and became disciples in name, but only a small selection of these are disciples in very deed and will enter into 'the joy of their Lord.'

Streeter holds that though the Parable of the Banquet, like the Parables of the Lost Sheep and the Talents, occur both in Luke and Matthew, 'yet they do so in such very different forms that the supposition that they were derived from Q postulates too large an amount of editorial manipulation of that source.' Hence he supposes that Matthew's version comes from M, Luke's version from L. Then, as to 11–14, he thinks it is really a separate parable, not a mere addition. 'Verse 2, or words to that effect, has evidently been omitted before verse 11. Repeat verse 2 here, and verses 11–14 are seen to form the second half of one of those pairs of "twin parables" enforcing a different aspect of the same general moral, so characteristic of our Lord's teaching. Without such emendation the second half is pointless. How could the man, just swept in from the highways, be expected to have on a wedding-garment?' (p. 243, n. 2).

14. This verse only suits 11–13, not the main portion of the parable. The mournful and unloving doctrine prepared the way for the particularism of dogmatic Christianity. But here it has one saving characteristic: the test of admission is action and not belief. Some think that Jesus became more pessimistic towards the close of his ministry. Though the saying is an addition to the parable, it may nevertheless be in itself authentic. 'Many are invited, few are chosen.' The word 'called' is the participle of the verb used for 'invite' in the body of the parable. By 'called' or 'invited' Matthew does not merely mean 'have heard the summons,' but 'through the preaching of the Gospel have become members of the Church.' Of these members only a small minority shall partake of the full salvation of the perfected Kingdom

of Heaven. 'How great must the corruption of the Church have been in Matthew's eyes, how luxuriant the growth of the tares, if he ventured to assert that the just and the chosen should be so few.' If Jesus used the adage, he could only have meant by it: 'Many hear the summons to repentance and salvation, but only few are predestined by God to respond to it. Thus perhaps his ill success was explained by him.' It was necessary, within the purposes of God. His business was to find out the chosen few. (J. Weiss.) The adage itself is paralleled by, and perhaps goes back to, the mournful and irreligious saying in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras): 'Many are created, but few shall be saved' (viii. 3).

Some think that the saying was really used by Jesus, and did not refer to heaven and hell. It meant that all the Jews had received the call—that is, they were all the peculiar people of God—but few had responded to this call, and so few were chosen. The rest, by their evil lives (or by their lack of faith in Jesus), had forfeited their claim to be regarded any more as the people of God.

15–22. Give unto Cæsar

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 13–17; Luke xx. 20–26)

15 Then went the Pharisees, and formed a resolution that they
16 would entrap him in his talk. And they sent unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, 'Master, we know that thou art truthful, and teachest the way of God in truth, and that thou hast regard for no man: for thou respectest not the person of men.
17 So tell us: What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto
18 the Emperor, or not?' But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and
19 said, 'Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute
20 money.' And they brought unto him a silver coin. And he said
21 unto them, 'Whose is this image and superscription?' They said unto him, 'The Emperor's.' Then said he unto them, 'Pay, then to the Emperor what is the Emperor's, and unto God what is God's.
22 When they had heard this, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

15, 16. Mark had left the subject of 'they sent' uncertain. Matthew makes the Pharisees the subject. So, as they cannot send themselves, they have to send 'disciples.'

19. The tribute had to be paid in Roman money. Hence Jesus asks for the 'tribute money.'

23–33. The Resurrection-life

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 18–27 ; Luke xx. 27–38)

The same day there came to him some Sadducees, who say that there is no resurrection, and they asked him, saying, 'Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother must marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now there were among us seven brothers : and the first married and died, and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother : so too the second and the third, unto the seventh. And last of all the woman died. In the resurrection, then, whose wife shall she be of the seven ? for they all had her.' Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures or the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels of God in heaven. But as regards the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' And when the people heard this, they were astounded at his teaching.

24. The quotation is taken from Gen. xxxviii. 8 rather than from Deut. xxiv. 5.

25. In Mark, the questioners imply that the case is made up for the occasion ; in Matthew, by the addition of the words *παρ' ἡμῖν*, 'with us,' it is implied that it actually occurred.

34–40. The Greatest Commandment

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 28–34 ; Luke x. 25–28)

But when the Pharisees heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, they gathered together. Then one of them, a teacher of the Law, tempting him, asked him : 'Master, which is the great commandment in the Law ?' Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as

40 thyself. On these two commandments hang the whole Law and the Prophets.'

Matthew's version of the story is prejudiced. The Pharisees had left the stage (xxii. 22), but here they return. The Rabbi is put up by them to question Jesus and 'tempt' him. For here the 'testing' is meant to be a temptation. In what the 'temptation' consisted Matthew might have found it hard to say. But to his mind no question could be put by any Scribe or Pharisee honestly or without a bad motive. Matthew omits the whole second half of the story in which Jesus and the Rabbi express their mutual satisfaction with each other. As Wellhausen says: 'gleich als ob er einen unparteiischen und verständigen Rabbi sich nicht vorstellen könnte.' ('As if he could not imagine that an impartial and sensible Rabbi could possibly exist'.) It is to be noted that both Matthew and Luke show an odd correspondence: both use the word διδάσκαλε, both use the word νομικός, both speak of the questioner as 'trying' or 'testing' Jesus. Hence both seem to have also used another redaction of the story over and above Mark. This version was perhaps Q. The question then is, did Q present the question as asked with an unkindly intent. In spite of the introduction or setting given by Matthew, some think that we can explain πειράζων, as used by Q, in a non-hostile sense. The Scribe is curious to know how Jesus will treat a difficult problem, he only wants to test his knowledge. Q therefore uses πειράζων in a friendly sense, Matthew in a hostile sense. We see the original meaning of 'trying' in the version of Luke. The words at the end of verse 34, 'they gathered together' (literally, 'assembled at the same place'), are taken from Psalm ii. 3, and are quoted in the Acts (iv. 26) as a Messianic prophecy. Matthew intensifies the hostility of the Pharisees to prepare the reader for the long diatribe against them shortly to follow.

Streeter shows that the 'correspondences' between Matthew and Luke largely melt away on an examination of the MSS. evidence. Nevertheless, he holds that Luke's version of the story may be derived from another source which may be Q (p. 320, and Hawkins in *Oxford Studies*, pp. 44, 45).

41–46. Whose Son is the Messiah?

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 35–37; Luke xx. 40–44)

41 While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them,
42 saying, 'What think ye about the Messiah? whose son is he?'

They said unto him, 'David's.' He said unto them, 'How then does David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If, then, David calls him Lord, how is he his son?' And no man was able to answer him a word, neither did anyone from that day venture to question him again.

41. The Pharisees appear again: thus the last words of Mark xii. 34 are transferred to xxii. 46, although in this section Jesus is not asked, but asks. Matthew also, more dramatically, makes the Pharisees themselves state, in answer to Jesus's question, that the Messiah is the son of David.

CHAPTER XXIII

1–36. Attack upon the Rabbis and the Pharisees

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 38–40 ; Luke xx. 45–47, xi. 39–42, 44, 46–52)

1,2 Then spoke Jesus to the people, and to his disciples, saying,
3 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat : all, then, that
they say to you, that do and observe ; but do not do according to
4 their works : for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy
burdens, and lay them on men's shoulders ; but they themselves
5 will not move them with one of their fingers. They do all their
works to be seen of men : for they make broad their phylacteries,
6 and enlarge the tassels. And they love the first places at banquets,
7 and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the market-
8 places, and to be called by men, Rabbi. But be not ye called
9 Rabbi : for one is your Master, and ye are all brothers. And call
no man your father upon earth : for one is your Father, who is in
10 heaven. [Neither be ye called leaders : for one is your Leader,
11 even the Christ.] But he that is greatest among you shall be
12 your servant. And whoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled ;
and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.

13 'But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! for ye
shut the kingdom of heaven against men : for ye neither go in
yourselves, nor allow them that would enter to go in.

15 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! for ye pass
over sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he becomes
one, ye make him a child of hell twice as much as yourselves.

16 'Woe unto you, blind guides, who say, Whoever swears by the
temple, it is nothing ; but whoever swears by the gold of the
17 temple, he is bound by his oath. Fools and blind ! for which is
18 greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifies the gold ? And
(ye say) Whoever swears by the altar, it is nothing ; but whoever
swears by the sacrifice that is upon it, he is bound by his oath.

Fools and blind! for which is greater, the sacrifice, or the altar
that sanctifies the sacrifice? Who therefore swears by the
altar, swears by it, and by all that is on it. And who swears
by the temple, swears by it, and by Him that dwells in it. And
he that swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God, and by
Him that sits upon it.

'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay
tithe from mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the
weightiest things of the Law, justice, mercy, and faith: these
ought ye to do, though not to leave the others undone. Blind
guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel.

'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye clean
the outside of the cup and of the plate, but within they are full of
extortion and incontinence. Blind Pharisee, clean first that which
is within the cup, that the outside of it may become clean also.

'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are
like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful,
but within are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.
Even so ye too outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within
ye are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness.

'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye
build the tombs of the prophets, and adorn the sepulchres of the
righteous. And ye say, If we had lived in the days of our fathers,
we should not have been partners with them in the blood of the
prophets. So that ye witness unto yourselves, that ye are the
children of them who killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the
measure of your fathers. Serpents, offspring of vipers, how can
ye escape from being condemned unto hell?

'Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men,
and scribes: some of them ye will kill and crucify; and some of
them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and pursue them from
city to city: so that upon you may come all the righteous blood
which has been shed upon the land from the blood of Abel the
righteous unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye
slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you,
All these things shall come upon this generation.

The parallel in Mark for this long and virulent attack is xii. 38–40—three verses in all. Luke is longer—xi. 37–52. But the speech comes perhaps from Q, and some of it is perhaps authentic.

Tradition had added to the authentic words of Jesus even before they were recorded in Q, and Q itself was not, all its short life, a fixed quantity. Judicious remarks on the subject are to be read in Bultmann, pp. 68, 77. How much or how little goes back to Jesus of xxiii. 1–36 can never be ascertained. I hope little. The attack is so fierce, and when all allowances have been made for the measure of truth in Professor Burkitt's theory, so doubtfully historic. It confuses the few *very* bad with the many who were probably, like most people, neither *very* bad nor *very* good, and with the few who were very *good*. It tars the whole class of Rabbis and Pharisees with the same bitter and undifferentiating brush. 'Righteous anger' is one thing; undiscriminating abuse of an entire class is another. Matthew xxiii. seems to be the most 'unchristian' chapter in the Gospels. 'I came to call sinners to repentance.' Was this the right way to set about it? Was this the most likely way to produce the hoped-for result? Or did Jesus desire that one sort of sinners should be healed, but that the other, and worse sort, should go to perdition?

Streeter on Chapter xxiii. is well worth quoting. He observes that the chapter is, 'next to the Sermon on the Mount, the longest connected discourse of which both the Matthean and the Lucan versions (Matt. xxiii. 1–36 = Luke xi. 37–52) cannot be referred to a single written source without raising great difficulties. Matthew's is much the longer version, and it reads like an early Jewish Christian polemical pamphlet against their oppressors the Pharisees. No doubt it is largely based upon a tradition of genuine sayings of Christ, but we cannot but suspect that it considerably accentuates the manner, if not also the matter, of His criticism of them. Indeed it is the one discourse of our Lord which, from its complete ignoring of the better elements in a movement like Pharisaism, it is not easy to defend from the accusation made by students of Jewish religion of being unsympathetic and unfair. Now it is quite commonly assumed as almost self-evident that Matthew's version stood in Q and that Luke's is an abbreviated reproduction of the same source. But there are three considerations which give us pause. (1) The divergence between the parallels is well above the average in wording and it is accompanied by a great variety in the order—a signpost for conflation. (2) There is a fundamental difference in structure between the two discourses. The core of the discourse in Matthew is the *seven* times repeated "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees." But in Luke what we have is *three* Woes against Pharisees followed by *three* against Lawyers.' 'The fact that Luke's version of the discourse, xi. 37–52, comes in the middle of a section of which the rest is certainly derived from Q, makes it probable that his version stood in that document, and

that Matthew has again conflated a discourse of Q with one on the same topic which came to him in M. But here, again, the very fact that Matthew's version is a conflation of Q and M means that Matt. xxiii. as it now stands bears a much closer resemblance to Luke xi. 37–52 than did the original discourse that stood in M. Yet again, Matthew, besides placing the discourse in a Marcan context, adds to it a few words from Mark, *e.g.* πρωτοκλισίας, κτλ., Matt. xxiii. 6 = Mark. xii. 39. Finally, we must notice that Matthew has completed his structure by appending xxiii. 37–39, the Q saying, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," which occurs in what to me looks a far more original context in Luke xiii. 34–35' (pp. 253, 254).

Perhaps it is only fair that I should here make some allusion to Dr. Lightley's somewhat long-winded, but painstaking, work on *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Jesus* (1925). Dr. Lightley makes a valiant effort to be fair. He has read everything he could lay his hands on on the 'Jewish' side, though from the rather sparse references and from some rather odd quotations ('Cholim' and 'Cholin' for 'Chullin,' *e.g.*) I have my suspicions whether he is as familiar with Rabbinic texts as a man who writes about the first century A.D. ought to be. Moreover, his wide reading is not quite as critical as it might be. For example, he quotes a silly remark from somebody that the Rabbis counted 248 classes (*sic*) of things to be done and 365 of things forbidden, just as if every orthodox Jew in his ordinary life had 248 positive and 365 negative laws to fulfil! In spite of his own caution as regards the proportion of Pharisees and Rabbis to whom Jesus's strictures applied, he still too often makes the usual sweeping assertions as to '*the* Pharisees,' and repeats the old, old charges. He still leaves unexplained the 'contempt' which the 'Pharisees' and Rabbis apparently felt for the 'masses,' on the one hand, and their great influence with the said 'masses,' the admiration felt for them by the 'masses,' et cetera, on the other. The immensely difficult question of the '*Am ha-'Areṣ* is not realized or alluded to. The real truth of the matter is that a writer like Dr. Lightley is in difficulties. He makes, I repeat, a splendid effort to be just and fair, and when his book is taken as a whole, and all the cautions and provisos are weighed and considered, there is little which any reasonable person can object to, and much which all must admire. The general and sweeping statements are much less original than the reserves and the cautions. Why he is in difficulties, and why he must retain a goodly number of the general and sweeping statements, is simply his loyalty to the Gospel texts. Jesus says so; therefore it must be so. Unlike every other reformer, unlike every other fighter who has ever lived, Jesus alone was *always* fair, *always* unprejudiced, *always* accurate. What are you to do, if you start with such a conviction, if your

devotion to the divine Master compels you to this strange belief? Unless you choose to say: 'Such and such sayings are *unauthentic*,' you are tied from the start. The wonderful thing is not that Dr. Lightley makes the general statements: the wonderful thing is that he shows such evident desire to be fair and just, and that he has so frequently succeeded.

2, 3. 'The Scribes and the Pharisees' may be a sort of loose expression for the Pharisaic Scribes. The Pharisees were a big party, and the larger portion of the population was their followers. The Scribes and Rabbis were the religious leaders of the Pharisees: only they could be said to sit in Moses' seat.

The statement in 2, 3 is striking. 'It is so Jewish that it could hardly have originated in later tradition even in Jewish-Christian circles' (McNeile). Yet, if authentic, in view of passages like xv. 3–14, it is still more puzzling. Some think the verses are redactional, of the same spirit as v. 17–19. Others think they make a distinction between the Mosaic written law and the Rabbinic enlargements. It is only the former which are to be obeyed. This limitation is, however, not quite easy. It is true that Jesus as a general rule did not attack, and was not conscious of attacking, the *Pentateuchal* or Mosaic Law. But the Rabbinic developments of the Pentateuch were also taught by the Rabbis as Mosaic. They were either supposed to have been orally handed down from the age of Moses, or regarded as the necessary complements of the written code. It is more probable that if xxiii. 3 goes back to Jesus, the contradictions between it and other passages (such as those about divorce, etc.) are due to different moods and sentiments having been prominent in Jesus at different times. And nothing can be better, I think, than the following sentences in which Pfleiderer sums up his results: 'Thus scarcely any other conclusion remains than to admit that in the attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic Law different expressions which cannot be reconciled stand side by side, the most natural explanation of which may be found in a change of mood, similar to that which is known to have been the case with other epoch-making heroes, such for example as Luther. In the exalted moments of prophetic inspiration, enthusiastic hope for a new world and passionate battling with the realities of everyday life, Jesus now and again felt himself inwardly taken beyond the legal barriers of his people, so that he could feel forward (*ahnen*) to the time when the validity of the Law should end. But from that to a conscious breach with the Law there was still a long step, which Jesus himself never took; it was reserved for his apostle Paul to take it' (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 659).

As to the charge of saying and not doing, it is doubtfully historic.

A subtle way out of the difficulty has been devised; too subtle, I think, to be probable. 'The words literally would mean that they did not observe the rules which they professed. But this is contrary to fact, and is not borne out by v. 4 f. The clause need not be due to Matthew's anti-Pharisaic feeling. It expresses paradoxically the fact that they did not (in God's sight) do what they appeared to do. Though they scrupulously observed their own rules, their motive and manner deprived their actions of all value' (McNeile). Streeter holds that the two verses are a vivid illustration or proof of the Judaistic character of the source M. For in them 'we have attributed to our Lord an emphatic commandment to obey, not only the Law, but the scribal interpretation of it. That is to say, He is represented as inculcating scrupulous obedience to that very "tradition of the elders" which He specifically denounces in Mark vii. 13. But here again we have already, on other grounds, seen reason to suppose that Matthew's version of this discourse was largely derived from M' (p. 257).

4. *Cp.* Luke xi. 46. Apparently this means that they do not seek to ease the burdens which their rules imposed. (If they had done so, they would probably have been attacked by the author of these sweeping charges as casuistical!) It is interesting to observe that McNeile, who adopts this interpretation, remarks: 'The school of Hillel, indeed, tended to laxity, but in the time of Jesus they were probably in a minority.' What is the evidence outside the Gospels? It is a fine sign of better things, and of a nascent impartiality which does him high honour, that Oskar Holtzmann says of this and other attacks upon the Pharisees: 'These are "fighting" speeches, and they are just as hyperbolical as that other saying of Jesus: The Pharisees strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.... If the leaders of the Pharisees really did not touch with their little fingers the burdens which they wanted others to bear, they could hardly have gained the honour and influence which, as a point of fact, they *did* acquire' (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 209).

5. Matthew only. They are hypocritical and self-righteous; vain and proud. Some of the Scribes probably were; certainly not the Scribes as a class. But opponents never discriminate: each side tars the other with the same big black brush.

The phylacteries are the Tephillin; the tassels are the Zizith, Numbers xv. 38.

6. *Cp.* Mark xii. 38, 39; Luke xx. 46, xi. 43.

8–12. Later insertions, or torn from another context. Jesus

alone is to be called Rabbi. The disciples may be teachers and preachers, but they are not to call themselves Rabbi, for all followers of Jesus are to be on an equality. All are brothers. Probably 8 and 10 (a variant of 8) are later than Jesus. (So Loisy and McNeile.)

9. Nor are the disciples to call any one Father, for only God is their Father; perhaps, however, according to the right reading, they are not to allow others to call them Father.

11, 12. *Cp.* Mark ix. 35, x. 44; Matt. xx. 26. True humility shall bring its (heavenly) reward.

13–31. The Seven 'Woes.' Seven is a favourite and holy number.

13. (1) *Cp.* Luke xi. 52. This probably means that the Rabbis, by their ritualistic, outward, casuistic, perverse interpretation of the Law had made it impossible for those who followed, or sought to follow, their teaching to 'enter the Kingdom,' *i.e.* to be 'saved.' Another view is that the Rabbis prevented Jews from becoming Christians. In this case the 'Kingdom' is the Christian community. A third view is that the Rabbis did all they could to hinder the preaching of Jesus: they refused to listen themselves, and they tried to prevent others from listening.

14 is interpolated from Mark xii. 40, and is wanting in many good MSS.

15. (2) Matthew only. A famous verse. The charge is probably exaggerated and inaccurate. The Palestinian Rabbis were, on the whole, not particularly favourable to proselytes. The idea is that the convert out-Herods Herod. He is more 'outward,' more intent on ceremonies and more lax in morals, than the Rabbis themselves.

16–22. (3) Matthew only. About oaths. Doubtless there *were* evils resulting from the Rabbinic, as from every other, system of 'casuistry.' But the essential and fundamental Rabbinic teaching about oaths was as good as you could wish. 'Let your yea be yea.' A false oath was as abhorrent to them as to the Prophets, and idle swearing was greatly condemned. 'If the casuistries in these verses find no exact parallels in later Hebrew writings, it does not follow that they were unknown in the time of Jesus; possibly, however, they are rhetorical instances, caricaturing to some extent other well-known hair-splittings' (McNeile).

17. Jesus calls his opponents 'fools,' in spite of the teaching in the Sermon on the Mount (v. 22). Can the inconsistency be got over by the ingenious remark, 'It shews that not the word but the spirit in which it is uttered is what matters' (McNeile). If R. Akiba had said what we find in v. 22, and if he had called his Christian contemporaries 'fools,' I wonder if a similar excuse for him would have been suggested by the same commentator!

22. The conception of the 'heaven' as God's throne goes back to Is. lxvi. 1. It is perhaps only meant symbolically.

23. (4) *Cp.* Luke xi. 42. They observe ritual minutiæ, and neglect ethical fundamentals. The word 'heavier,' *βαρύτερα*, is used in a different sense from 'heavy,' *βαρέα*, in verse 4. Here it means the more important, not the more burdensome, portions of the Law.

The last words of 23 would seem to show that the writer is anxious not to make it appear that in attacking the Rabbis, Jesus is attacking the Law. On the other hand, Harnack points out that the last words of the verse are wanting in Luke xi. 42 in the MS. D. In other MSS. they have been interpolated from Matthew. They did not exist in Q, but are an addition of Matthew's own. They imply a 'Judæo-Christian evaluation of the injunctions of the ceremonial law.' So too Loisy.

There were doubtless in all the ages, from 100 B.C. till now, some orthodox Jews and Rabbis who observed 'tithing' or the like and neglected love, but that the utmost scrupulosity in outward legalism, and the most sublime spirituality and moral goodness cannot go together, and have not often gone together from 100 B.C. till now, is quite untrue. *Cp.* Abrahams, *Studies*, II. chap. vi.

24. 'Strain out.' The meaning is that they take care to remove the gnat by filtering the liquid (*e.g.* the wine) which may contain it. They 'strain it out' through some substance which catches the smallest animal. Perhaps this was actually done to avoid the chance of swallowing an unclean animal. In swallowing a camel, the metaphor is rather confused. The meaning, however, is clear enough. They are meticulous about outward ceremonial purifications and observances: they neglect the gravest injunctions of the moral law.

The A.V. has 'strain *at* a gnat,' and the phrase has become proverbial. Probably many people suppose it to mean 'strain' in the sense of 'making a fuss about,' 'struggling' or 'fighting against,' but the 'at' is, in all probability, a mere misprint, never corrected, for 'out.' *διϋλίζειν* means 'filter,' 'strain through a cloth or other

substance.' Professor Goodspeed speaks of this 'at' for 'out' as 'probably the most famous misprint in literature' (*The Making of the English New Testament*, 1925, p. 43).

25. (5) *Cp.* Luke xi. 39–41. Inward and outward. The words may mean that they clean dish and cup outwardly, but fill them unrighteously through rapine and avarice. The word ἀκρασία would signify insatiable appetite, the object of which is here the goods or property of others. Or the cup and platter may be a mere metaphor for men. They are outwardly clean, *i.e.* ritually punctilious, but inwardly, in their hearts, they are full of vice. Or, thirdly, the original meaning of 25 may have been, 'you clean what is outward,' namely such things as cups and platters, 'but within ye are full of extortion.' This would be a sort of combination of part of the first and second meanings. If the cups had been meant as a metaphor for men, the dishes would not have been added; and 26, which actually does so interpret the cups, omits the dishes. But 26 probably implies an old misunderstanding of 25.

26. If the inside is clean, the outside will be counted clean as well. The best MSS. do not have RV.'s addition 'and of the platter.' Platter (παροψίς), by the bye, means a dish, not a plate.

27, 28. (6) *Cp.* Luke xi. 44. A charge similar to the foregoing. The tombs around Jerusalem used to be whitewashed before Passover so that no ritual impurity might be contracted by stepping upon one unawares. There was no objection to a layman becoming unclean, except when he wanted to enter the Temple and this he would wish to do at the Festival.

The comparison is dealt with by Abrahams, *Studies*, II. pp. 29, 30.

29. (7) *Cp.* Luke xi. 47, 48. Though this is the seventh Woe, it seems unconnected with the previous sections. The word 'sepulchres,' forms a verbal link. It is the Jews generally who are here addressed, rather than the Scribes or the Pharisees.

30. The argument is peculiar: the irony is strained. You build fine erections over the graves of the prophets whom your fathers killed. But in dissociating yourselves from your fathers' guilt, you admit that you are your fathers' sons. And as sons, you inherit the murderous instincts of your fathers. The laboured violence of the attack is not very attractive, and there can be little doubt that we have here the bitterness of a Christian writer who conceived that the Jews, and especially the Rabbis, were responsible

for the death of Jesus. And so we can readily excuse and forgive this exhibition of hatred.

32. The imperative πληρώσατε of some MSS. is regarded as the true reading by many scholars. 'Imitate your fathers fully': murder as they did (*i.e.* crucify Jesus). Some scholars defend the future πληρώσετε of other MSS. 'Ye will sin as much as your fathers.' In either reading they are urged ironically to fill up the measure of their wickedness that their doom may come the sooner (*cp.* 'The wickedness of the Amorites is not yet full.' Genesis xv. 16).

34–36 is probably a later addition, or, shall we rather say, probably belongs to those portions of the chapter which are latest in date. *Cp.* Luke xi. 49–51. Jesus is made to predict persecutions of Christian teachers instigated and perpetrated by Jews. *Cp.* x. 17. In Luke most of this passage is given as a quotation from 'the wisdom of God.' Jesus is made to quote some lost apocalyptic writing. It would seem more probable that Luke's version is more original than Matthew's. Matthew does not like to make Jesus quote an apocryphal book. Note that Matthew or his source does not scruple to call the Christian teachers 'scribes' as well as prophets and sages. The Jews, who by the ruin of their State and Temple have suffered the ultimate punishment, have suffered justly. They not only bear the punishment for all former generations of prophet-slayers, but they are prophet-slayers themselves. They suffer for the past, but also for their own deeds.

Not unjustly does Havet say of these and similar passages in the Gospels: 'The truth is that the Gospels, of which men commonly speak as if one found in them nothing but love and charity, are sometimes full of hatred. . . . What has become of the precept of Deuteronomy: the fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers? Is it not here the old Law which might proudly turn the tables and say in its turn: You pretend that my children shall expiate the blood of the righteous; but I say unto you, Where are the suavities of the Sermon on the Mount? Where are the beatitudes? Where the order to bless those who curse you?' (*Le Christianisme et ses origines*, IV. pp. 244, 273).

35. Who is this Zechariah, the son of Barachias? He has been identified with the priest Zechariah mentioned in 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, who was killed in the court of the Temple by the order of King Joash about 850 B.C. But (*a*) this man was the son of Jehoiada; (*b*) he is only mentioned in Chronicles; (*c*) he was not

killed between the sanctuary and the altar, but in the court of the Temple ; and (*d*) he was by no means the last righteous man slain in Jewish history. Hence some commentators think that the reference is to Zechariah, son of Bariscæus (an odd form, perhaps corrupted from Baruch, which would be the same as Barachias). This man was murdered by the zealots just before the war with Rome (67 or 68 A.D.) : see Josephus, *Wars*, IV. 5. 4. His blood was shed within the sanctuary, and could be justly regarded as the last righteous blood shed before the destruction of the Jewish State. In that case a reference is put into the mouth of Jesus to an event which happened thirty years after his death. On the other hand, some argue that Zechariah of Chronicles became an important figure in Jewish legend, showing that he was a good deal talked about. Moreover, he is the *last* martyr mentioned in Chronicles, and therefore, as Chronicles is the last book, in the Bible. Hence he may be the man to whom Matthew alludes. Some think that *Matthew* may have thought of the later Zechariah, while the *source* (Q) meant the earlier one of Chronicles. Luke has not got the addition ' son of Barachias,' which is due, some think, to a confusion between the intended Zechariah of 2 Chron. xxiv. and the canonical prophet. *Cp.* Zech. i. 1 and Is. viii. 2 (Septuagint). The most brilliant advocate of the view that the Zechariah of A.D. 67 is intended is Wellhausen, not only in his commentary on Matthew, but in the second edition of his *Einleitung*, pp. 118–123 (1911). A good defence of the view that the son of Jehoiada is meant is given by McNeile, pp. 340, 341. Meyer (i. p. 235) is weighty on the side of Wellhausen. Certainly the arguments of the Introduction are hard to get over. Moffatt (p. 204) wants to date Q early—even Q as we now possess it. Hence he is a champion of the Zechariah of Chronicles, and rebukes Wellhausen for calling this Zechariah ' a quite obscure man.' But if Moffatt had read p. 121 of the second edition of the *Einleitung* more carefully, he would, I think, see that Wellhausen spoke with reason. Anybody who was totally indifferent as to the date of Q, would, I fancy, on the evidence, vote for the later Zechariah. So too Goguel I. p. 271.

36. ' All these things,' *i.e.* all these acts of bloodshed will be visited upon this generation—a pretty obvious *vaticinium ex eventu*.

37–39. Lament over Jerusalem

(*Cp.* Luke xiii. 34, 35)

37 ' O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets, and stonest them who are sent unto thee, how often have I desired to gather

thy children together, even as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed in the name of the Lord be he that comes.'

37. This passage stands in Luke in quite a different connection. In spite of this fact, some hold that 37, 38 are still part of the quotation from the apocryphal book. Wisdom is the speaker. It is Wisdom who has sent prophets, wise men, and scribes, and has thus sought to protect and save the city. Jesus could not have said, '*how often* have I wished to gather together,' etc., nor could he have lamented over the prophets, wise men, and scribes whom the Jews had murdered. 'The simile of the bird (it is by no means certain that it is a hen) which gathers her young ones under her wing, fits God, not Jesus. The children of Jerusalem are not so much the inhabitants of the town as all the Jews whose spiritual fatherland is Jerusalem. The attempts which had been made to unite them, to bring them back to the law of their calling, are not the visits of Christ, but the sending in succession of the prophets who had been massacred. For the apostrophe to Jerusalem has the closest connection with the preceding passage. In reality "the prophets, the wise men, the scribes" had been already sent; they had been killed and stoned; it is this series of murders, known by legend more than by Scripture, which was about to be punished; it constitutes the crime of Jerusalem, because it is the crime of the Jewish people. The unbelief of the chosen people was about to be its destruction, because God, angered by such long ingratitude, was about to leave his abode, the city of which he was king, and abandon it to his enemies' (Loisy). This is plausible. Some think that the quotation from 'Wisdom' continues to the very end of the chapter. Wisdom is feminine, and can use the metaphor of the hen much better than Jesus, a man. ἔρημος is wanting in S.S., and the meaning of 38 is 'your house (the Temple) is abandoned, left, of me, Wisdom, and Jerusalem shall not see me again till the advent of Messiah.' 'The entire passage (34–39) is a quotation from some lost visions in which the divine Wisdom was the speaker. . . . Matthew rightly joins what Luke divides; or rather Luke wrongly separates what Matthew offers as continuous. Each throws light upon the other; Matthew shows us that the passages belong together: Luke supplies the important fact that they form a quotation from a vanished book' (Carpenter). If it is attempted to keep the passage, or part of it, for Jesus, one must interpret with McNeile: '"How often (when I was away in Galilee) did I long to come to Jerusalem and gather you all into My discipleship and protect you in the coming Judgment; and now that I have come,

you have refused to be gathered." ' This gets over the difficulty that, according to the Synoptics, the ministry of Jesus included only one visit to Jerusalem. A clever argument that all 37–39 is no continuation of the quotation, but an authentic saying of Jesus, can be read in Streeter's essay in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Gospels* (1911), p. 163.

38. ' Your house ' is probably Jerusalem, and not the Temple. The plain meaning of the words seems to be ' Jerusalem shall be left desolate a long time.' The city is *already* in ruins. So Wellhausen who makes the pungent remark : ' Die neueren Exegeten machen die Augen zu und denken an dies und das.' But Harnack argued (for as 37–39 is in Q, it must be early) that ' your house ' means the Temple, and that ' is left desolate ' (*ἀφίεται ἔρημος*) is used as a prophetic future, a reproduction of Jer. xxii. 5, ' This house will be a desolation ' (*εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσται*). Luke omitted *ἔρημος* to improve the Greek. For the reproduction of Jeremiah, as Matthew has it, did not sound quite logical, since the idea of destruction has to be supplied, and this is not good Greek. Thus, while Matthew said : ' Your Temple will be left, to your discomfiture, in a condition of desolation,' Luke corrected this to, ' Your Temple will be delivered up (abandoned).' The passive *ἀφίεσθαι* is used as in xxiv. 40 where it stands in contrast to *παραλαμβάνεσθαι*.

Others think that *ἔρημος* is an addition, perhaps due to Jer. xxii. 5, and ' expresses a different thought.' Without *ἔρημος* the words mean God has deserted, or will desert, your city. The addition of *ἔρημος* (desolate) alludes ' to the destruction of the city of the Romans ' (McNeile).

39. The verse is obscure, and the connection with, and relation to, 38 doubtful. Luke omits the difficult ' for,' which it is strained to interpret as, ' God is about to desert you, *because* I am about to depart by death.' Perhaps 39 does not really belong to 37, 38, and has been hooked on to these verses by the compiler of Q. The words in themselves seem to imply that the Parousia is near, whereas in their present position they would rather imply that the Parousia is not very imminent : the punishment must come first. If the words are to be regarded by themselves, apart from their environment, and as authentic, we must suppose that Jesus meant that his active ministry was over. He had spoken all he had to say. And he expects that the *dénouement* will soon take place. He will make no further appearances in public before he is revealed as Messiah. Or shall we even add : what is now to come Jesus does not precisely know ? It may be, death. But of one thing he is sure. The Messiah in his glory, that is himself as Messiah in glory,

will soon be revealed. More probably the words are not authentic. Jerusalem had fallen : Jesus had not come. Therefore the men of a later generation felt that he must have predicted that an interval would lie between the fall of the city and his second coming, during which time it would remain in ruins. Hence the present verse, probably written some years after his death. Another view is that 39 belongs in part to the old quotation, but that it has been edited and enlarged by the first nine Greek words, ' For I say unto you, ye shall not see me from henceforth.' Thus 38 would originally have run, ' Your house shall be left unto you desolate until ye shall say, Blessed ' etc. (*i.e.* till the Messiah shall come). (So Bultmann, p. 69.)

As one looks back over the whole chapter, it seems wonderful that J. Weiss could speak of it as a ' historic document of the first rank ' *on the ground that* it paints for us ' most plastically and with an incomparable and compelling expressiveness the mentality and nature of the Pharisees,' and that it ' throws a strong light upon the personality of Jesus.' For even if some of the chapter (which is doubtful) goes back to Jesus, it has surely been largely edited by Christians, by men who thought that the Pharisees had killed ' their Saviour,' and who also had, perhaps, personally suffered at their hands. And yet these sweeping charges were accepted by Weiss as simple, unadulterated truth ! Excellent remarks upon the chapter are to be found in *The Pharisees*, by Travers Herford (1924), pp. 209–211. The learned author is serenely impartial, and seeks to do justice both to Jesus and his opponents. Some have thought that in my first edition I did less than justice to Jesus or to the author of the ' Woes ' ; it may be so, yet I am glad to find that Herford, a Christian, albeit a Unitarian, who sees in Jesus ' a personality marked by spiritual force and intensity to a degree unknown before or since,' agrees, upon the whole, rather with me than with my critics.

CHAPTER XXIV

1–44. The End and its Signs

(*Cp.* Mark xiii.; Luke xxi. 5–33, xvii. 23–37)

1 And Jesus left the temple, and went on his way, and his disciples
came to him to show him the buildings of the temple. And he
2 answered and said unto them, 'See ye not all these things? verily
I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another,
which shall not be thrown down.'
3 And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto
him privately, saying, 'Tell us, when will these things be? and
what will be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the Age?'
4 And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Take heed that no one
5 lead you astray. For many will come in my name, saying, I am
6 the Messiah; and they will lead many astray. And ye will hear
of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not alarmed: for
7 these things must happen, but the End is not yet. For nation will
rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there will
8 be famines and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the
beginning of the Pangs.
9 'Then will they deliver you up to affliction; and they will kill
10 you: and ye will be hated by all nations for my name's sake. And
then many will stumble, and betray one another, and hate one
11 another. And many false prophets will rise, and lead many astray.
12 And because lawlessness will increase, the love of many will grow
13 cold. But he that endures unto the End, he shall be saved.
14 And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world
for a witness unto all nations; and then will the End come.
15 'When then ye see the Abomination of Desolation, spoken of
by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him that
16 reads give heed:) then let them who be in Judæa flee to the
17 mountains: let him who is on the roof not go down to take any

thing out of his house : neither let him who is in the field return to fetch his cloak. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days ! But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath : for then will be great affliction such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, and will not be again. And if those days were not shortened, no flesh would be saved : but for the elect's sake those days will be shortened.

'Then if any man say unto you, Lo, here is the Messiah, or there ; believe him not. For there will arise false Messiahs, and false prophets, and they will show great signs and wonders ; so that, if it were possible, even the elect would be led astray. Behold, I have foretold you.

'If, then, they say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth : or, behold, he is in the inner chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning comes forth from the east, and flashes unto the west ; so shall the coming of the Son of man be. For wherever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

'But immediately after the affliction of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give her light, and the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken : and then the sign of the Son of man will appear in heaven : and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and they will see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he will send out his angels with a great trumpet, and they will gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.

'Now learn a parable from the fig tree : When its branch becomes soft, and puts forth leaves, ye know that summer is near : so too ye, when ye see all these things, know that he is near, even at the door.

'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away till all these things shall have taken place. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. But of that day and hour no one knows, not even the angels of heaven, and not even the Son, but only the Father.

'But as the days of Noah so shall the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days that were before the flood they kept on eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until

39 the day that Noah entered into the ark, and perceived nothing
until the flood came, and swept them all away; so also shall the
40 coming of the Son of man be. Then there will be two men in a
41 field; the one will be taken, and the other left. Two women will
be grinding at the mill; the one will be taken, and the other left.
42 'Watch therefore: for ye know not on what day your Lord
43 may come. But know this, that if the master of the house had
known at what hour the thief would come, he would have watched,
44 and would not have permitted his house to be broken into. There-
fore be ye also ready: for at an hour when ye do not expect it, the
Son of man will come.'

The twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew (an uninteresting and valueless chapter for us), corresponds in a great part of it with the thirteenth chapter of Mark. It contains, that is, Matthew's version of the apocalyptic discourse. But Matthew has enlarged the discourse here and there, and has appended to it parables taken from Q or from other sources, and certain additions of his own. These extend to the end of the twenty-fifth chapter.

1. The chapter opens with Mark xiii. 1. The wording is slightly varied. The disciples point out to Jesus the Temple buildings. This looks as if it was believed that they had visited the Temple before, but that Jesus had not, or at any rate as if he were far less familiar with it than they.

3. Instead of the four special intimates, Matthew makes Jesus address the discourse to the disciples generally.

'The sign of thy coming, and of the end of the Age.' The word 'Parousia' is not found in Mark or Luke. It is a translation of Jewish expressions, but as applied to Jesus it does not strictly fit. For of him a *recoming* should be spoken of, not a *coming*. But though Jesus was in one sense to come again, he would come again as the Messiah in power. *His* recoming was the *Messiah's* coming. As the Messiah *de facto* and in his full reality, he would come then for the first time—once and once only. That is the older view. Hence the word Parousia could legitimately be used. The phrase *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* is only found in Matthew xiii. 39, 40, xxiv. 3; Hebrews ix. 26. *ταῦτα* 'these things.' *Cp.* Mark xiii. 4. Matthew closely connects the destruction of the Temple with the End of the Age and the Parousia. And yet, when he wrote, the Temple *had* fallen, but there was no sign of the Parousia. He must, nevertheless, have believed that the Coming would happen soon.

4–8 = Mark xiii. 5–8.

9. Matthew had used Mark xiii. 9, 11–13 already in x. 17–22, so he contracts here. Note that whereas Mark and Matthew x. 22 have ' hated by all,' Matthew has here ' hated by all nations.' This is later. The Evangelist was, perhaps, thinking of the persecutions of Nero. The original ' all ' may only have referred to Jews. As regards persecutions by Jews, *cp.* Abrahams, *Studies*, II., ' The Persecutions,' pp. 51–71 and especially p. 62.

10–12. Matthew only. Here we come to treason and apostasy among the Christians themselves. They hate and betray one another.

11. The false prophets are probably Christian heretics, *cp.* vii. 15–22. They cause Christian charity (*ἀγάπη*) to grow cold. The substantive *ἀγάπη* is found only here in Matthew. It is not found in Mark. In Luke it occurs once, xi. 42.

Great wickedness is a stock sign of the End among the Apocalyptic writers.

13. This verse takes up Mark xiii. 13*b*. It has already been used in x. 22. Matthew x. 22.

14. This verse repeats with emphasis Mark xiii. 10.

15–22. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 14–20.

15. ' The Abomination of Desolation ' is specially noted to be a quotation from Daniel. It is peculiar that this prediction is still retained, though, when Matthew compiled his Gospel, the Temple and Jerusalem were in ruins. But the site was still sacred. And so the mysterious, unnamed, undefined horror is still to appear before the End, when the heavenly Jerusalem shall descend, with the Son of man, upon the site of the old Temple.

Streeter is very interesting about this verse and the whole chapter. ' When Mark wrote (about 65) it seemed possible that the prophecies of the appearance of the Anti-Christ and the return of Christ within the lifetime of the first generation might be fulfilled.' The non-fulfilment of the prophecies became a grievous difficulty to the early Church. Matthew solves the problem by disconnecting the Anti-Christ ' from any local connection with the Temple.' For Streeter believes that the true text of Matt. xxiv. 15 is according to S.S. which omits ' in the holy place.' (To Matthew as to Mark the Abomination of Desolation is, Streeter thinks, the Anti-Christ.) Thus the Anti-Christ expectation is detached from any local

connection with Jerusalem, and Matthew probably interpreted the 'Abomination' prediction by the light of the Nero-redivivus myth, belief in which was strong at Antioch where, Streeter thinks, Matthew was written (pp. 518–523).

For Bacon's views *cp.* the notes on Mark. I may add the following. Matthew knows that Daniel's Abomination 'was a material object, and the place of its appearance the temple. The temple being no longer in existence when he wrote, he could not well change Mark's "where he ought not" to "in *the* holy place" or "in *the* temple." The nearest approximation possible (and it is characteristic of the method of Matthew to effect his changes of meaning by the most microscopic alterations) was to write "a" holy place.' Moreover, Bacon interestingly points out that a desecration of the kind had actually occurred. For 'even under Agrippa I. the Syrian rabble actually set up the statue of Claudius in the synagogue at Dor (a rival Jewish port seven miles north of Cæsarea), thus renewing the pogrom of Alexandria, doubtless expecting the outrage to receive from Claudius the same favourable treatment shown by Caligula. Petronius, the proconsul at Antioch, who on the former occasion had risked his life to save the temple from sacrilege, intervened again at the request of Agrippa, this time with the emperor's full support. The centurion Proculus Vitellius was sent to execute condign punishment on the perpetrators of the outrage, and Petronius issued a proclamation against further "lawlessness" of the kind.' So Matthew 'substitutes "a" holy place for "the" holy place, being aware that when the great rebellion actually broke out it had been in very truth *because of the profanation of a synagogue in Cæsarea* in just this manner. Matthew, then, looks *back* on the profanation and its sequel, the "great tribulation," but *forward* to the Coming "immediately" after.' 'Matthew would repress *premature* enthusiasm, with *ultimate* encouragement' (pp. 64, 98, 105, 103).

20. 'Not on the Sabbath.' An addition, which is supposed to be one of the 'judaizing' or 'judæo-Christian' passages in Matthew. The Christians, therefore, still observe the Sabbath.

23–25. Not in Mark. An addition to the original discourse; Luke xvii. 23–25, 37. There may be a reference to the idea of the hidden Messiah, kept concealed till the hour of his revelation and coming.

27. No need to search for the Messiah. His advent will be manifest to all. His chosen ones will be at once united to him. The coming of the Messiah is sure and swift.

28. A proverbial expression. The Advent of the Messiah will be as little unnoticed by men as carcases are unnoticed by eagles. *Cp.* Job xxxix. 30. Or: As the eagles rush to the carcases, so will false Messiahs appear before the End. Or: As the eagles swoop down upon the carcases, so when the world has become steeped in wickedness, will the Son of man come down on to it.

29–31. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 24–27; Luke xxi. 25–28.

29. Notice the 'immediately,' which is only found in Matthew. The author of Matthew cannot have added this word, for it had been contradicted by history when he wrote. The destruction of the Jewish State had not been followed by the Judgment, the Parousia, the End. He merely copied the words which he found in his old apocalyptic source (of, say, about A.D. 60). There is, however, another and perhaps more probable explanation of the 'immediately.' The 'affliction of those days' which culminates in the establishment of the 'Abomination of Desolation' is not the destruction of Jerusalem, but something much worse, which is still to come. And 'immediately' after it does come—but this is still in the future—the Son of man will make his appearance.

30. The first part of the verse is only found in Matthew. 'The sign of the Son of man,' *i.e.* the sign of the End, is the appearance of the Messiah. The sign consists in the Son of man's appearance. Another explanation is that it is a sign which the Son of man shall display—some mysterious token which was familiar to apocalyptic conceptions of the time. It is remarkable that S.S. has 'ye shall see.' Was 'ye' changed to 'they' to allow for the death of the disciples who had not so seen? The words, 'and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn' (Zech. xii. 10), are wanting in S.S. They may be an interpolation from Rev. i. 8, or both Matthew and the author of Revelation may have drawn from a common source.

32–36. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 28–32; Luke xxi. 29–33.

34. Matthew keeps: 'this generation shall not pass away,' etc., from Mark. 'Either some of the old generation were still alive when Matthew wrote, or he reckons the generations differently; perhaps he means his own generation, so that the terminus *ad quem* is postponed' (J. Weiss).

36. The words 'not even the Son' are wanting in some MSS. and authorities. Perhaps Matthew added 'only,' in place of them, to 'the Father.'

37–41. Not in Mark. Another addition from another source. *Cp.* Luke xvii. 26, 27, 34, 35. Here the idea is again expressed that the Messiah will appear suddenly and unexpectedly. *Cp.* 26, 27.

40. 'Taken and left': *i.e.* either: taken, accepted [by the angels] for life; left, abandoned to destruction. Or: Taken, seized for destruction; left, spared, left unharmed.

42–44. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 33–37; Luke xii. 37–40. From the suddenness and unexpectedness of the Messiah's coming is drawn the lesson of watchfulness. Be prepared! The metaphor of the thief is finely daring. Mixed up with it is the conception of the absent master, the hour of whose return to his own house is uncertain. We have now come out of the apocalypse, and Matthew is drawing on material which was probably used by Mark also and was certainly used by Luke. The general and original idea is always the same. The Kingdom of God will come soon. Be prepared for its coming.

45–51. The Faithful and the Faithless Servant

(*Cp.* Luke xii. 41–46)

45 'Who, then, is the faithful and prudent servant, whom his lord
has set over his household, to give them their food in due season?
46 Happy is that servant, whom his lord, when he comes, shall find
47 so doing. Verily I say unto you that he will set him over all his
48 possessions. But if the evil servant say in his heart, My lord
49 tarries long, and if he begin to beat his fellow-servants, and to
50 eat and drink with drunkards, the lord of that servant will come
on a day when he looks not for him, and at an hour which he does
51 not know. And he will cut him asunder, and appoint his portion
with the hypocrites: there shall the weeping be and the gnashing
of teeth.'

The servants may refer to all Christians, or to the leaders of the Community.

Some think that the parable in a more original form may be authentic. The source is Q. It merely would mean: Use your time well before the advent of the Kingdom and the Judgment. In its present form, the reference may be to teachers and officers within the Christian community. One looks after his flock; the the other neglects and maltreats them and seeks his own advantage. Originally (in Q) the reference may have been intended to be wider

and more general. All Christians must do their various duties properly in the community. The Messiah, when he comes, should find each believer fulfilling faithfully his trust. The last part of 51 falls outside the parable. The place where the hypocrites (or unbelievers) are, and where there is gnashing of teeth, is hell. There may have been a number of parables, some of which go back to Jesus, and some of which are later, dealing with the coming of the Kingdom and how the interval of time up till its arrival should be spent.

Quite possibly 'the last part of 51' does *not* 'fall outside the parable,' but is a case of a false translation from the Aramaic original. Torrey shows that the original Aramaic of 51 probably ran simply thus: 'And will divide him his portion with the unfaithful.' ('Divide him his portion' means assign him the same portion or lot as the unfaithful have had assigned to them.) In the Greek both of Matthew and Luke 'two things strike the reader at once: first, this is a singularly disproportionate punishment for a kind of mismanagement to which servants left to themselves have always and everywhere been specially prone, and for which dismissal in disgrace is generally regarded as an adequate penalty; second, after the man had been "split in two," it could make no difference to him with whom his portion was appointed' ('Translation from Aramaic Gospels,' p. 314, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to C. H. Toy, 1912).

CHAPTER XXV

1–13. The Wise and Foolish Virgins

(Matthew only)

1 'Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins,
2 who took their lamps, and went out to meet the bridegroom. And
3 five of them were foolish, and five were wise. For the foolish took
4 their lamps, but took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in
5 vessels with their lamps. Now as the bridegroom tarried, they all
6 grew drowsy and went to sleep. And at midnight a cry arose,
7 Behold, the bridegroom! Go out to meet him. Then all those
8 virgins got up, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said
unto the wise, Give us some of your oil; for our lamps are gone
9 out. But the wise answered, saying, There may not be enough
for us and for you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for
10 yourselves. And while they went to buy, the bridegroom arrived:
and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage-feast:
11 and the door was shut. Afterwards the other virgins came up
12 also, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said,
Verily I say unto you, I know you not.
13 'Watch therefore, for ye know not the day or the hour.

The parable seems to verge on allegory. The bridegroom is Christ; the virgins are half bridesmaids, half bride. For bridesmaids have not usually anything to do with the bridegroom after midnight, just as shops are not usually open at that hour. The whole parable is somewhat muddled. The marriage takes place in the house of the bride; the bridesmaids go out to meet the bridegroom at some appointed place with lighted lamps. As he delays to come, all go to sleep, a feature which has nothing to do with the moral. For the distinction between the wise and the foolish is that the former bring a supply of spare oil, while the latter do not. The former are 'prepared'; the latter are careless. The

moral is merely a repetition of the previous section: 'Be prepared for the coming of the Christ'; in other words, 'Live a good life, so that if Messiah come suddenly, you may be accounted worthy to inherit eternal life, to enter into the Kingdom.' No repentance or 'return' is possible after the coming of Messiah, just as no repentance is possible, according both to the old Jewish and old Christian doctrine, after death.

11. Some think 11–13 an addition to the original parable.

12. Here Jesus is the judge rather than the bridegroom. The severity of the sentence is like xxiv. 51.

13. The moral. 'Watch' must be taken in rather a general sense. It means: 'be prepared,' not, 'keep awake'; 'live rightly'; not 'do not go to sleep.' All the virgins go to sleep, the wise as well as the foolish.

Some commentators want to claim the parable of the virgins, in its original form, for Jesus. As in the case of other parables of the same tendency in Matthew and Luke, they do not seem to me successful. Jesus, it is admitted, thought that the Kingdom was very near. It was always on the point of appearing. And in Jerusalem he expected it to the very last. What room or occasion was there to urge that the interval between Now and Then should be well spent? Immediate repentance was the only possible counsel under the circumstances. As he began, so he could end: 'Repent, for the Kingdom is at hand.' But was there any need or room to say to disciples or outsiders, 'Lead a good and useful life between now and the Parousia'? For if, in the story as told by Jesus, the delay of the bridegroom had no special application or meaning, if the bridegroom was not Jesus, and the virgins were not the Church, then the need for the parable is not apparent. If the parable, on the other hand, grew up to explain the delay in the coming of the Kingdom and to point out how the intervening time—of uncertain duration—should be spent, all is clear and cogent. Luke's parallels to the parable are xiii. 25, xii. 35, 36. As regards the latter passage, there are some excellent remarks in Bultmann, p. 71.

14–30. The Parable of the Talents

(*Cp.* Luke xix. 11–27)

'For it is like a man going abroad, who called his servants, and delivered unto them his property. And unto one he gave five

talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man accord
16 ing to his capacity. Then he departed. Then he that had received
the five talents straightway went and traded with them, and made
17 five talents more. And likewise he that had received two, he also
18 gained two more. But he that had received one went and dug in
the earth, and hid his lord's money.

19 'After a long time the lord of those servants came back, and
20 settled accounts with them. Then he that had received the five
talents came and brought the other five talents, saying, Lord, thou
didst deliver unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside
21 them five talents more. His lord said unto him, Well done, thou
good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful in respect of
little, I will set thee over much: enter thou into the joy of thy
22 lord. He that had received two talents came also and said, Lord,
thou didst deliver unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two
23 other talents beside them. His lord said unto him, Well done,
good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful in respect of
little, I will set thee over much: enter thou into the joy of thy
24 lord. Then he who had received the one talent came and said,
Lord, I knew that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast
25 not sown, and gathering where thou hast not winnowed. And I
was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth; lo, here thou
26 hast what is thine. Then his lord answered and said unto him, Thou
wicked and slothful servant; didst thou know that I reap where I
27 have not sown, and gather where I have not winnowed? Then
oughtest thou to have put my money with the bankers, and then
28 at my return I should have received mine own with interest. Take
therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him who has the
29 ten talents. For unto every one that has shall be given, and he
shall have abundance: but from him that has not shall be taken
30 away even that which he has. And cast ye the useless servant
into the outer darkness: there shall the weeping be and the gnashing
of teeth.'

It is disputed whether in this parable, perhaps taken from Q,
the allusions to the Advent were added later or not. Some com-
mentators would like to preserve the parable for Jesus—to regard
it as spoken by him—and to suppose that originally it had nothing
to do with the Parousia. So, for instance, Loisy. The parable
originally, he holds, had nothing to do either with the Parousia or

with the last Judgment. 'It was intended to show that the reward of the just in the Kingdom of Heaven will be proportioned, or rather, brought into relation to, their merits, and that those whose merits are non-existent will have no share at all in the Everlasting Bliss' (*E. S.* II. p. 464). In that case, the 'lord' is not Christ, but God. M. Loisy does not mind using the word 'merit.' It does not cause him qualms, as it does to a Lutheran like J. Weiss. The simple lesson of the parable can be simply recorded by him. But even as edited by the Evangelist, the parable preaches the duty of fidelity and of active work for the community. The gifts and favours which God has given are to be used in his service; they are, as it were, to be given back to him with increase. They who so act will also themselves reap their reward. For what helps the community makes him also who helps a better and a richer man. If verse 29 belongs to, and is an essential part of, the whole, the parable means no less than this. If not, we must limit it to the moral that man's powers and gifts are to be used and increased; they are not to be neglected and allowed to rust. Inaction spells loss. He who does not go forward goes back. In its present connection the parable is not unlike its predecessor. The Advent or Judgment will come, though it is delayed; but because it is sure to come, Christians are not to while away the intervening period. They must use it for the service of the community. 'The use of the word, talent, to mean intellectual endowment is based upon this parable; when we speak of a talent therefore, we regard the gift as a property entrusted to us which is, above everything, to be employed and made useful in the service of God' (J. Weiss).

14. It would seem not unlikely that originally the man gave his servants, not *talents*, but minæ, as in Luke. A Jewish mina was then worth about 72*s.*; the old Jewish mina about 112*s.* The man entrusts his whole fortune to his servants, but it is not necessarily implied that they were only three, or that his whole fortune was eight talents, though that is a considerable sum (£1750). The money is given, not as a deposit, but as capital to trade with. He divides it in accordance with the business capacity of each.

19. He is away a long time. This means to Matthew that the Parousia has been long delayed, and is still not to be expected immediately. But it need not have had such a meaning in the original parable.

21. In spite of 28, it would seem that we are not to suppose that any of the *money* is *given* to the servant. The reward is rather indicated by the word καταστήσω: *i.e.* a reward of office or position.

ἐπὶ ὀλίγα, 'faithful in respect of little.' Hardly little, if the master lent him five talents. An argument for the originality of minæ. Assuming that the parable is old and authentic, the little and much belong to the same category. The editor, the Evangelist, thinks, however, of something very different: he has in his mind the disproportion of human merits and well-doing as compared with the glory of the Kingdom. To him the real reward is the reward of the Kingdom: the joy of the Messianic era. 'Joy of the Lord': editorial. It is the joy which the Lord gives and shares: the bliss of the Kingdom, the heavenly beatitude. χαρά may even refer to the Messianic meal; it stands for feast in Esther ix. 17.

23. It must be noticed that he who has done well with his two talents apparently receives the same reward as he who has done well with the five. It is not a question of much and little, but, as the Rabbis would say, of intention and desire. If a man does honestly his best, that is all which God asks.

24. 'Reaping:' you enrich yourself at the cost of others. 'Winnowed'; διεσκόρπισας. Perhaps for 'winnowed' we should render 'distributed,' 'allotted,' 'portioned out.' *Cp.* Psalm cxii. 9 (LXX). Has the excuse of the third servant any special meaning? Apparently not. It does not seem workable to make it signify any current, but mistaken, conception of Jesus or of God. (Though truly, according to the mournful and terrible doctrine that many go to 'destruction' and few to 'life,' God is a hard taskmaster indeed!) Nor does the reaping where he did not sow, and the gathering where he did not scatter, seem capable of application. It is part of the dramatic environment of the parable, which must not be pressed in its moral.

'As in other parables—*e.g.* the unjust steward—the characters of the parable are not painted as ideal. It would heighten the point of the parable if the master *were* egoistic and keen on money. For then the fidelity of the good servants in making money for him is all the greater; all the worse the laziness of the bad servant' (J. Weiss).

26. Even if the servant had this conception of his master's character, he ought to have acted differently. For his laziness there is no excuse. It is a mere pretext if he says he was afraid. Or rather, he ought not to have been afraid. Even if his master was hard and avaricious, he would have done better for that very reason to have taken the trouble to increase the money allotted to him. The contrast between the way in which the first two servants used the money, and the way in which it is suggested that the third

servant might have used it, must not be pressed. No application is to be made of the bank, and one must not ask what the master would have said if the first two servants, instead of accomplishing a successful 'deal' with the money, had lost the whole of it.

27. 'True fidelity makes the servant joyous and free, because he identifies himself with his master.' (Wellhausen). The true explanation and defence of the Rabbinic religion, so far as it is a 'service,' are contained in these words.

29. More probably an added Logion than an integral part of the original parable. *Cp.* xiii. 12 and Mark iv. 25. It may be authentic, and 'can be spiritually applied in many ways. But it cannot be applied to the five talents given to the first servant and the five which he gained; they are a trust, while ἔχειν describes a real possession, a real condition of heart and life. The true ἔχειν in the present case is the character shown in faithful diligence, and the increase which could be "given" would be the higher degrees of faithful diligence to which he could advance. But this would be as true of the second servant as of the first' (McNeile).

30. A further addition. Jesus, as judge, speaks here, and assigns to the defaulting servant the punishment of hell. In the parable there is no need for an extra punishment, whereas in the added verse the environment and scene of the parable are quite forgotten. Nor does the verse suit the application of the parable, which is rather that as the negligent servant has the money taken away from him, so the man who does not use God's gifts to profit will see them taken away from him and given to others. God deals severely with those who neglect their duties and opportunities. The Kingdom of God is to be entered only by those who by their earthly life have deserved it. For the passage as a whole *cp.* Bultmann, p. 109. Streeter observes: 'A glance at a Synopsis shows that in the latter part of this parable the verbal agreements between the two versions are such as to favour, though not actually to compel, the assumption of a common written source. But the divergences between the versions in the first half are so great as to make this assumption highly improbable. Here again the Gospel according to the Hebrews may help us. Eusebius tells us that the Parable of the Talents stood in this Gospel, but "told of three servants, one who devoured his Lord's substance with harlots and flute girls, one who gained profit manifold, and one who hid his talent; and then how one was accepted, one merely blamed, and one shut up in prison." Is it not possible that M had a version something like this, and that Matthew has conflated Q and M,

following M more closely at the beginning and Q at the end Luke, then, preserves approximately the Q form ' (p. 282).

31–46. The Day of Judgment

(Matthew only)

31 ' When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all th
holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of hi
32 glory : and before him will be gathered all nations : and he wil
separate them one from another, as a shepherd separates th
33 sheep from the goats : and he will set the sheep on his right hand
34 but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them o
his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdon
35 prepared for you from the foundation of the world : for I wa
hungry, and ye gave me to eat : I was thirsty, and ye gave m
36 drink : I was a stranger, and ye took me in : naked, and ye clothe
me : I was sick, and ye visited me : I was in prison, and ye cam
37 to me. Then the righteous will answer him, saying, Lord, whe
saw we thee hungry, and fed thee ? or thirsty, and gave thee drink
38 When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in ? or naked, an
39 clothed thee ? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and cam
40 to thee ? And the King will answer and say unto them, Veril
I say unto you, whatever ye have done unto one of these m
41 humblest brethren, ye have done unto me. Then shall he say als
unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye accursed, int
42 the everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels : for I wa
hungry, and ye gave me not to eat : I was thirsty, and ye gave m
43 no drink : I was a stranger, and ye took me not in : naked, an
ye clothed me not : sick, and in prison, and ye visited me no
44 Then will they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we the
hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison
45 and did not minister unto thee ? Then will he answer them, saying
Verily I say unto you, whatever ye did not to one of these humblest
46 ye did not to me. And these shall depart to everlasting punishment
but the righteous to everlasting life.'

This section forms the conclusion of the long oration begun i chapter xxiv. 4. It is not a parable, but a homiletic description o the Day of Judgment, and though it may depend on Jewis

tradition, and be an adaptation *throughout* of a Jewish original (when the place of the Son of man would have been taken by God), it is in its present form a product of Christian thought, and cannot be regarded as 'authentic' (*i.e.* spoken by Jesus). It has been suggested that its author may be the author of xiii. 36–43, or that both this section and that may be due to the Evangelist, who composed what he justly regarded as a fitting close to the parables and discourses which he had put together in xxiv. and xxv. 1–30. It develops from the point of view of the last Judgment the saying of Jesus: 'Whoso receives you, receives me' (Matt. x. 40, xviii. 5; Mark ix. 37). Though based upon this saying, the development is highly striking and original. It contains one of the noblest passages in the entire Gospel. It only shows how inspired an editor could sometimes be, and how dangerous it is to use the argument: 'Such and such a thought is so fine, it must have been said by Jesus.' How many deeds of charity and love, how many acts of sacrifice and devotion, must have been accomplished in the last eighteen hundred years by the remembrance of the words: 'Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brothers, ye did it unto me.' And another reflection is strongly brought before us by this section. How close lie good and evil within the thought of one and the same man! For the same editorial hand which penned the glorious verse 40, penned the horrible words that follow. The eternal fire is as firmly believed in as the beauty of charity. So careful must we be to realize that the intolerance of Rabbinic Jew or early Christian towards those without the pale of race or creed may yet consort with a life of devoted sacrifice and lowly duty towards those who are within. In the present case, it is, however, some satisfaction that the criterion for heaven and hell is purely moral. Creed does not enter in. Yet even here our satisfaction is mixed and sad. We cannot help wondering that the same man whose religion was high enough to rise to the level of verse 40 could also have believed, without the smallest compunction or regret, that the good God would send any of his creatures to everlasting fire. We could almost wish that so horrible a belief should be limited to those who believed that the test of God's judgment was a matter of genealogy or a matter of dogmatic creed.

Burkitt regards 31–46 'as a genuine utterance of Jesus' (*Beginnings*, p. 37). Then he would be responsible for the horrible end as well as for the noble beginning.

31. The Son of man, here undoubtedly the risen Jesus, is the Judge.

32. Though the passage begins with the familiar *mise en scène*

of the Judgment—all nations collected before the Judge's throne—the Judgment is restricted to the people in whom the writer is specially interested—*i.e.* the Christian community. The nations are forgotten. They form the mere scenic background. Both the good and the bad, both sheep and goats, are Christians. Or did the writer suppose that all the nations were converted before the Judgment ?

33. The sheep are the good, gentle, and kindly people ; the goats are the proud, sinful, and violent people (*cp.* Ezek. xxxiv. 17, etc.).

Both heaven and hell, the Kingdom and the fire, have been ' prepared ' from ' everlasting.' Now they are to receive their predestined inhabitants. The fire receives not only the bad men, but the devil and his ' angels.'

It is indeed fair to note, with Loisy, that the fire was not originally prepared for men, but for the devil and his auxiliaries. It has become the lot of the *men* through their own fault. It is not quite certain whether the word ' prepared ' in 34 and 41 means predestined, or only that the Kingdom and the fire were already in existence. Loisy says : ' One may say that Matthew's thought wavers between predestination and pre-existence ; it would be hasty to affirm that it envisages the former to the exclusion of the latter. Is it probable that the fire destined for Satan does not yet exist ? In the apocalypses the fire already exists ' (*E. S.* II. p. 485, n. 2).

34. ' The change from Son of man (31) to King is very abrupt and unexpected. It looks as though a parable in which the King was the central figure had been adapted to refer to the coming of the Son of man ' (Allen). It must be confessed that there seems something in this argument. The Messiah or Son of man is not elsewhere called King, though his Kingdom is spoken about.

36. The thought is based on such passages as x. 42, Mark ix. 41, etc. The parallel words in *Secrets of Enoch* ix. 1, x. 5, 6 *b* are well worth noting (Walker, p. 318). It was written before Matthew. To stimulate the practice of fraternal charity among Christians Matthew makes the last Judgment turn upon it solely, as if the goats were accursed for mere sins of omission. The charity rendered, the loving service paid, to the lowliest Christian, is regarded by Christ as if rendered to himself. ' As the Gospel is summed up in the precept of charity, it is upon this law that the Judgment will be conducted ' (Loisy). There need not even be the conscious thought that it is done for Christ or in his name. This is splendid doctrine,

and goes beyond (just because it implies that even 'in my name' is not required) the teaching of xviii. 5 and Mark ix. 37. The loving deed is enough. No purer account, no more exquisite delineation, of Christian philanthropy was ever penned. It is broad, liberal, and truly religious.

It would be amusing, if it were not sad, that J. Weiss calls the disagreeable part of the picture of the Judgment very 'Jewish' —as if it were not Christianity which had made the more, or, at least, an extremely abundant use of hell and its flames—while: 'the glorious idea 35–40 strikes us, on the contrary, as totally un-Jewish.' Whereas in truth 35–40 is no less, and probably more, Jewish than all the rest. The instances are characteristically Jewish instances of 'Gemiluth Chesadim,' the doing of loving-kindnesses (*cp.* also Isaiah lviii. 7). Note the visiting of prisoners. It points to the era of persecutions.

39. Burney holds that when in this parable 'the emotion reaches the highest point, the rhythm at once becomes that of the Kina.' In 39 we must read:

> When sáw we thee sick, (and vísited thee);
> or in príson, and cáme unto thee?

The words in brackets must be supplied from 36, 'as parallelism and rhythm demand' (pp. 142, 143).

40. A more sublime reply can hardly be conceived. The worth which Christianity assigned to every human soul brought a new feature into the Roman and heathen world. Even the poorest and most wretched creature—a gladiator, a prostitute, a slave—had separate, distinct value in the eyes of God. The doctrine had doubtless immense effects upon civilization and morality in various directions. Nor must we overlook the personal motive introduced. In the allocution the deeds of mercy are supposed to have been done without any conscious thought of the King. But in Christian life it has just been this conscious thought—for *his* sake—which has prompted and sustained the deeds. Judaism also has taught and still teaches the worth of every human soul. But the particular motive—for *his* sake—is necessarily wanting to its adherents. They have to say for God's sake instead of for Jesus's sake, and doubtless the peculiar combination in Jesus—as simple Christian believers hold—of the man and the God has given an immense power to this special motive, 'for his sake.' It would be foolish not to recognize the force and grandeur of the ethical motive in a religion, because, as the religion is not one's own, one cannot share, or be stimulated by, that motive.

41. The terrible doctrine of eternal punishment, 'perhaps the most frightful idea that has ever corroded human character' (Morley, *Miscellanies*, II. p. 237), is here emphatically asserted, and solemnly put into the mouth of Jesus. So too in 46.

A mournful ending to a noble section. The words are based upon Dan. xii. 2. *ζωὴν αἰώνιον* is found there, though not *κόλασιν*. It can hardly be contended that *αἰώνιον* does not here mean 'everlasting.' Or is the 'eternal life' of the righteous not to be everlasting? What applies to the one must apply to the other.

Such passages as Matt. xxv. 41 should make theologians excessively careful of drawing beloved contrasts between Old Testament and New. We find even the liberal theologian Dr. Fosdick saying: 'From Sinai to Calvary—was ever a record of progressive revelation more plain or more convincing? The development begins with Jehovah disclosed in a thunderstorm on a desert mountain, and it ends with Christ saying: "God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth"; it begins with a war-god leading his partisans to victory, and it ends with men saying, "God is love; and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him"; it begins with a provincial deity loving his tribe and hating its enemies, and it ends with the God of the whole earth worshipped by "a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation and of all tribes and peoples and tongues"; it begins with a God who commands the slaying of the Amalekites, "both man and woman, infant and suckling," and it ends with a Father whose will it is that not "one of these little ones should perish"; it begins with God's people standing afar off from his lightnings and praying that he might not speak to them lest they die, and it ends with men going into their inner chambers and, having shut the door, praying to their Father who is in secret' (*Christianity and Progress*, 1922, p. 209). Very good. No doubt such a series can be arranged. Let me now arrange a similar series. 'From Old Testament to New Testament—was ever a record of retrogression more plain or more convincing? It begins with, "Have I any pleasure at all in the death of him that dieth?"; it ends with, "Begone from me, ye doers of wickedness." It begins with, "The Lord is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy"; it ends with, "Fear him who is able to destroy both body and soul in gehenna." It begins with, "I dwell with him that is of a contrite spirit to revive it"; it ends with, "Narrow is the way which leads to life, and few there be who find it." It begins with, "I will not contend for ever; I will not be *always* wrath"; it ends with, "Depart, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire." It begins with, "Should not I have pity upon Nineveh, that great city?"; it ends with, "It will be more endurable for Sodom on the day of Judgment than for that town." It begins with, "The Lord is good to all, and

near to all who call upon him"; it ends with, "Whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit, there is no forgiveness for him whether in this world or in the next." It begins with, "The Lord will wipe away tears from off all faces; he will destroy death for ever"; it ends with, "They will throw them into the furnace of fire; there is the weeping and the gnashing of teeth."' And the one series would be as misleading as the other.

CHAPTER XXVI

1–5. The Decision of the Priests and Scribes

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 1, 2 ; Luke xxii. 1, 2)

1 And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these words,
2 he said unto his disciples, ' Ye know that after two days is the pass-
over, and the Son of man is to be delivered up to be crucified.'
3 Then the chief priests, and the elders of the people, assembled
together at the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas,
4 and they determined to seize Jesus by craft, and to kill him. But
5 they said, ' Not during the festival, lest there be an uproar among
the people.'

For the story of the Passion and of the resurrection Matthew seems to have relied mainly upon Mark. Oral tradition may have given him some other material.

2. The date given by the narrator in Mark xiv. 1 is here put into the mouth of Jesus. The prediction is made exceedingly precise. ' After two days ' : Jesus is therefore speaking on Wednesday, if the crucifixion was on a Friday.

3. Matthew turns the informal determination of the authorities, as given in Mark xiv. 1, into a formal sitting and decision of the Sanhedrin. It meets, not in the regular place of assembly, but (for greater secrecy) in the court of the high priest's palace. The day of the meeting to Matthew would probably be Wednesday. Matthew names the high priest Caiaphas. That is correct (*cp.* Luke iii. 2). Does Matthew suppose that this session of the Sanhedrin continues till verse 57 ? He has ' elders of the people,' instead of Mark's ' scribes.'

6–13. The Anointing in Bethany

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 3–9 ; Luke vii. 36–50)

6 Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the
7 leper, there came unto him a woman having an alabaster cruse of

very precious ointment, and poured it on his head as he sat at table. But when his disciples saw it, they were indignant, saying, 'Wherefore this waste? For this ointment might have been sold for a large sum, and given to the poor.' But when Jesus perceived it, he said unto them, 'Why vex ye the woman? for she has wrought a good deed towards me. For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always. For when she poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial. Verily I say unto you, Wherever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that which she has done shall also be spoken of in her memory.'

8. Here the indefinite 'some' of Mark is changed into 'his disciples.'

10. *γνούς*. Jesus does not hear what they say, but reads their thoughts.

14–16. Judas's Treachery

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 10, 11; Luke xxii. 3–6)

Then one of the Twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, 'What are ye willing to give me, if I betray him unto you?' And they weighed out to him thirty pieces of silver. And from that time he sought a good opportunity to betray him.

15. The treachery of Judas received further details as time went on. Matthew makes his motive greed. As in verse 5, the statement in Mark is turned into a remark by the actor.

The sum 'thirty pieces of silver' is due to Zech. xi. 12; *cp.* notes on xxvii. 3–9. Here we have one of the clearest examples of history made up from bits of Old Testament prophecy.

They 'weighed' out to him the money, although money was then no longer weighed. The sum is very small (about £4 : 16 : 0 says Bartlet). The further improbability that they gave the money for his offer, and not for performance, can hardly be overcome (seeing that 'weighed' is taken from the verse in Zechariah) by translating *ἔστησαν*, 'they promised.'

17–19. Preparation for the Passover

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 12–16; Luke xxii. 7–13)

And on the first day of the unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, 'Where wouldst thou that we

18 prepare for thee to eat the passover?' And he said, 'Go into the
city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master says, My time
is nigh; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.'
19 And the disciples did as Jesus had bidden them; and they prepared
the passover.

17. Mark's narrative is considerably shortened, be it to avoid the semi-magical element or for other reasons.

18. 'Such a one.' The commentators (*e.g.* McNeile) who are keen for the accuracy of the narratives suppose that 'such a one' was a friend and disciple. Jesus had 'friends in the city and had laid his plans.' (*Cp.* Streeter, p. 422.) 'My time is nigh': *i.e.* the end of my earthly career. The owner of the house must have been a disciple to understand this allusion.

20–25. Jesus predicts the Betrayal

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 17–21; Luke xxii. 20–23)

20 So when the evening had come, he sat at table with the Twelve.
21 And as they ate he said, 'Verily I say unto you, that one of you
22 will betray me.' And they were deeply grieved, and began one
23 after the other to say unto him, 'Lord, surely not I?' And he
answered and said, 'He that dipped his hand with me in the dish,
24 he will betray me. The Son of man departs as it is written of
him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!
25 Better were it for that man if he had not been born.' Then Judas,
who betrayed him, answered and said, 'Master, surely not I?' He
said unto him, 'Thou hast said.'

20. The text I follow is indicated in R.V. M.

23. For Mark's present participle *ἐμβαπτόμενος*, Matthew has the aorist participle *ἐμβάψας*, 'he who has just dipped his hand into the dish.' Matthew apparently wishes us to assume that Judas had just dipped his hand into the dish when Jesus spoke. Others think that no particular disciple is meant by Matthew to be specified even by the aorist participle, for all alike had 'dipped' into the bowl. The words mean only: 'one who has shared the meal with me.' *τρύβλιον* is said to be 'bowl,' not 'dish.'

25. Matthew only. 'Thou hast said.' Qui s'excuse s'accuse. *Cp.* for the phrase and for its usage in the more important passages, xxvi. 64, xxvii. 11; Mark xv. 2.) Thus Jesus pretty clearly implies by his strange reply that Judas is the betrayer. Nevertheless, the story continues as if nothing definite had been said. Historically we may rather believe, that if Judas betrayed Jesus, as there is small reason to doubt, Jesus was to the end quite ignorant of his intentions. We have to assume that Judas after 25 leaves the room.

26–29. The Last Supper

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 22–25; Luke xxii. 15–20)

And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and said the blessing, and broke it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' And he took a cup, and spake the blessing, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all from it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I shall surely not drink from now of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.'

In his narrative of the Last Supper Matthew follows Mark very closely. The only important addition is the words 'for the forgiveness of sins' at the end of 28. The object of his death is the forgiveness of the sins of many. His death is a sin offering. The covenant is ratified by the shed blood. *Cp.* Exodus xxiv. 8. 'Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you.' Blood, according to ancient ideas, had in itself an atoning efficacy. *Cp.* Lev. xvii. 'The life of the flesh is in the blood: I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement by reason of the life.' It is odd that round Jesus, who was so 'prophetic' a teacher, so superior to 'priestly' superstitions, these old superstitions should quickly have clustered. The 'atoning efficacy of the blood of Jesus' has been believed in by millions for centuries. 'Without shedding of blood,' says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'there is no remission.' One feels that Jesus would have repudiated such a doctrine with scorn, and that he never said anything about his death which contained, or was meant to contain, any reference to, or belief in, such a doctrine. Judaism after the fall of the temple had no need or use for any doctrine about atonement

or forgiveness being secured by blood. Judaism got rid of such priestly conceptions much sooner than Christianity. Matthew seems to have held that it was the blood of Jesus, his actual death, which made God forgive the sins of those who believed in his mission, Messiahship and Sonship. A strange doctrine. How much purer is the doctrine of Jesus and of Rabbinic Judaism. All God needs is repentance and amendment. Those who show repentance and amendment will be forgiven ; modern Jews would add, whether they ' believe in ' Jesus or do not believe in Jesus. That is pure prophetic teaching : nothing less, and above all, nothing more. It has been pointed out that whereas Mark had ascribed to John's preaching of repentance the purpose, and hence the power, of effecting a forgiveness of sins, Matthew omits the passage. Matthew's addition, ' for the forgiveness of sins,' is not to be ascribed to Jesus. The conception of his death as a sin-offering only arose after he was dead.

The addition of ἀπ' ἄρτι (' from now ') in 29 proves all the more convincingly that Jesus had just drunk of the cup with his disciples. It would be very awkward to refer the words to the drinking of the Passover wine cups, and not to the cup which he had just bidden his disciples partake of. ' With you ' is a further addition of Matthew, which does not, however, change the sense.

30–35. Jesus predicts Peter's Denial

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 26–31 ; Luke xxii. 31–34)

30 And after they had sung the *Hallel*, they went out to the
31 mount of Olives. Then said Jesus unto them, ' Ye will all stumble because of me this night : for it is written, I will smite the shep-
32 herd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered. But after
33 I have risen, I will go before you to Galilee.' Peter answered and said unto him, ' Though all shall stumble because of thee, yet
34 will I never stumble.' Jesus said unto him, ' Verily I say unto thee, This night, before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice.
35 Peter said unto him, ' Even if I must die with thee, I will not deny thee.' So also said all the disciples.

Mark is very closely followed in this section. In 34 only one cock-crowing is mentioned.

36–46. Gethsemane

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 32–42 ; Luke xxii. 39–46)

Then Jesus came with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and he said unto the disciples, 'Sit ye here, while I go yonder and pray.' And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and troubled. Then said he unto them, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death : tarry ye here, and watch with me.' And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, 'My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me : nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.' And he came unto the disciples, and found them sleeping, and he said unto Peter, 'So ye could not watch with me one hour ? Watch and pray, that ye come not into temptation : the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.' And again he went away, and prayed, saying, 'My Father, if this cannot pass away unless I drink it, thy will be done.' And he came and found them asleep again : for their eyes were heavy. And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words. Then he came to his disciples, and said unto them, 'Sleep ye still and take your rest ? Behold, the hour has drawn nigh, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise up, let us go : lo, he that betrays me is at hand.'

Mark's narrative is again closely followed. In 42 the words, when Jesus prays for the second time, are given. They repeat even more positively the acceptance of the divine will. That Jesus prayed three times is also stated more distinctly (44).

47–56. The Arrest

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 43–52 : Luke xxii. 47–53)

And while he yet spoke, lo, Judas, one of the Twelve, came, and with him a great band with swords and bludgeons from the chief priests and elders of the people. Now his betrayer had given them a sign, saying, 'Whomever I kiss, that is he : seize him.' And forthwith he went up to Jesus, and said, 'Hail, master' ; and

50 kissed him. And Jesus said unto him, 'Friend, that for which thou
art here, do.' Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and seized
51 him. And, behold, one of them who were with Jesus stretched out
his hand, and drew his sword, and struck the servant of the high
52 priest, and cut off his ear. Then said Jesus unto him, 'Put back
thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall
53 perish by the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now beseech
my Father, and he would straightway give me more than twelve
54 legions of angels? But how then should the scriptures be fulfilled,
55 that so it must be?' In that same hour said Jesus to the band,
'Have ye come out to capture me with swords and bludgeons, as if
against a thief? I sat daily teaching in the temple, and ye seized
56 me not. But all this has happened that the writings of the
prophets might be fulfilled.' Then all the disciples forsook him,
and fled.

50. In Matthew, unlike Mark, Jesus addresses Judas. The meaning is (1) '(Dost thou kiss me) for the purpose for which, as is obvious, thou art come?' (So W. 'Dost thou kiss me' is understood, because enacted.) Or (2) 'For what thou art here (that do).' (So Moffatt, 'Do your errand.') Or (3) 'For what art thou come?' But this last interpretation is the least likely, and does violence to the Greek ἐφ' ὃ πάρει.

52–54. Here, too, the words of Jesus are only in Matthew; but the variant, Luke xxii. 51, must be compared.

That, in Mark, Jesus was not reported to have opposed or rebuked the action of the 'bystander,' or disciple, seemed an omission. Here it is supplied quite in his spirit. (*Cp.* for 52*b* the same adage in Revelation xiii. 10.) Or: Why did not the disciples continue to defend themselves? It was important to emphasize that Jesus's passive attitude of non-resistance was purely voluntary, and that the disciples acted under his orders. Finally, a second and more theological motive is given. To resist would have been not only against the Master's teaching and command, but would have tended to prevent the fulfilment of the divine oracles. For 53, *cp.* Psalm xci. 11.

The early Christian communities may have often supported themselves under persecution by this word and example. Would that the lesson had not been so rapidly forgotten. The saying was also a reply to those who judged only by the outward result, and saw in the earthly failure and death of Jesus an argument against the truth and value of his teaching and his cause.

55. 'In that same hour.' A resumptive phrase after the intercalation of 52–54. For the expression *cp.* viii. 13. It means 'at the same time.'

57–68. The Trial before the Sanhedrin

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 53–65 ; Luke xxii. 54, 55, 63–71)

And they that had seized Jesus led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled. But Peter followed from a distance unto the high priest's palace, and he went in, and sat with the servants, to see the end.

Now the chief priests, and all the high court, sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death. But they found none, though many false witnesses came forward. But at last two men came forward, and said, 'This man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it after three days.' And the high priest arose, and said unto him, 'Answerest thou nothing to that which these bear witness against thee ?' But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, 'I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Messiah, the Son of God.' Jesus said unto him, 'Thou hast said : nevertheless I say unto you, Soon shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.' Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, 'He has blasphemed ; what further need have we of witnesses ? behold, now ye have heard the blasphemy. What think ye ?' They answered and said, 'He is guilty of death.'

Then they spat on his face, and struck him with their fists, and others smote him with sticks, saying, 'Prophesy unto us, O Messiah, who is it that struck thee ?'

57. *Cp.* note on verse 3. The verb *συνήχθησαν* ('were collected together') is repeated from that verse. It would seem as if Matthew meant that the authorities had been in continuous session since verse 3.

58. 'To see the end' is substituted by Matthew for the somewhat too human touch, perhaps, of Mark, 'warming himself at the fire.'

59. Matthew says that the court searched, not merely for

'witness,' or 'evidence,' but for 'false witness.' But the S.S. has merely: 'they searched for witnesses.'

61. *Cp.* Mark xiv. 58. The wording of Matthew makes it not wholly certain whether he meant the statement about the Temple to be regarded as a false bit of evidence or not. The contrast mentioned in Mark between the material and spiritual temple—'made with hands' and 'not made with hands'—is not here given by Matthew. Some think that Matthew's version is more authentic and older, either because Mark's version has been interpolated, or because Matthew knew the source of Mark as well as Mark. Another hypothesis is that Matthew left out the words 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands' to render the words of Jesus more in accordance with what he probably said. Moreover, Matthew would not have wished to make Jesus express hostility to the Temple. The witnesses declare that Jesus said that he *could* destroy the Temple: he is not even by them reported to have said that he meant or desired to do so.

63. Matthew makes the high priest 'adjure' Jesus, that is, he demands that Jesus should swear, one way or the other, whether he be, or be not, the Messiah, the Son of God.

64. The commentators differ as to whether Jesus accepts or refuses to accept this oath. J. Weiss says that, as the reply is not 'Amen,' or the like, but 'Thou hast said,' this answer is, with high probability, to be interpreted to mean that he refuses to take the oath. He follows his own command not to swear. Others, *e.g.* Holtzmann and B. Weiss, argue that the reply means an acceptance of the oath laid upon him. The decision partly depends upon the right interpretation of 'Thou hast said,' which is usually regarded as meant by Jesus, and understood by his judges, to be equivalent to the simple 'I am' of Mark. Thus Schanz: 'with the simple σὺ εἶπας Jesus makes a solemn and outspoken confession.' So too, most strongly, Loisy (*E. S.* II. p. 604, n. 1).

On the whole it would seem that 'thou hast said' must be taken to mean that Jesus, without directly affirming that he is the Son of God, still less denies it. He does not deny that the speaker is correct; the words would be taken to mean by those who heard him: 'I am not able to contradict you,' which again would be equivalent to, 'I cannot say that you are wrong,' *i.e.* you are right. When in xxv. 25 Jesus says to Judas, 'Thou hast said,' though he does not directly declare that Judas is the betrayer, he yet means to imply that he is. If then Jesus says here 'Thou hast said' (in reply to the high priest), he would appear to indicate that he believed that he *was* the Messiah, and that he could not deny the charge. It

is possible that Mark turned a semi-evasive reply into a direct affirmative, seeing that to Mark (as to the other Evangelists) Jesus *was* the Messiah, and was condemned and executed as such. Several reasons of varying validity may be given for Jesus refusing to give a plain and direct affirmative reply, whether to the Sanhedrin or to Pilate :

(1) It is in accordance with his prevailing line of conduct in dealing with his opponents.

(2) His conception of the Messiah was so different from theirs that the same term meant different things to him and to them.

(3) He refused to recognize the competency or right of their tribunals to try his case.

(4) The manifestation and *Verwirklichung* of his Messiahship lay in the future, even though that future was near. Hence it would have been presumptuous to say, '*I am* the Messianic King.' He could only have said, 'I am convinced that God will fulfil His promise to me and through me.'

The clause which follows 'Thou hast said' is the same as in Mark xiv. 62, except that it is prefaced by the not quite easy words *πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ἀπ' ἄρτι*.

πλήν can apparently be translated, 'nevertheless,' 'however,' or 'moreover.' If 'Thou hast said' means 'Yes, I am,' then *πλήν* must mean 'moreover.' If 'Thou hast said' is a refusal to reply, then *πλήν* probably means 'nevertheless.'

ἄρτι is a favourite expression of Matthew. (See xxiii. 39, xxvi. 29, where we have *ἀπ' ἄρτι* as here. *ἄρτι* by itself occurs ix. 18, xi. 12.) What is here meant is not very clear. The literal meaning is 'henceforth,' 'from now.' It is usually said that this 'from now' means from Jesus's death, which is imminent. 'Soon after my death you will see the Son of man as the world judge.' If this interpretation is correct, *ἀπ' ἄρτι* is used loosely to mean 'soon.' Jesus would perhaps mean, 'I am the Messiah, but Messiah of the future, not Messiah in the present; you will understand my meaning when you see (me as) the Son of man coming upon the clouds of heaven.' Or the words *ἀπ' ἄρτι* may be a condensed expression for 'from henceforth—you have nothing more to expect than that you will see.' Or perhaps the words are a combination or fusion of Mark's simple 'ye will see,' and Luke's 'from now (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*) the Son of man will sit.' In Mark Jesus is merely referring to the coming Parousia; in Luke the firm conviction is expressed that Daniel's prediction will *forthwith* be fulfilled in Jesus. The wording of the verse does not at any rate clearly distinguish between the heavenly glory into which Jesus will enter immediately after his resurrection, and his subsequent, later, manifestation upon the clouds. The two clauses 'sitting

upon the right hand of the Power,' and 'coming upon the clouds' are co-ordinated as they are in Mark. The agreements of Luke and Matthew in this passage (Matt. xxvi. 64, Luke xxii. 69, 70) are discussed by Streeter, pp. 321, 322. In spite of the parallelism between ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν and ἀπ' ἄρτι (Luke never uses the second phrase or Matthew the first), Streeter thinks that the words are 'independent editorial insertions by Matthew and Luke.' In Mark xiv. 25 the same additions are found in Mark and Luke. This last fact makes the view of Goguel (*Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, i. p. 209) improbable. For he thinks that the reading of Mark in xiv. 62 is less original than that of Matthew and Luke. It is 'no doubt an attenuation of what in the long run might have been looked upon as a prophecy relating to an *immediate* future.' But this hypothesis would entirely fail to account for the similar omission in Mark in xiv. 25.

As to σὺ εἶπας and ὑμεῖς λέγετε, Streeter thinks that the MSS. of Mark which actually have σὺ εἶπας are correct. Here it is not a case of assimilation, but omission. (Burkitt disagrees, *J. T. S.* xxvi. April 1925, p. 293.) But if the usual reading in Mark is correct, then Luke's and Matthew's additions are independent adaptations of Mark, assimilating the reply of Jesus to the High Priest to his reply to Pilate.

It is not easy to say what is actually meant by the whole passage. Was a real, physical seeing intended? Or is the sitting on the right hand of God merely intended to be a quotation from Psalm cx., and a metaphorical expression for 'invested with divine power'? If, when Mark wrote, the members of the Sanhedrin were mostly dead, does this point to the authenticity of the words attributed to Jesus? For certainly they had *not* seen any such thing. The Son of man had not come, still less had he come 'soon.' Perhaps neither Mark nor Matthew could have given a precise reply as to what he believed that the words meant. They were mysterious expressions, signifying that, somehow or other, and at some time or other, the old order would end, and the new era begin, with the advent of the Son of man, who, to the Evangelists, was one with the risen Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of God.

It may also be noted that Matthew tends to emphasize the imminence of the Parousia and the Kingdom (Streeter, pp. 521, 517, 425).

67. Matthew makes the ill-treatment inflicted by the members of the court only. The ῥαπίσματα are given by them, not by the servants. This is the most improbable version of all.

68. Matthew adds to 'prophesy' the words 'who is it that

struck thee ? ' but omits the then necessary ' they covered his face.' Either both must be omitted, or (as Luke) both included. *Cp.* Streeter, pp. 325–327, for an excellent discussion of the whole question. The MS. evidence leads him to the conclusion that Luke's version is peculiar to his source, and that there has been a partial assimilation of his text (the veiling) in many MSS. of Mark, and a partial assimilation (' who is it who struck thee ? ') in all the MSS. of Matthew. ' In Mark the mockers spit on His face and slap Him and cry, " Play the prophet now ! " In Luke they veil His eyes, and then, striking Him, say " Use your prophetic gift of second sight to tell the striker's name." Each version paints a consistent picture ; but if one half of Luke's picture is pieced on to Mark and the other half to Matthew, both are blurred, with the result that in the accepted text Matthew's version dulls the edge of the taunt in Mark, but does not succeed in substituting the quite differently pointed taunt in Luke ' (p. 327).

69–75. The Denial of Peter

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 66–72 ; Luke xxii. 56–62)

69 Now Peter sat outside in the courtyard ; and a maid came up
70 to him, saying, ' Thou too wast with Jesus of Galilee.' But he denied it before them all, saying, ' I know not what thou sayest.'
71 And as he went out to the gate, another maid saw him, and said unto them that were there, ' This man was with Jesus of Nazareth.'
72 And again he denied it with an oath, saying, ' I do not know the
73 man.' And after a little while the bystanders came up, and said to Peter, ' Surely thou too art one of them ; for thy speech betrays
74 thee.' Then began he to curse and to swear, saying, ' I know
75 not the man.' And immediately the cock crew. And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said unto him, ' Before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice.' And he went out, and wept bitterly.

70. ' Before them all ' seems premature. The ' bystanders ' have not yet come up.

71. Here, instead of Mark's outer court ' (*τὸ προαύλιον*), Matthew has ' the gate ' or ' porch ' (*τὸν πυλῶνα*). Matthew, moreover, has two girls instead of Mark's one.

72. Matthew adds, 'with an oath.'

73. 'Thy speech betrays you.' Instead of Mark's, 'Thou art a Galilæan.'

75. He went out. Not now in fear, but in an agony of shame. For the 'bitter' weeping, *cp.* Is. xxii. 4, xxxiii. 7.

CHAPTER XXVII

1, 2. Jesus is brought before Pilate

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 1 ; Luke xxiii. 1)

Now in the early morning all the chief priests and elders of the people formed their decision against Jesus to put him to death. And having bound him, they led him away, and delivered him up to Pilate the governor.

1. Matthew had avoided the use of Mark's (xiv. 64) formal *κατέκριναν* in xxvi. 66. The phrase he now uses, like the corresponding words in Mark, is also a little vague, and is variously translated. It need not be more than 'took counsel,' as in xii. 14, xxii. 15 ; or 'determined.' They determine to lay such a charge against him before Pilate, so that Pilate, upon the evidence submitted to him, must condemn him to death.

3–10. The Death of Judas

(Matthew only)

Then Judas, who had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented, and brought the thirty pieces of silver back to the chief priests and elders, saying, 'I have sinned by betraying innocent blood.' And they said, 'What is that to us ? see to that thyself.' And he threw the pieces of silver into the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, 'It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, because they are the price of blood.' So they formed a resolution, and bought with them the potter's field, for the burial of strangers. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the prized one on whom they set a price, from

10 the children of Israel, and I gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me.'

The story here told is unknown to Mark and Luke. It is, in all probability, completely legendary; and we can almost see how and from what material it was put together. There is a variant in Acts i. 18, 19. The basis of the story is a mistranslated passage in Zech. xi. 12, 13, wrongly attributed by the Evangelist to Jeremiah.

3. The tale takes up the 'thirty pieces of silver' (Zech. xi. 13) of which we had heard in xxvi. 15.

Judas repents: the high priests and elders do not. The object of the legend is to intensify their guilt.

4. σὺ ὄψῃ. Literally 'Thou wilt see.' That is your business. You must see to what you now have or want to do.

5. Does he act openly or secretly? Whither did he throw the money? What does ναός here mean? The temple generally or the temple treasury? The story seems evidence that the Hebrew consonantal text of Zech. xi. 13 read *ozar* ('treasury'), instead of *yozer* ('potter'). This reading is also witnessed to by the Syriac and the Targum. The hanging seems due to Ahithophel in 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

6. If Judas threw the money into the treasury, then the priests remove it thence. They have a scruple to bring blood money into a holy place. There is no actual law upon the subject. Deut. xxiii. 18 is analogous, but does not deal with this exact case.

7. The same words are used as in verse 1 to express their determination: 'they resolved.'

'The potter's field.' Here, oddly enough, the present reading and punctuated text of Zech. xi. 13 come in. Hence the *potter's* field. But Jer. xxxii. 6–15 and xviii. 2 were also vaguely in the mind of those who made up the legend, and hence the passage from Zechariah is attributed to Jeremiah.

The verse in Zechariah xi. 13 is really fulfilled twice: once by Judas and once again by the chief priests. It is worth noticing that in his very interesting book, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, 1923, Part II. pp. 55–57, Joachim Jeremias has sought to show that the purchase of the field and the action of Judas may conceivably be historical, but the arguments are more ingenious than convincing.

8. There was, doubtless, at Jerusalem a cemetery for strangers, or perhaps for criminals, called the 'field of blood,' and hence we get a legendary explanation of a name, the true meaning or origin of which was unknown or forgotten. Much time must have elapsed between the crucifixion and the compilation of this narrative. Loisy points out that the field of blood was more probably the place where the bodies of criminals were deposited. Would it not be there that the body of Jesus, according to the Jewish tradition, was thrown? The Christian tradition, long after the event, and far from Jerusalem, linked the field of blood with Judas (*E. S.* II. p. 627, n. 4).

There may also have been a tradition that the ground had aforetime been called the potter's field.

9, 10. The Zechariah passage, as here quoted, is in a peculiar form, unlike the Septuagint or the Hebrew. It is odd that the Hebrew text, as we have seen, was nevertheless used, and is responsible, for the incident of verse 5. The story has probably influenced the text, just as the original text influenced and modelled the story.

There seems a sort of intended play upon words in the Greek. We may render: 'I took the thirty shekels, the price of the one who was priced, on whom some of the Israelites had set a price' (Weymouth, last ed.). Or, 'They took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value' (Moffatt). ἔλαβον may be either, 'they took' or 'I took.' R.V. has 'they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced, whom *certain* of the children of Israel did price.' The margin of the R.V. has: 'the price of him that was priced, whom they priced on the part of the sons of Israel.' In the last clause 'I gave' is the more probably correct reading.

'As the Lord commanded me' corresponds with the opening of the Hebrew in Zech. xi. 13, 'And the Lord said unto me.'

The priests carry out unconsciously the word of God.

11–14. Jesus before Pilate

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 2–5; Luke xxiii. 2–5)

And Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked him, saying, 'Art thou the King of the Jews?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Thou sayest.' And when he was accused by the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing. Then said Pilate unto him, 'Hearest thou not how many things they bear witness against

14 thee ?' But he did not answer even one of his words, so that the governor marvelled greatly.

14. The narrative follows Mark somewhat closely. *πρὸς οὐδὲ ἓν ῥῆμα.* R.V. rightly: 'Jesus gave him no answer, not even to one word' (*i.e.* to no word of Pilate, who repeated the charges, did Jesus reply).

15–26. Jesus, Pilate, and Barabbas

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 6–15; Luke xxiii. 17–25)

15 Now at the festival the governor was wont to release unto the
16 people any one prisoner, whom they wished. And there was then
17 a notable prisoner, called Barabbas. So when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, 'Whom do ye wish me to release
18 to you? Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Messiah?' For he realized that they had delivered him up out of envy.
19 And while he was sitting on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, 'Have thou nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered much to-day in a dream because of him.'
20 But the chief priests and elders persuaded the people that they
21 should ask for Barabbas, and let Jesus perish. So the governor answered and said unto them, 'Which of the two do ye wish me
22 to release to you?' They said, 'Barabbas.' Pilate said unto them, 'What shall I do then with Jesus who is called Messiah?'
23 They all said unto him, 'Let him be crucified.' And the governor said, 'Why, what evil has he done?' But they cried out the more vehemently, saying, 'Let him be crucified.'
24 When Pilate saw that he was doing no good, but that the uproar was becoming greater, he took water, and washed his hands before the crowd, saying, 'I am innocent of this blood: see to it yourselves.'
25 Then answered all the people, and said, 'His blood be on us, and
26 on our children.' Then he released Barabbas unto them: but Jesus he had scourged, and delivered him up to be crucified.

16. Matthew calls Barabbas *ἐπίσημος*, 'well known.' It is not stated or implied in what way or how he was well known. Perhaps the word merely sums up what was said of him in Mark xv. 7. In the S.S. and some lesser MSS. he is called Jesus Barabbas, and this strange reading was known to Origen. Professor Burkitt,

in his edition of the Syriac (Vol. II. p. 278), argues cogently that this was the original reading. It was apparently not known to Mark. 'If Matthew,' says Professor Burkitt, 'got the name "Jesus Barabbas" from an independent source, it may very well have been the source which furnished him with the story of the dream of Pilate's wife.' Doubtless, as the Professor says, to read 'Jesus Barabbas' 'gives point' to 17. 'Which Jesus shall I release to you?' 'Jesus bar Abba is,' adds Professor Burkitt, 'a perfectly appropriate name for a Jew living in the first century A.D. Several persons mentioned in the Talmud have the name Joshua or Jesus, and several are called Bar Abba after the name of their father.' So, too, Streeter: 'In the S.S. Pilate says to the Jews, "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus whom they call Christ?" Thus phrased the alternative offer made by Pilate has an extraordinarily original look. The omission of the name "Jesus" before Barabbas might easily be accidental. Once omitted, motives of reverence would come into play; and the dislike of the idea that a brigand bore the sacred name, would lead to the preference of the shorter text. This is not mere conjecture; Origen found it in the text of Cæsarea, but tries to reject it on the ground that the name Jesus could not have belonged to one who was a sinner. And the weight of his name would lead to its wholesale excision in other texts' (p. 136). *Cp.* also pp. 95 and 101. A curious article by P. L. Couchoud and R. Stahl on Jesus Barabbas in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1926, is worth reading.

17, 18. Pilate takes the initiative. He anticipates the usual demand of the people. Jesus, even if some called him the Anointed One, or King, was no antagonist to the Romans. The Jewish authorities and teachers were envious of his popularity. Pilate is made to see through them. Matthew seems to think that 'Jesus who is surnamed Messiah' would be the sort of phrase which Pilate would have used. In reality, Jesus was not 'surnamed' Christ (*i.e.* Messiah) by any one before his death.

'Matthew, with anti-Jewish feeling, ascribes the envy to the whole people, Mark to the high priests; the latter must be right, since the people had had no hand in the arrest or condemnation' (McNeile). Indeed the whole Barabbas scene suffers from the great difficulty that Jesus was very popular with the 'crowd.' We remember how the authorities had said, 'Not on the festival, lest there be a tumult among the people.'

19. The legendary dream of Pilate's wife is only mentioned in Matthew. It intensifies the guilt of the Jews. The heathen woman seeks to save the righteous Jew.

πολλὰ ἔπαθον. She had had frightening dreams, but these dreams are heaven-sent. We may compare the dream which Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, is said to have had the night before the murder.

20–23 correspond with Mark 11–14. The source is slightly expanded. The Jews are made definitely to ask for the release of Barabbas.

24, 25. The whitewashing of Pilate and the guilt of the Jews are intensified. Pilate, in Jewish fashion, washes his hands as a sign of his own innocency. The legendary character of this incident is of course obvious. (*Cp.* Deut. xxi. 6, 7; Psalm xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13.) Pilate's words are modelled on David's in 2 Sam. iii. 28. For 'see to it yourselves,' see xxvii. 4. The Evangelist does not perceive that if Pilate had acted as he is here supposed to have done, he would have played, as Loisy says, a ridiculous and odious comedy. Matthew cannot in truth hide the facts. Pilate condemned Jesus to death, without reluctance, on the ground that he claimed to be King of the Jews. Pilate was not scrupulous in blood shedding. The condemnation of Jesus did not trouble his conscience or his wife's sleep.

25. A terrible verse; a horrible invention. Note the bitter hatred which makes the Evangelist put πᾶς ὁ λαός. The whole people is supposed to be present. Hence all the atrocities which Christian rulers and peoples, sometimes, it must be freely acknowledged, with the disapproval of the Church, have wrought upon the Jews were accepted, and invoked upon their own heads, by the Jews themselves. This is one of those phrases which have been responsible for oceans of human blood, and a ceaseless stream of misery and desolation.

27–31. Jesus is mocked by the Soldiers

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 16–20)

27 Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the Prætorium,
28 and collected about him the whole cohort. And they stripped him,
29 and put on him a scarlet cloak. And they wove a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, and a cane in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, 'Hail, King
30 of the Jews!' And they spat on him, and took the cane and beat
31 him on the head. And when they had mocked him thus, they

took off the cloak from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him away to crucify him.

27. The Prætorium, or palace, was the official residence of the Governor. The whole cohort 'would number from 500 to 600 men; but here the term is probably used loosely for a smaller number' (Bartlet).

28. 'A soldier's scarlet cloak, in imitation of the imperial purple' (Bartlet).

29. The cane is put in his hand to represent a mock sceptre.

32–44. The Crucifixion

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 21–32; Luke xxiii. 26–43)

And as they came out, they found a man from Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to carry his cross. And when they came to a place called Golgotha, that is to say, The place of a skull, they gave him wine to drink mixed with gall: and when he had tasted it, he would not drink it. And they crucified him, and they divided his garments by casting lots. And sitting down they watched him there. And they set up over his head the charge against him in writing, namely, 'This is Jesus the King of the Jews.'

Then two thieves were crucified with him, one on the right hand, and one on the left. And the passers-by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, 'Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.' Likewise the chief priests, mocking him with the scribes and elders, said, 'He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him come down now from the cross, and we will believe in him. He trusted in God; let Him deliver him now, if He delights in him: for he said, I am the Son of God.' The thieves also, who were crucified with him, reviled him in the same way.

34. The narrative follows Mark somewhat closely.

The 'wine mingled with myrrh,' of which we hear in Mark, is here changed to wine mixed with gall. The change seems due to Psalm lxix. 22 (Septuagint). In Mark the object of the offered drink is to remove consciousness; it was a narcotic and was

regularly given to Jewish criminals by the Jews. In Matthew this humane custom is turned into a mockery. In Mark, Jesus knows the object of the drink, and refuses it in order to die with full consciousness; in Matthew he tries it, but refuses to drink it because of the odious taste.

36. This notice about the guard is not in Mark. But it embodies the usual custom, and is implied in Mark (xv. 39).

40. Matthew adds the words: 'If thou be the Son of God.'

43. Matthew only. Matthew repeats and emphasizes the divine Sonship. The wording is taken from Psalm xxii. 8, and Wisdom of Solomon ii. 18. Psalm xxii. 7 had already been quoted in 39 (Mark xv. 29).

45–54. The Death of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 33–41; Luke xxiii. 44–49)

45 Now from the sixth hour darkness came over all the land unto
46 the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, '*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*?' that is, 'My God,
47 my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' And some of the bystanders
48 when they heard that, said 'This man calls Elijah.' And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar,
49 and put it on a cane, and gave him to drink. But the others said,
50 'Let be, let us see whether Elijah will come to save him.' But Jesus cried again with a loud voice and expired.
51 And, behold, the curtain of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth quaked, and the rocks were
52 cleft in sunder; and the graves opened; and many bodies of the
53 saints who slept arose, and came out of their graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.
54 But when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and the occurrences, they were exceedingly afraid, saying, 'Truly this man was a Son of God.'

49. J. Weiss thinks that the parallel 34–36 in Mark was probably a later insertion, borrowed and altered (for the worse) from Matthew. He thinks that the original version in Mark ran, 'And in the ninth hour Jesus uttered a loud cry and expired.' What was this loud

ry ? There were different traditions ; one was that the cry consisted of the words in Psalm xxii., the Messianic Psalm *par excellence*, though those who invented this interpretation of the cry certainly did not regard it as an exclamation of despair, but only just as a quotation. In the sponge story Mark's version assumes that the man who offered the sponge was about to be kept back. He says ἴφετε, 'Let me be.' But only Matthew says clearly that it was 'the others' who wanted to restrain him. It also makes the situation clearer that in Matthew the words 'Let be,' etc., are put into the mouth of the 'others.' They say, 'Let us give him no succour or relief ; let us see if Elijah will save him.' In Mark one has to make the rather strained interpretation that the giver of the drink suggests that the object of giving it is that Jesus's life may be prolonged, and that thereby further time may be provided for the chance of the intervention of Elijah.

The giver of the sponge is by Matthew implied to be not one of the soldiers, but a bystander.

51–53. The miracles which accompany Jesus's death are greatly extended and magnified in Matthew's narrative. Thus we have an earthquake and a cleaving of rocks, leading up to the graves bursting open and the dead coming forth. Was this final marvel suggested by Ezek. xxxvii. 12 ?

53. There is an extraordinary insertion in this verse. The original marvel meant to say that the bodies of the holy men came out of their graves, and were seen in Jerusalem at or immediately after Jesus's death. But this miracle became incompatible with a dogma which Paul and his circle put into circulation. For according to that dogma Jesus was the first to rise from the dead—'the firstfruits of them that are asleep' (1 Cor. xv. 20). How, then, could these others have risen before Jesus ? Hence a harmonist added the words 'after his resurrection.' The holy men did not rise, or, at any rate, were not seen in the capital, till after Jesus's own resurrection. But the correction spoils the whole miracle, the point of which is that it happened simultaneously with Jesus's death.

Who are these ἅγιοι, holy men, or saints ? We are not informed. They rise in a semi-material form, visible to the eye, though not to every eye. Jerusalem is still the 'holy' city to the Christian writer as well as to the Jews.

54. Not only the centurion (as in Mark), but his company, observe and are impressed by the marvels. Matthew rejects the interpretation that it was the 'loud cry' which caused the exclamation : 'Truly this man was a son of God.'

The miracle of the dead rising from their graves at critical moments has a number of parallels.

55, 56. The Women who saw

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 40, 41 ; Luke xxiii. 49)

55 And many women were there looking on from a distance, who
56 had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him : among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.

For the 'Salome' of Mark, Matthew has 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee.' In all probability the same woman is meant.

57–61. The Burial of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 42–47 ; Luke xxiii. 50–56)

57 Now when it was evening, there came a rich man of Arimathæa, named Joseph, who had also himself become a disciple of Jesus.
58 He went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate
59 ordered that the body should be given up. And Joseph took the
60 body, and he wrapped it in clean linen, and laid it in his own new sepulchre, which he had hewn out in the rock : and he rolled a
61 great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. And Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were there sitting opposite the tomb.

57. Matthew does not call Joseph a 'councillor.' His omission of the word is either to avoid letting a 'councillor' be a disciple, or to prevent him becoming responsible for the condemnation of Jesus. (This difficulty is avoided by Luke in another way.) He now becomes merely a rich man. The adjective may be evolved out of his deed, and is not necessarily due to Isaiah liii. 9. Matthew makes him a regular disciple of Jesus.

58. Mark's narrative is contracted.

60. Note the *clean* linen ; also the new, unused grave which Matthew makes the definite property of Joseph.

61. The women sit 'opposite' the grave, and watch the interment.

62–66. Roman Soldiers watch the Grave

(Matthew only)

Now the next day, that is the day after the Preparation, the
iief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying,
Lord, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet
ive, After three days I rise. Command therefore that the sepulchre
e securely guarded until the third day, lest his disciples come and
eal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead :
the last deception shall be worse than the first.' Pilate said unto
iem, ' Ye can have a guard : go and make it as secure as ye know
ow.' So they went, and made the sepulchre secure, by sealing the
one and setting a guard.

This curious addition of Matthew's has an obvious origin.
Then the story of Jesus's resurrection was discussed, the believing
hristians asserted that the grave was found empty. The dis-
elieving Jews retorted that the explanation of this was, not that
ie body had miraculously risen and got out, but that the disciples
ad stolen the body away. Hence this story of the watchers was
vented to show that the retort of the Jews was impossible
p. xxviii. 11–15). The passage referred to in verse 63 is perhaps
att. xii. 40, itself probably a late redactional addition to the
adition. The Jewish argument is not alluded to by Paul or in the
cts. It must be tolerably late on this account, and also because
is the complement of the late story of the empty tomb.

62. Matthew also implies that the crucifixion had taken place
n a Friday. But the expression ' the day after the Preparation '
o mean the Sabbath is very odd. It is an ill-used reminiscence
f Mark xv. 42.

63. The invention shows itself rather crudely and awkwardly
y the absurd remarks of the Jews, by their remarkable foresight,
nd by the no less remarkable concurrence of Pilate.

64. The first deception would be the Messianic claim of Jesus :
ie second his alleged resurrection ' after three days.' Lake has
ome interesting passages about the origin of ' on the third day ' or
after three days.' He shows that the ' celebration of the death
nd resurrection of the god on the third day played a part in the
heology connected with Attis, Adonis, Osiris, and probably other
eities.' These ideas may have filtered into, and had an influence

upon, Jewish popular thought, and may have helped to create (besides, and over and above, the O.T. passages in Hosea, etc.) the Christian tradition as to the resurrection date (Lake, pp. 253–265). (Is it not also possible that if Jesus was really crucified on a Friday, and this date was well fixed in the popular mind, the day of the resurrection almost suggested itself? Jesus would rest on the Sabbath; as soon as the Sabbath was over, or when the dawn came, he would come out. At any rate the women could not have gone to anoint the body before Sunday. *Cp.* Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments*, p. 152.)

66. The idea of the seal is, doubtless, borrowed from Daniel vi. 17 (Septuagint). Pilate, the soldiers, and the Jews act in excellent concert with each other!

J. Weiss tries to make the best of the legend. He argues with some plausibility that it is not necessarily a deliberate invention, though, of course, quite unhistorical. Its origin may, perhaps, be explained thus: 'Perhaps people said: "If the Sanhedrin was so ready to suggest the slander that the body was stolen, it probably thought of this possibility from the first: did it not then take measures of precaution in advance?" From such reflections the story may have grown up. The judicious historian will not here speak of a deliberate invention, but rather of that uncontrollable process which leads from imagination to conjecture, from conjecture to rumour, and lastly to a firmly accepted tale.' Lake, more suggestively, concludes that the whole incident 'is nothing more than a fragment of controversy, in which each side imputed unworthy motives to the other, and stated suggestions as established facts. Any controversy in any age will supply parallels' (p. 180).

CHAPTER XXVIII

1–10. The Empty Grave

(*Cp.* Mark xvi. 1–8 ; Luke xxiv. 1–12)

But late on the sabbath, as it began to get light toward the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to look at the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake : for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. His appearance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow : and for fear of him the keepers shook, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, 'Fear ye not : for I know that ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here : for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead ; and, behold, he goes before you to Galilee ; there shall ye see him : lo, I have told you.' And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy ; and they ran to bring his disciples word.

And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, 'Hail.' And they came and seized his feet, and did him reverence. Then said Jesus unto them, 'Fear not ; go tell my brethren that they go to Galilee, and there shall they see me.'

1. *Cp.* Mark xvi. 1, 2. There are many peculiarities in Matthew's version. Because of xxvii. 62–66 he has to give up the feature of the women making the purchases late on Saturday afternoon and wanting to anoint the body. Yet though he seems to mean that the women went out very early on Sunday morning to visit the grave, he uses the odd phrase *ὀψὲ σαββάτων* which apparently would seem to signify 'late on Saturday afternoon,' or 'later, after the Sabbath,' and to reflect Mark's words *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*, 'when the Sabbath was past.' Some think that we have in Matthew not a day, but a night scene. The words *τῇ*

ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων must be construed (*cp.* Luke xxiii. 54) to mean: 'at the beginning of Sunday,' *i.e.* at nightfall on Saturday (and not 'at the dawn of Sunday'). Verse 3 suits a night scene best.

Another explanation of the difficult *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων* has been suggested by the Rev. P. Gardner Smith in *J. T. S.* for Jan. 1926, pp. 179–181. He supposes that Matthew was copying Mark (xvi. 1). For *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου* he substituted *ὀψὲ σαββάτων*, but then decided that the statement as to the bringing of the spices would not fit in with the story of the guarded tomb. So he erased verse one, and went on to verse two, paraphrasing *λίαν πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων* quite correctly by *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων*. He forgot, however, to erase *ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων*, and the impossible combination is the result. Luke xxiii. 54 Mr. Gardner Smith supposes to be an interpolation of an early copyist, who thought that the Sabbath ought to be brought in somehow, to explain the need for rapid action. And this interpolator used the term *ἐπέφωσκεν*, because he lived at a time when Matt. xxviii. 1 had influenced the use of the word, for in Christian circles it was commonly used as meaning 'draw on,' though Matthew had not intended to use it so.

Mark mentions three women; Matthew only two. 'To see the grave' is a little odd after xxvii. 61.

2–4 is Matthew's substitute for Mark's xvi. 3–5. The legend is more elaborate than in Mark; but there is still a certain restraint. Is one to assume that the earthquake and the action of the angel had happened before the women arrive? In that case it is implied that the angel had removed the stone, and that Jesus had already come out. If the angel is supposed to descend in the very presence of the women, we must assume either that Jesus comes forth unseen by the women, or that he had already come forth in spite of the stone. It is a fine instinct that the actual coming forth, the actual rising, is witnessed by none, and is not described by any of the Gospels. The later apocryphal Gospels were not so tactfully reticent. The guards faint; so the women can draw near to the grave.

There is some reason to believe that the primary, original, and 'historic' belief of the disciples was that Jesus ascended to God at once after his death. Peter 'saw' a glorified Jesus, a heavenly body. To this belief which Paul shared, and to which he witnesses, the belief in a Jesus risen from the grave was superadded. A belief in a resurrection in the bodily sense—a Jesus who can eat and drink and be felt—is later than a belief in the glorified Jesus: the earlier belief brought about the later belief, not *vice versa*. The

whole subject is well dealt with by J. Weiss in his *Urchristentum*, pp. 60–75. The third day, he thinks, can, on the whole, be accounted for by the Hosea passage, vi. 1–3.

5–7. Here Matthew adopts the version of Mark, with slight variations.

8. To Matthew, or rather to later tradition, the statement of Mark (xvi. 8) that the women through fear said nothing to the disciples, and thus disobeyed the order given them, is a psychological impossibility; hence he adds 'joy' to 'fear,' and tells us that the women hurried off to fulfil the command of the angel.

9. At this point the original narrative of Mark breaks off. It is disputed whether 9, 10, 16–20 depend upon Mark or not, *i.e.* whether there was a continuation to Mark xvi. 8, and whether this now lost continuation is the basis of 9–10, 16–20. The risen Jesus is quite materially conceived. The women can grasp his feet. Jesus merely repeats what the angel had already said. Some argue that the object of the story is to explain and justify the flight of the disciples to Galilee. We may also see in it the beginning of the desire to make the proof of the resurrection happen as soon as possible after the entombment. The words put into the mouth of Jesus are parallel with those put into the young man's or angel's mouth in Mark and already used by Matthew in 5–7. Some suppose that 9, 10 is a mere doublet to 5–7, and a later addition to the text, not depending upon the lost conclusion of Mark. Streeter holds that the end of Mark was already missing in the copies of that Gospel used by Matthew and Luke. 'The message of the Angel, "Go tell his disciples and Peter he goes before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him as he said unto you" (Mark xvi. 7), is clearly intended to refer back to the previously recorded prophecy of Christ "Howbeit after I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee" (Mark xiv. 28). Thus we are bound to infer that the lost conclusion of Mark contained an account of an Appearance to the Apostles in Galilee. Further, this must either have come after an Appearance to Peter separately, or it must have been an Appearance in which Peter was in some way especially singled out for notice, as he is in John xxi. Now Matthew follows the text of Mark all through the Passion story with great fidelity; if, then, the copy of Mark used by him had contained a conclusion of this sort, we should expect to find it reproduced by Matthew. But Matthew, though he records an Appearance to the Eleven in Galilee, does not especially mention the name of Peter in connection with it. Again, the most striking thing about the Gospel of Mark is the author's gift for telling a

story in a vivid, picturesque, and realistic way. Elsewhere, wherever Matthew is following Mark, he abbreviates slightly and occasionally omits a picturesque detail; nevertheless, the account he gives is always a vividly realised and well-told story—full of detail, though not quite so full as the Marcan original. But Matthew's account of the Resurrection Appearances—to the two Maries (Matt. xxviii. 9–10) and subsequently to the Eleven (xxviii. 16–20)—is extremely meagre and is conspicuously lacking in these usual characteristics. Both, then, because Matthew does not mention Peter, and because his narrative becomes exceptionally vague at the exact point where the authentic text of Mark now ends, we infer that his copy of Mark ended at that point' (p. 343).

Whereas if we are to trust the oldest document we have, the first vision of the risen Christ was experienced by Peter, here in Matthew's narrative it is the women who see him first. Harnack describes what we find here as 'eine augenscheinlich frei erfundene Vision' (*Sitzungsbericht*, etc., 1922, p. 69).

11–15. The Guile of the Jewish Authorities

(Matthew only)

11 Now as they were going, behold, some of the guard came into
the city, and reported to the chief priests all that had happened.
12 And they assembled together with the elders, and resolved, and
13 gave much money unto the soldiers, saying, 'Say ye, His disciples
14 came by night, and stole him while we slept. And if this come to
the governor's ears, we will satisfy him, and make you free of
15 trouble.' So they took the money, and did as they were taught:
and this story was spread abroad among the Jews until this day.

This story, the unhistorical character of which is obvious, is the *sequitur* of xxvii. 62–66. When the Christians said not only that Jesus was risen, but that his tomb was empty, the Jews retorted that, if the tomb were empty, this was due to the body having been stolen by the disciples. The Christian rejoinder is contained in Matthew's story. Both attack and defence are late; they arose when the situation of the tomb was already forgotten, or when no examination on the spot could be made.

15. 'Until this day.' But 'this day' was many years after the death of Jesus.

16–20. The Appearance of the Risen Messiah in Galilee

(Matthew only)

But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they did him reverence; but some doubted. And Jesus came and spoke unto them, saying, 'All power has been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye then, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, unto the end of the Age.'

16. The disciples carry out the order given in 10. They leave Jerusalem and go to Galilee. Historically they went to Galilee, not to see the risen Master in obedience to his words, but to return home in grief and perplexity.

In 10, nothing had been said about a mountain. Another tradition seems to be brought in and followed here. Is this the mountain of the Sermon on the Mount or of the transfiguration? It is, says Loisy, both at once; it is the 'lieu idéal' where the glorified Jesus founds his Church (*E. S.* II. p. 745).

17. The narrative is very condensed or very general. Some think that the words 'some doubted' is an interpolation to make a kind of harmony with Luke xxiv. 37; John xx. 25. But they may be genuine and reflect the tradition that not all the disciples or apostles believed at once in the reality of the visions or in the fact of the resurrection.

18. The words are based upon Daniel vii. 14 (but *cp.* also Matt. xi. 27). The historic Jesus would have been greatly amazed had he been told that such a comprehensive claim was to be put into his mouth. In fact the words spoken are a *résumé* of the Christian faith and of the Church's mission, as the resurrection made them. It is the glorified Christ who instructs future generations.

19. The date must be somewhat late. The old apostles knew nothing of a command to make all the nations Christian. Jesus devoted himself, and probably desired them to devote themselves, exclusively to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But now the Jews have rejected and killed their would-be Saviour. And so,

the salvation they spurned is to be given broadcast to the world at large. Such would be the meaning of Matthew.

Still more surprising is the order to baptize, and the Trinitarian formula. This is the only mention of the Trinity in the authentic text of the New Testament. But it has been shown by Mr. Conybeare (*Z. N. W.* II. pp. 275–288) that the present reading is probably a late interpolation. Originally the verse ran : ' Go and make disciples (*μαθητεύσατε*) of all nations in my name, teaching them to observe,' etc. Jesus had never made baptism a condition of discipleship. After his own baptism by John we hear of the rite no more. The history and origin of the conception of the Trinity lie outside the story and the age of Jesus. As Mr. Bamford says, Jesus was an ardent and convinced Unitarian.

μαθητεύσατε means here ' convert them to Christianity.'

Streeter points out that Matthew contains both narrow and broad sayings as regards the Gentiles. There were two parties in the young church, one anxious to convert and accept the nations without any ' Jewish ' observance ; the other more conservative. ' By the time that Matthew wrote, a new exegesis which could reconcile the parties had been evolved. It was admitted on the one hand that the Master had said, " I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel " ; that He regarded the healing of a Syro-Phœnician as an exception, and that He had not Himself (as Mark's story would imply), even on that occasion stepped outside the sacred soil of Palestine—for the woman had come across the border to Him (Matt. xv. 22). It was conceded also by the liberal party that in His first Mission Charge He had forbidden the Twelve to go into any way of the Gentiles or any city of the Samaritans (Matt. x. 6) ; in return, the other side admitted that this limitation was only intended for the time during which He walked the earth ; after His Resurrection He had on the contrary bade them " go and make disciples of all the nations " (xxviii. 19). Again, as the context (Matt. viii. 11) in which the prophecy is placed makes clear (quite a different one from that which, from its position in Luke (xiii. 28), we may conclude was original in Q), it was now agreed that Christ was referring to Gentiles, not Jews of the Dispersion, when He said, " Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven : but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into outer darkness." Finally, the fear—a very practical one—of antinomianism is met by a presentation of Christ's teaching as the New Law : the Sermon on the Mount is a counterpart to Sinai, and the five Great Discourses (v.–vii., x., xiii., xviii., xxiv.–xxv.) are, as it were, " the five books " of His " Law of liberty " ' (p. 514).

εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. The old reading had *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου* (' in

my name'), which would mean both invoking the name of Jesus (and using his authority) and also investing the new adherents with the title of Christians. 'Into (εἰς) the name' seems to mean that the new-comers are received into a certain relationship with Jesus, or with those whose name is invoked upon them. They belong by this invocation to his community.

βαπτίζοντες, διδάσκοντες are probably co-ordinate. 'Baptizing and teaching.'

20. The new religion is still, in a certain sense, a legal religion, and the law-giver is Jesus. As W. says, 'the Gospel, the content of which was the crucified and risen Christ, is not mentioned; in its place we have the commands of Jesus. The hope of the second coming recedes before the constant and immediate presence of Jesus among his disciples.' If Jesus was spiritually present, there was less need to crave for his visible reappearance. The constant presence of Jesus among his disciples corresponds with the constant presence of the Shechinah among the Jews. Loisy may not improperly say that the conclusion of Matthew is a 'digne finale,' and the most beautiful of the four. The Christ of Matthew need take no leave of his disciples, for he is and will be always with them. The end of the world has been postponed: first must come the organization of the Christian society, the Christianization of all the earth, a long life of the Christ, present though invisible, in the Church, which is his earthly kingdom. And we recognize the general spirit of the book in the authority of the Church thus finding its sanction in the declared will of the immortal Christ: his permanent presence in the society of the faithful is conceived as the guarantee of that society and of its work and its duration. The Christ, omnipotent and immortal, ever dwelling amid his Church, can rightly and efficaciously say to those who represent and replace Peter and the apostles: 'What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The end of Matthew and xvi. 17–19, xviii. 16–20 proceed from the same circle of ideas, and even in the form there are analogies between them (*E. S.* II. p. 754).

LUKE

CHAPTER I

1–4. The Prologue

(Luke only)

1 Forasmuch as many have undertaken to draw up a narrative
2 of those things which have been accomplished among us, even as
they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of
3 the Word delivered them unto us, it seemed good to me also, after
I had accurately gone through all the facts from their origin, to
write them down for thee in their order, most noble Theophilus,
4 that thou mayest realize the sure certainty of the teachings wherein
thou hast been instructed.

Luke, unlike Mark and Matthew, starts with a preface, written in rather elaborate Greek. The author clearly announces himself to be a compiler. He is not an eye-witness; he draws upon oral tradition and written narratives. Yet he 'claims for his narrative certain special merits. He has prepared himself by careful study to make it complete in its scope, exact in its details, and faithful in its arrangement' (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 233). We may, perhaps, infer that there already existed when he wrote a number of written Gospels. But from the great use he has made of it, Luke must have considered that Mark was, on the whole, the most trustworthy of these records.

1. 'Accomplished,' or 'fulfilled.' The meaning, however, is probably not more than 'brought to completion.' (So Cadbury.) 'Among us,' *i.e.* us Christians.

2. 'Eye-witnesses.' The tradition started from the contem-

poraries of Jesus. Through how many intervening stages it had passed we are not told. 'From the beginning,' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. This apparently means from the baptism.

'Ministers (or, servants) of the Word,' *i.e.* of the spoken Gospel. The genitive only goes with 'ministers,' not with 'eye-witnesses.' Thus we see that Luke's sources are not regarded by him as the products of eye-witnesses. They, like himself, gathered, whether directly or indirectly, what the contemporaries of Jesus had said. It is not likely that Luke can have known many, if any, persons who had seen much of Jesus himself. His sources include Mark, and other writings (*e.g.* Q) now lost. It is disputed whether Luke knew Matthew, or any earlier redaction of Matthew. If he did, he did not regard it as the work of the apostle. But it is most probable that he did not know it. 'Luke had no motive for dwelling on his relations with the immediate disciples of Jesus,—relations which were but transient; for Barnabas, whom he may have known for a longer period at Antioch, was a hellenistic Jew converted after the Crucifixion; Luke only passed through Jerusalem with Paul on his last journey, and there is nothing to prove that he met Peter at Rome. That is why he says "we," having no difficulty in identifying himself with Christians of his generation, the majority of whom had never known any actual disciple of Christ, and he represents himself simply as one of those believers who, after the end of the apostolic period, busied themselves by providing their fellows with the rudiments of Gospel history for which the need was felt. For the generation to which the apostles belonged seems to have entirely disappeared, although those who had known it are still numerous. The prologue, therefore, could not have been written before the year 70 nor long after the year 80' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 74).

3. 'After I had accurately gone through all the facts from their origin,' or 'having traced the course of all things accurately from the first.' His work will be full (this is implied in 'all'). It will also be accurate. It will also relate the facts 'from their origin' or 'from the first' (ἄνωθεν), that is, not from the baptism, but from the birth, or even before. This interpretation supposes that the author of the main portion of the Gospel was also the author or compiler or editor of chapters i. and ii. It is, however, possible that these chapters were added later, and that ἄνωθεν means no more than ἀπ' ἀρχῆς 'from the beginning' *i.e.* from the baptism.

Another rendering is, 'as one who had from the beginning' (*i.e.* from my conversion to Christianity) 'followed closely all the facts' (*i.e.* collected the stories, given heed to them, etc.). (Dibelius, *Z. N. W.*, 1911, p. 338.) Loisy renders ἄνωθεν 'depuis longtemps,'

'for a long time.' *Cp.* Acts xxvi. 5 (*Luc*, p. 75), 'Seeing that I have for long observed everything most carefully,' *i.e.* both the facts and the records of the facts. ἀκριβῶς should, perhaps, be rendered 'carefully.' 'There seems to be no warrant for assigning to the word παρηκολουθηκότι the sense of deliberate investigation, although Luke's apologists love thus to modernize it. The writer's information had (notice the perfect tense) come to him as the events took place; it was not the result of special reading and study. His acquaintance with the subject, whatever its degree of intimacy, was something already in his possession' (Cadbury in *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. II. p. 502).

'To write [them] down for thee in [their] order.' His arrangement is also to be excellent. As a matter of fact he mainly follows Mark, and when he deviates from Mark, he seems to go wrong. But right order to the Evangelist may have meant a right logical order, or one in which each event or saying is given its suitable place. 'Order' does not 'mean chronological order so much as literary form, or, as we should say, "construction." The resultant scheme is a threefold division of the Gospel into a Galilæan, a Samaritan, and a Judæan section' (Streeter, p. 423). 'The word καθεξῆς here and in Acts xi. 4, xviii. 23 is perhaps best represented in English by "successively" or "continuously." It need not therefore imply accordance with some fixed order, either chronological, geographical or literary. The question of order in the Gospel narratives is no more raised by this word than by ἀνατάξασθαι. The early Christians, in spite of their interest, from Papias down, in the divergencies in order of events in the Gospels, do not appeal in connection with this subject to either of these words in the preface' (Cadbury, p. 505).

4. 'That thou mayest realize (or, know) the sure certainty (or, ground) of the teachings wherein thou hast been instructed.' The Gospel traditions form the substance of regular oral teaching. The 'sure ground' means the historic basis of that teaching. But perhaps we should translate, 'that thou mayest be convinced of the trustworthiness of the stories of which thou hast been informed,' for κατηχήθης may not here have its later meaning of instruction preparatory to baptism, and the λόγοι may mean 'stories' and not 'teachings' (So Klostermann). The λόγοι are the details of the λόγος. Perhaps most simply 'that thou mayest know the truth of what thou hast been taught.' Who Theophilus was is unknown. The adjective κράτιστος implies that he was in a high station. 'The relation of Theophilus to Christianity is not easy to settle: the dedication as a whole leads one to suppose that he was not a Christian, but that his attitude towards Christianity was one of

interested and benevolent curiosity; it has rightly been asserted that the title (κράτιστε) would not have been bestowed upon a brother in the faith' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 76).

5–25. The Announcement of the Birth of John the Baptist

(Luke only)

There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judæa, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the class of Abijah: and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth. And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless. And they had no child, because Elisabeth was barren, and they both were far advanced in years.

And it came to pass, that while he was discharging his office of priest before God in the order of his class, the lot fell upon him, according to the custom of the priestly service, to go into the temple of the Lord and to burn the incense. And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the hour of the incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense. And when Zacharias saw him, he was greatly agitated, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, 'Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer has been heard; and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous: to make ready for the Lord a prepared people.' And Zacharias said unto the angel, 'Whereby shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife well advanced in years.' And the angel answered and said unto him, 'I am Gabriel, that stand before God; and I have been sent to speak unto thee, and to tell thee these good tidings. And, behold, thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak,

until the day that these things shall happen, because thou didst not believe my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season.'

21 And the people were waiting for Zacharias, and wondered that
22 he tarried so long in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak unto them: and they realized that he had seen a vision in the temple: and he himself kept making signs unto them, and
23 he remained dumb. And it came to pass, that, as soon as the days of his service were completed, he departed to his own home.
24 And after those days his wife Elisabeth conceived, and hid herself
25 five months, saying, 'Thus has the Lord done unto me in the days wherein he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men.'

For the stories, or rather legends, in chapters i. and ii. Luke probably used a special Jewish-Christian source. The narrative is not only coloured by endless Old Testament reminiscences, and built up out of Old Testament material, but it reflects Jewish sentiment, feeling, and ideals. The source was probably written in Aramaic or Hebrew. (See Torrey, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 290. Streeter, pp. 266, 267.) Very large space is given to the birth of John. It seems disproportionate. Hence there is something to be said for the idea that the story of John the Baptist's birth existed independently and was of Jewish origin. It was then taken over and edited by the compiler of chapters i. and ii. The great bulk of it is very Jewish in character and form, and it is built up upon Old Testament models and reminiscences. The question whether any traces of history are concealed or contained in Luke i. and ii. I need not discuss. Such traces are exceedingly doubtful. The reader may be referred to the judicious remarks of Klostermann on p. 365 of his commentary. 'When the section is viewed as Luke's translation-Greek, and as embodying some primitive document, not as a piece of free composition, i. 5—ii. 52 with iii. 23–38 represent an early Palestinian source which Luke has worked over, perhaps inserting, *e.g.*, the references to the decree (ii. 1) and the virgin-birth (i. 34, 35), with the ὡς ἐνομίζετο of iii. 23. He probably translated the source himself from Aramaic. In spite of Dalman's scepticism there is no reason why Luke should not have known Aramaic; and here as elsewhere there are fairly evident traces of a Semitic original' (Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 267).

5. Herod died 4 B.C.

The 'class' or 'course' of Abijah. See 1 Chr. xxiv. 10. There were twenty-four divisions of the Priesthood, who took it in turn to

perform the sacrificial duties in the Temple. Each division acted for a week.

Elisabeth was the name of the wife of Aaron, Exodus vi. 23. Some think that the name means : ' God is [my] oath.' One cannot say whether the name is historical, *i.e.* whether John's mother was really called Elisabeth.

6. A Jewish description of piety and goodness.

7. Abraham and Sarah are models for the story (Genesis xviii. 11) as well as Hannah and Elkanah.

9. The special duties which had to be performed in the Temple, and among them the office of burning incense, were allocated to the priests of each division by lot. Apparently no priest went into the sanctuary alone to perform this duty. Others went with him. But a story such as that before us need not be concerned with a detail of that kind.

11. Biblical reminiscences abound. *Cp.* Judges xiii.

13. *Cp.* Judges vi. 23. Daniel x. 12, 19. ' Prayer ' may mean here his old longing for a child, which the narrator assumes. It need not mean an actually uttered prayer at the moment, which would conflict with 18. John (Jochanan) means : ' God is gracious.'

15. It is doubtful whether John was a Nazarite. Though the wording of the verse is influenced by Numbers vi. 3, Judges xiii. 4, 7, 14, 1 Sam. i. 11, the intention may only be to mark and heighten the contrast between physical and spiritual exaltation. *Cp.* Ephesians v. 18 (Klostermann).

17. The words are based upon Malachi. In all that is said by the angel there is nothing definitely Christian ; that is to say, it is quite conceivable that the legend grew up among the disciples of John, and was then adopted by a Christian writer.

' Go before Him,' *i.e.* before God. καὶ ἀπειθεῖς, ' and the disobedient to (walk in) the wisdom of the righteous.' The ' rebellious ' and the ' sons ' are identified ; the ' fathers ' and the ' just.' That is to say, John will bring the present rebellious generation into religious harmony with the righteous of olden time. He will do this by making the ' sons ' penitent. Thus he forms a people ready for the kingdom of God. The quotation seems to be taken from the Hebrew direct and not from the Septuagint.

Or the meaning may be, John is to produce harmony among the

people, and to make the disobedient become righteous and obedient. ' Prepared ' may mean ' just,' ' righteous ' (Klostermann).

18. *Cp.* the Old Testament models, Genesis xv. 8, xvii. 17, xviii. 12.

20. For the dumbness *cp.* Daniel x. 15–17.

24. Elisabeth conceals herself through a certain feeling of shame that she, the elderly woman, has become pregnant; nevertheless she recognizes that the fact takes away a deeper shame, namely, that of childlessness, according to Oriental and Jewish conceptions. *Cp.* Genesis xxx. 23. Perhaps, however, her concealment and silence are due rather to the needs of the story. None must know that the word of the angel has been realized; only Mary is to hear of it through the angel Gabriel.

26–38. Prediction of the Birth of Jesus

(Luke only)

26 And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God
27 unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to
a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the
28 virgin's name was Mary. And the angel came in unto her, and
29 said, ' Hail, thou favoured one, the Lord be with thee.' But she
was agitated at his word, and pondered as to what this greeting
30 might denote. And the angel said unto her, ' Fear not, Mary:
31 for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt
conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his
32 name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of
the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne
33 of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob
34 for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' Then said
Mary unto the angel, ' How shall this be, seeing I know no man? '
35 And the angel answered and said unto her, ' The Holy Spirit will
come upon thee, and the power of the Most High will overshadow
thee: therefore also that which is begotten is holy and shall be
36 called Son of God. And, behold, thy kinswoman Elisabeth, she
has also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth
37 month with her who was called barren. For nothing is impossible
38 with God.' And Mary said, ' Behold I am the handmaid of the

Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.' And the angel departed from her.

26. Why 'in the sixth month'? The date is also emphasized in verse 36. The true explanation is perhaps given by Norden in *Die Geburt des Kindes*, pp. 102–105, and is exceedingly interesting. The story of the birth of Jesus in Luke is very different from the story in Matthew, and indeed often contradicts it.

Nazareth is Mary's dwelling-place or home. According to Matthew she must have lived in Bethlehem.

27. Joseph, not Mary, is of the royal Davidic house. *Cp.* Matt. i. 20. The descent of Jesus from David was traced through his father. In Luke's birth story (unlike that of Matthew) it is probable that the idea of the virgin birth was interpolated by the insertion of 34 and 35.

If Jesus had no human father, it is of no value that Joseph was a descendant of David. Was the interpolation made by Luke into his source, or by a later 'editor' of Luke? Loisy thinks the former, Harnack the latter. The inconsistency which one has to assume if the interpolation was made by Luke is, Loisy thinks, not greater than is found elsewhere in the book.

Some suppose that there lies behind the story a Jewish legend of the birth of the Messiah—taken from an old Egyptian legend—and then used by Christians. The virgin birth may have been a part of the story from the time in which it was first adopted by them and adapted. It is implied in verse 27.

31. The words are clearly modelled upon Isaiah vii. 14.

32. In this verse Jesus may be only called Son of God in the Messianic sense. There is no need to interpret the phrase physiologically or metaphysically.

33. The description of the Messiah is cast in a very Jewish form. Through Joseph (was he the father in the first form of the story?) Jesus is the heir of the Davidic Kingdom.

34. The reply of Mary is a strong argument that 34, 35, or 34–37, are interpolated. For if Mary was already betrothed, her astonishment that she should shortly bear a son is very unlikely and inappropriate. Otherwise one has to suppose that by 'thou shalt conceive' is meant an immediate conception, a matter already, or in the act of being, accomplished. *Cp.* the fair and moderate remarks of Streeter, pp. 267, 268.

35. Another translation is that of R.V. M., 'the holy thing which is to be born.' Here the Son of God seems to be used in a physiological sense, differently from 32. 'What we read in this verse, namely, the physical interpretation of the term, comes from Greek ways of thought: to the heathen-Christian community it was only natural to interpret the Son of God as descended from God' (J. Weiss).

Merx supposes that the interpolation is much smaller, and that it is limited to the words 'seeing I know no man.' 'How shall this be' means merely 'how shall such an honour befall me.' Then in the reply of the angel, the words 'come upon thee' and 'overshadow thee,' refer simply to the protection of the Holy Spirit, not to physical begetting. 'Spirit' is feminine in Hebrew and this would make the usual interpretation very inapt. But if the interpolation comes from a Gentile-Christian hand, the objection raised by Merx hardly applies. And as Loisy says, the signification of 'will overshadow thee' (ἐπισκιάσει) is probably local, not moral. Both the terminology of the idea and the idea itself are foreign to Hebrew thought, as Loisy very properly states. 'As for the basis of the idea, it agrees no better with Jewish theology. For the originality of the latter expressed itself in the notion of divine transcendency, which barely allows us to conceive of God as the direct generating physical source of an individual human life. In Greek and for the hellenic mind, these difficulties did not exist. Justin the apologist thought it quite natural to compare the birth of Jesus with that of the heroes or of the demigods who were born of a god and a mortal woman' (*E. S.* I. p. 292). As to the conception through the Holy Spirit and the word ἐπισκιάσει and its history, the curious reader will find an interesting discussion in Norden's delightful book, *Die Geburt des Kindes, Geschichte einer religiösen Idee* (1924), pp. 77–97, or in Leisegang, *Pneuma Hagion, Der Ursprung des Geistesbegriff der synoptischen Evangelien in der griechischen Mystik* (1922), pp. 25–28. It is, however, possible that the virgin birth, or rather that the conception from the Holy Spirit, is not of Gentile-Christian, but of Jewish-Christian origin, and that a combination of the virgin birth with the story of the divine generation of the Messiah lies behind the whole tale. In that case one cannot merely regard 34, 35 as an interpolation. The explanation would be deeper and older. See Gressmann, *Weihnachtsevangelium*, pp. 38–46. The source of the story is Egyptian; the motives and the legend came from there to Judæa, and were adopted as a story about the Messiah King. 'The narrative, with its strong mythological colouring, can only have existed in the lowest, least educated classes of Judaism.' The idea of the virgin birth and the physical divine fatherhood must be of non-Jewish origin, 'since in its crude

mythology it is at total variance with Jewish monotheism' (pp. 45, 41). But the spiritualization of the conception of a physical generation from a god or from the Divine Spirit can be seen in Philo, and, on the other hand, his very words show how the spiritual idea had a mythical and physical origin. See Leisegang, pp. 43–45 for a translation of the most salient Philo passage, and Norden, pp. 78–82 for a further discussion of it.

37. *Cp.* Genesis xviii. 14. ῥῆμα here, like the Hebrew *dabar*, must be taken to mean 'thing.' Or we can translate: 'No word from God shall be without effect.' The gigantic miracle of the virgin birth and of the conception through the Holy Spirit is, as Loisy says, not logically or even artistically made reasonable or credible by the minor miracle of Elisabeth's conception in her old age. But if, originally, the angel merely told Mary that she would bear a son in the ordinary way, and that this son would be the Messiah, then the mention of the Elisabeth miracle becomes suitable enough. The object of making Mary and Elisabeth relatives was originally to give Jesus extra dignity in his ancestry: descended from David on the one hand, he is descended from Aaron on the other. He is legitimately both King and High Priest. (*Luc*, p. 91.)

38. If Mary had not spoken already, her obedient questionless acceptance of the angel's message is in fine contrast to Zacharias's doubts. If 34 is not interpolated, Mary at first seems to have shown the same scepticism as he. Clemen, pp. 114–121, can also be read with advantage. He thinks that 34–37 is the Evangelist's addition to the material supplied him by tradition and that the virgin birth has its origin in Greek mythology.

39–56. The Visit of Mary to Elisabeth

(Luke only)

And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Judah; and entered the house of Zacharias, and greeted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the greeting of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. And Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit, and she lifted up her voice and cried aloud, and said, 'Blessed be thou among women, and blessed be the fruit of thy womb. And wherefore have I this honour that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For, lo,

as soon as the voice of thy greeting reached mine ears, the babe
45 leaped in my womb for joy. And happy is she who believed that
what was told her from the Lord shall be fulfilled.'
46, 47 And Mary said, 'My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit
48 rejoices in God my Saviour. For he has regarded the low
estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all genera-
49 tions shall account me happy. For he that is mighty has done
50 to me great things; and holy is his name. And his mercy is from
51 generation to generation upon them that fear him. He has
shown strength with his arm; he has scattered them that are
52 proud in the thought of their hearts. He has cast down the mighty
53 from their thrones, and exalted them of low degree. He has filled
the hungry with good things; and the rich he has sent empty
54 away. He has helped his servant Israel, that he might remember
55 his mercy to Abraham and to his seed for ever, even as he spoke
56 unto our fathers.' And Mary remained with her about three months,
and then she returned to her own home.

The two annunciation stories of John and Jesus are now brought together. There has probably been some editing in the process. One object is to show the inferiority of John to Jesus—of the 'forerunner' to the Messiah and Son of God.

The intimacy and relationship between the two families do not correspond with what we may gather of the dealings between Jesus and John as depicted in the more historical portions of the Gospels. And what Mary and Elisabeth have heard from the angels about Mary's future son is in obvious contradiction with Mark iii. 21, 31–35. This section is entirely legendary like its predecessor.

39. The object of Mary's visit was to verify the sign after having experienced the truth of the promise. The 'source' doubtless told how Mary conceived, just as it told (in 24) how Elisabeth had done so. She goes 'in haste' or with eagerness because her faith will be increased by finding that what had been told her about Elisabeth had actually occurred.

'A city of Judah.' Torrey shows that 'city' is a mistranslation of the Hebrew original which was 'the province of Judah' (*Studies in the History of Religions*, 1912, p. 291).

41. *Cp.* Genesis xxv. 22. The unborn child, in accordance with the prediction of 15, and in virtue of its already being filled with the Holy Spirit, recognizes the mother of the Messiah.

43. Even the mother of John knows that Mary's son is to be the Messiah. In Matt. iii. 14 John recognizes Jesus to be the Messiah at the baptism. The historic reality was more in accordance with Matt. xi. 3.

45. The 'she who believed' is Mary.

46. 'And Mary said.' It has been argued that the word 'Mary' is a later insertion. Originally the so-called 'Magnificat' was said by Elisabeth. It belongs to the story of John's birth, and not to that of Jesus. It is, therefore, probably pre-Christian, or rather non-Christian, and was only taken over by the compiler of chapters i. and ii. and then ascribed to Mary. It is composed altogether on Old Testament lines and of Old Testament reminiscences, and has no reference to the coming of the Messiah. It resembles the prayer of Hannah, 1 Samuel ii. 1–10.

48. The language is more appropriate to Elisabeth. ταπείνωσις, 'low estate,' does not naturally here mean 'humble social condition,' but 'humiliation,' *i.e.* the humiliation of childlessness. *Cp.* 1 Sam. i. 11, where the Septuagint has the very word. The words: 'Henceforth all generations shall account me happy' (or 'blessed') are based upon Gen. xxx. 13 (see especially the Septuagint).

49–55. The remainder of the hymn is full of Old Testament reminiscences, and in the generalities of its language seems inappropriate to the situation and the speaker.

51. We may also, with equal and greater probability, translate these Greek aorists by the present tense, 'He shows strength with his arm,' etc. It is disputed to what these assertions about the divine action refer. Had the Christian adapter or compiler certain definite incidents in his mind or not? Are the 'hungry' of 53 those whom Jesus spiritually 'filled'? In 54 is the reference to the true Israel, which the 'Jewish Christians' identified with themselves? The Messianic salvation seems alluded to.

56. 'To her own home or house.' Was this Joseph's house, or that of her parents? To the Evangelist, probably Joseph's; to the original narrator, that of her parents. (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 98.)

57–80. Birth of John the Baptist

(Luke only)

57 Now Elisabeth's time was completed that she should be
58 delivered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours
and her kinsfolk heard how the Lord had magnified his pity upon
59 her; and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass, that on
the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they in-
60 tended to call him Zacharias, after the name of his father. But
his mother answered and said, 'No; but he shall be called John.'
61 And they said unto her, 'There is none of thy kindred that is
62 called by this name.' And they made signs to his father, how he
63 would have him called. And he asked for a writing tablet, and
64 wrote, saying, 'His name is John.' And they marvelled all. And
immediately his mouth was opened, and his tongue, and he spoke,
65 and praised God. And fear came on all their neighbours: and all
these stories were talked about through all the hill country of
66 Judæa. And all they that heard them laid them up in their hearts,
saying, 'What then will this child be?' For the hand of the Lord
was with him.

67 And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Spirit, and
68 prophesied, saying, 'Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel; for he
69 has visited and redeemed his people, and has raised up an horn
70 of salvation for us in the house of his servant David;—as he
spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets, who have been from of
71 old;—salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that
72 hate us; to show pity to our fathers, and to remember his holy
73 covenant; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham to
74 grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our
75 enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and right-
76 eousness before him, all the days of our life. And thou, child,
shalt be called the prophet of the Most High: for thou shalt go
77 before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; to give know-
ledge of salvation unto his people in the forgiveness of their sins,
78 because of the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring
79 from on high will visit us, to give light to them that sit in dark-
ness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of
80 peace.' And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was
in the wilderness till the day of his manifestation unto Israel.

59. In the O.T. the giving of the name is not deferred till the eighth day, nor is it a matter for the relatives, but for the parents. The unusual arrangement is devised to set off Elisabeth's protest. For she, like Mary, is inspired by the Holy Spirit, and knows the name which is to be given by divine appointment to her son. The holy Spirit makes her interrupt, and declare what the name is to be. For another explanation see Norden, p. 103, n. 1 (after Völter).

62. We are to suppose that Zacharias had become deaf as well as dumb. But how could any signs or dumb show indicate to him that they wanted to know how he wished the child called ?

66. 'For the hand of the Lord was indeed with him.' The meaning apparently is: people were justified in wondering what great future was in store for the child, for, in addition to the marvels of his naming, God's hand was with him as he grew up. (*Cp.* 80.)

The words are (if the ordinary reading be followed) a sort of side remark of the narrator.

68. The hymn of praise spoken by Zacharias may also be due, at least in part, to the independent story of John. It may have been rendered more suitable to its present environment by the additions of 69 and 70 and 78 and 79*a*. Others suppose by 76 and 77 only. The first part of the hymn is couched in regular Old Testament language and is quite Jewish in tone. Yet there is some difficulty in interpreting the aorists as prophetic perfects. As it stands, the hymn may be the work of a Jewish-Christian for whom the Messiah has already come.

69. The 'horn' is the Messiah. Grammatically and in sense 71 fits on well to 68. As the text now stands, 'salvation' is in apposition to the 'horn.'

76. Up to this point the hymn has spoken of the coming deliverance, and of the re-establishment of the theocracy and of the Davidic monarchy, in quite ordinary Old Testament phrases. It now turns to the destiny of the child John. His office is described in phrases taken from Isaiah xl. 3 and Malachi iii. 1.

77. The present meaning of the verse—whether originally it meant this or not—must be that John announced beforehand the coming of this spiritual salvation (unlike the political 'salvation' of 71) which consisted in the forgiveness of sins, and was effected by Jesus the Messiah.

78. Construction and rendering of the second half of the verse are alike disputed and difficult. Moreover, the MSS. vary, some (with the S.S.) reading ἐπισκέψεται (the future, 'will visit') and some ἐπεσκέψατο (the aorist, 'has visited'). The future has been adopted in the translation. The 'dayspring from on high' is literally the dawn of the Messianic glory, but the figure must here stand for the Messiah himself. Or one can suppose that God is still the subject: 'He will visit us, as a light from on high,' through, or in the person of, the Messiah. The phrase is based upon such O.T. passages as Mal. iv. 2, Isaiah ix. 2, lviii. 8, lx. 1, Numbers xxiv. 17. Reading the aorist, one can render, 'because of the tender mercy of our God, wherewith he visited us—a shining of light from on high, to give light, etc.' The merciful visitation of God is described as the rising or appearance of a heavenly light.

79. *Cp.* Isaiah ix. 2, xlii. 7.

80. Here the story returns to verse 66. What lies between may be a later insertion. For 80 compare Judges xiii. 24, 25; 1 Sam. ii. 11, iii. 19–21. The wording at the end is awkward, as if John from his childhood had lived 'in the wilderness.' The object is to make a link with iii. 2.

CHAPTER II

1–20. The Birth of Jesus

(Luke only)

And it came to pass in those days, that a decree was issued from the Emperor Augustus, that there should be a census of the whole world. (This was the first census, and it took place while Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be enrolled, each man to his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, to Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem (because he was of the house and family of David) to be enrolled together with Mary who was betrothed to him and was with child. And it happened that, while they were there, the days were completed for her delivery. And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

And there were in the same region shepherds in the fields, keeping watch over their flock by night. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, 'Fear not: for, behold, I proclaim to you the good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people. For unto you has been born this day in the city of David a Saviour, who is Messiah, Lord. And this is a sign for you; ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, in a manger.' And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of his favour.'

And it came to pass, when the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, 'Let us now go unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord has made known unto us.' And they came with

haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in the
17 manger. And when they had seen it, they made known abroad
the word which had been spoken to them concerning this child.
18 And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were
19 told them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these things in
20 mind, and pondered over them in her heart. And the shepherds
returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they
had heard and seen, as it had been told unto them.

1–4. It is unnecessary for my purpose to enter into the details of the enormous discussions and interminable arguments which the statements made in these verses have called forth. Suffice it to say that Luke in all probability has sought to use for his own special purpose an enrolment, or rather census for taxation, which was conducted by Quirinius, Governor of Syria, in A.D. 6 or 7. This census caused a great deal of commotion and indignation, as we learn from Josephus. Luke refers again to this enrolment or census in the Acts, and to the rising of Judas the Galilæan (Acts v. 37). But Jesus was certainly not born as late as A.D. 6 or 7. Most probably Luke is right in fixing the date of his birth before the death of Herod, 4 B.C., at which time such a census did not take place, and could not have taken place. Luke uses the census in order to make Jesus born at Bethlehem. The necessity for the birth at Bethlehem arose as a consequence of Jesus's Messiahship. For a well-known passage in Micah (v. 2) deliberately asserts that the Messiah is to be born in Bethlehem. Therefore Jesus must have been born there. He was, however, known to have been a Galilæan, an inhabitant of Nazareth. Luke's story, therefore, suggests a way out, and its improbabilities or impossibilities were in those times of no difficulty or trouble. *Cp.* Loisy: 'It was because he was Messiah, son of David, that Jesus had to be born at Bethlehem. So some reason was necessary which compelled Joseph, son of David, and with him Mary, and with Mary Jesus, to go to Bethlehem. What reason could present itself more naturally to the Christian imagination than that of an enrolment of Davidic descendants at the traditional birthplace of their race? But the family of David could not be enrolled unless others were enrolled too; hence the necessity for the enrolment of every family. Now there was an enrolment which had remained in everybody's memory, the first enrolment, that of Quirinius; so it was the enrolment of Quirinius which had made Joseph and Mary come to Bethlehem, and it was thus that Jesus was born there. What this enrolment had actually been there was no precise recollection, but people always spoke of the enrolment and of Judas the Galilæan' (*É. S.* I. p. 345).

1. An enrolment of all the world, or even of all the empire, under Augustus did not take place. But there were censuses of all Roman citizens in 26 and 6 B.C. and in A.D. 14. But such censuses would not fit with the story's needs, not even that of 6 B.C., for it did not extend to the countries which were still semi-independent, such as Judæa remained till A.D. 6. And even then, Galilee, as part of the territory of the tetrarch Herod Antipas would have been exempt from such a census.

2. 'This, the first enrolment (in Judæa), took place when Cyrenius (or Quirinius) was governor of Syria.' This is the probable meaning, not, 'This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria,' though either rendering is possible, and the second is adopted by many scholars.

3. No Roman census was conducted in this strange way. Joseph would have been enrolled in Nazareth, not in a city where his ancestors had dwelt hundreds of years before. Few Jews would have had this familiar knowledge of their own far-off ancestry. And in any case why should Mary have gone with him that long journey, being not yet his wife and in her pregnant condition? As Holtzmann says, the machinery used to get Mary to Bethlehem works very clumsily. Schürer has pointed out that women, though they paid a poll tax, had not personally to appear at the census, as is here implied. Spitta and other scholars have attempted to show that Luke's narrative may after all be historical. Spitta, for instance, thinks that the author did not intend to make Mary already with child when she visited Elisabeth. The babe in the womb of i. 41 salutes not the unborn Messiah, but his mother. The fruit of the womb which is declared blessed in i. 42 is still to come. 'In those days' in ii. 1 refers to John's youth, not to his birth. John was older than Jesus. Thus ii. 1 relates to a later time than i. 5 or i. 31. The census or enrolment took place in an earlier governorship of Quirinius, soon after Herod's death. The word οἰκουμένη in ii. 1 is a mistranslation of the Aramaic original. It should be 'land,' not 'earth,' and points to a period after Herod's death, but before the partition of his monarchy among Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. It is conceivable that Joseph had some land in Bethlehem, the more so, if he was really descended from David. Verse 3 generalizes in the manner of a popular story. ('Die chronologischen Notizen und die Hymnen in Lc. i. und ii.' in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VII. 1906, pp. 280–303.) There *is* some evidence that Quirinius was governor of Syria about 3 B.C. as well as A.D. 6. But the total number of unlikely suppositions which have to be made before Luke's story of

Jesus's birth can be regarded as historical, is very large. The hypothesis that the story is legendary still remains much the simplest and most probable. See also Loisy, *Luc*, pp. 110, 111.

There is an interesting Egyptian edict preserved from the year A.D. 104 relative to a census in that country which says: 'As the census is about to take place, everybody, who for any reason is outside his own district, must return to his own hearth, for the purposes of enrolment.' But Joseph acts against such an edict, if a similar sort of thing happened in Palestine. He leaves his own city to go elsewhere. (*Cp.* Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., pp. 231, 232. Gressmann, *Das Weihnachtsevangelium*, p. 9; Meyer, *Ursprung* I. p. 51.)

4. It will be remembered that it was pointed out that i. 34, 35 were perhaps a later insertion, and that Luke's birth story, unlike that of Matthew, did not originally include a virgin birth. In this verse there is some evidence that the original reading was 'with Mary his wife.' This is the reading of S.S. See Usener, *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1907), *Geburt und Kindheit Christi*, p. 181. Also Streeter, pp. 116, 267.

7. Jesus is the firstborn, but for Luke, as well as for Mark, he is not Mary's only child. The stall or manger in the stable is a pretty feature of the legend to indicate the contrast between the earthly environment of the Messiah's birth with his destiny and person. Jesus is a spiritual shepherd. Was the real reason why Jesus has to be born in a stable to establish a connection between the shepherd David and himself? Or, as Loisy now thinks possible, is the legend a sort of fulfilment of Psalm lxxviii. 70, 71?

8. The story of the shepherds has Old Testament parallels. We may also compare the birth stories of Cyrus and Romulus. Apparently to this writer and for this legend Jesus was not born in winter. The flocks in Palestine are not out at night in December.

For a full explanation of the shepherd incident and its original meaning, and of the manger 'motive,' *cp.* Gressmann, *loc. cit.* pp. 13–28.

14. The reading is not quite certain. If the genitive εὐδοκίας is read, the translation is, 'And, on earth, peace among men of (his) favour,' *i.e.* either among the Jews, who are the people of his choice, or among those men who, by their acceptance and acknowledgment of the Messiah, receive the divine favour. To unbelievers there will be no peace. A less good reading has the nominative, 'On earth peace, and favour among men.' Another explanation is

that the translation of the original Aramaic text is faulty, or that the text which the translator used contained an error of one letter. The right rendering or right text would be, 'Glory in the highest to God, and peace and favour on earth to men.' So Klostermann. See his *Commentary*. But this ingenious and simple emendation depends upon an original Aramaic. Klostermann indeed says: 'As an original Hebrew text is out of the question, an Aramaic text is the only possible one.' But Torrey, as we have seen—no mean authority—believes in a *Hebrew* original. Three verses before (11) a very odd Greek phrase ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος is capable of a very simple explanation if the original was Hebrew. 'The Hebrew had משיח יהוה, Yahweh's Anointed, and the rendering in Greek should have been χριστὸς κυρίου or ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ κυρίου (pp. 292, 293). The word 'Saviour' is not applied by Mark and Matthew to Jesus, and by Luke only here and Acts v. 31, xiii. 23. *Cp.* further Streeter, p. 115.

19. The story in Mark about the family of Jesus and their behaviour (iii. 21, 31) seems to show that the historic mother of Jesus was quite unaware that she had given birth to the Messiah.

21–24. Circumcision and Redemption of Jesus

(Luke only)

And when the eight days for the circumcision of the child were completed, his name was called Jesus, according as he had been named by the angel before he was conceived in the womb. And when the days of their purification, according to the Law of Moses, were completed, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord (as it is written in the Law of the Lord, 'Every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord'); and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the Law of the Lord, 'A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.'

22. '*Their* purification' is odd, as the Law (Lev. xii.) says nothing of the father. It is still more odd if the mother was a virgin, just as under such circumstances the law of purification itself seems hardly in keeping. The original reading may have been 'her' for 'their,' which the S.S. still has. The alteration may be due to a shy attempt, carried further by some MSS., which have 'his,' to obscure the fact that the immaculate virgin was regarded as levitically unclean after child-birth. The end of the verse, 'to

present him to the Lord,' refers to the redemption of the first-born (Exodus xiii. 2, 13). But it is also influenced by 1 Sam. i. 24. This story—itself a legend—seems to know nothing of the Virgin birth. For the purposes of the 'redemption of the first-born' the child had not to be 'presented' in the Temple. The parents are here regarded as poor; they cannot afford a lamb, but bring pigeons and doves as a substitute, according to the ordinance in Lev. xii. 8.

25–35. Simeon

(Luke only)

25 And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was just and devout, waiting for the con-
26 solation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit that he should not see
27 death before he had seen the Messiah of the Lord. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do concerning him after the custom of the Law,
28 he took him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:
29 'Now releasest thou thy servant, O Lord, in peace, according
30, 31 to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou
32 hast prepared before the face of all the peoples, a light of revelation to the nations, and of glory to thy people Israel.'
33 And his father and his mother marvelled at what was spoken
34 of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, 'Behold, this child is appointed for the fall and rising again of
35 many in Israel; and for a sign to be opposed (yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also), that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.'

25. παράκλησις, 'comfort' or 'consolation.' *Cp.* the famous opening words of Isaiah xl.

27. Note 'the parents' in the plural. The story-teller knows nothing apparently of the virgin birth. *Cp.* verses 33, 41, 43, 48.

29. He could now die in peace. The promise of God—his own heart's desire as it was the desire of every pious Israelite—had been fulfilled. *Cp.* Genesis xlvi. 30.

30, 31. The wording is closely modelled upon Psalm xcviii. 2. *Cp.* also Isaiah lii. 10.

32. The salvation is to be a light which is to bring revelation to the nations (Isaiah xlii. 6, xlix. 6), and glory to Israel (Isaiah xlvi. 13).

33. The story seems to have been originally independent of the legend of the annunciation and of the birth and the shepherds, for, otherwise, why should Mary be astonished ?

34. Simeon's second speech may be more directly due to the Evangelist.

κεῖται, ' is set for,' ' is marked out for,' ' is destined for.'

Jesus is a stumbling-block (Isaiah viii. 14) to those who disbelieve in him. *Cp.* Matt. xxi. 44. He is also a sign, a signal, which is (not only accepted and hailed, but also) opposed and contradicted. For the ' sign ' *cp.* Isaiah xi. 12, xiii. 2, where the Greek has the same word as here, σημεῖον. Some think that the words: ' and rising again ' (ἀνάστασιν) have been added. It refers to ' rising ' through repentance and forgiveness of sins. But originally the verse referred only to those who would reject Jesus.

35. The martyrdom of Jesus shall be metaphorically a martyrdom to his mother. The first clause of the verse seems an interpolation, and the second clause really depends upon 34. The object of the rejection of the Messiah is that the innermost thoughts, the true characters, of all may be laid bare.

36–39. Anna

(Luke only)

36 And there was a prophetess, Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of
the tribe of Asher: she was of a great age, having lived with an
37 husband seven years from her virginity, and as a widow even for
eighty-four years. She departed not from the temple, worshipping
38 with fastings and prayers night and day. And she came up at the
same time, and gave thanks unto God, and spoke of the child to all
that were waiting for the redemption of Jerusalem.
39 And when they had accomplished all things according to the
Law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, unto their own city
Nazareth.

36. Man and woman, prophet and prophetess, must testify to the Messiah. The cumbrous words seem to mean that Anna was

only once married, that she lived with her husband seven years, and after his death had remained a widow for eighty-four years. She must have therefore been, if she married say at fifteen, one hundred and six years old. That she did not marry again is looked upon as to her credit. *Cp.* 1 Tim. v. 9.

38. *ἐπιστᾶσα.* She stood by, or came up near to, Simeon. *ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ*, literally, 'she spoke of him,' *i.e.* about the child. The 'redemption' of Jerusalem is the advent of the Messiah.

39. Thus forty days or so after Jesus's birth the parents return to Nazareth. The contradiction with Matt. ii. 20 is apparent. The reading of the S.S is very interesting. 'Joseph and Mary after they had performed in the Temple everything *to the firstborn* which the Law ordains, returned,' *i.e.* as Merx says, we have to understand that Mary and Joseph were a newly married couple, and that Jesus was their first child.

40–52. A Story from the Boyhood of Jesus

(Luke only)

40 And the child grew, and waxed strong, being filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

41 Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of
42 the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up
43 to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days and were returning, the child Jesus tarried behind
44 in Jerusalem; and his parents knew it not. But, supposing that he was in the caravan, they went a day's journey; and they sought
45 for him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they
46 found him not, they returned to Jerusalem in search of him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the Teachers, listening to them, and asking
47 them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his
48 understanding and answers. And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, 'Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have been seeking thee,
49 sorrowing.' And he said unto them, 'Why did ye seek me? did ye
50 not know that I must be in my Father's house?' And they under-
51 stood not the word which he spoke unto them. So he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them.

And his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and with men.

40 is a parallel to i. 80, where much the same thing is said of John.

41. It is not stated that Joseph and Mary only went once a year to Jerusalem, though it may be implied. It is not improbable that the law to visit the sanctuary at each of the three great festivals was often neglected. The story seems to be legendary. A curious Egyptian parallel is referred to in Klostermann, together with other fairly close analogies.

44. Kinsmen and friends and townsfolk made up caravans and parties for the festival. They went to, and returned from, Jerusalem more or less together.

46. The child is not teaching, but learning. He listens and questions.

48. The language is hardly compatible with a knowledge of his Messiahship, still less with that of the virgin birth. Still more curious is 50. It is odd how these various legends do not seek or require to be consistent in detail or tone with each other.

49. 'My Father's house.' The wording does not necessarily imply that God was his father in a physiological sense. For verse 50 shows clearly that Mary and Joseph have no knowledge of the supernatural birth, otherwise the 'word' would have been intelligible enough. It is possible that this story serves for Luke as an equivalent for that part of Mark iii. 21, 31–35 which he did not incorporate in his viii. 19–21. The rebuke which Jesus in Mark iii. 33 gives to his mother is reproduced in this story, but in a milder form. The filial obedience of Jesus is indicated in 51 as a corrective to any false or exaggerated inferences which might be drawn from 49. For 52 *cp.* 1 Samuel ii. 26. But though we need not assume that the Jesus of the story knew about the virgin birth, yet there may be an intentional and marked opposition in the words 'my Father' of Jesus's answer to the words of Mary, 'Thy father and I.' (Perhaps in the original story, the words ran, 'And *they* said to him, We have been looking for you,' etc. For Jesus replies to *them.*) Not indeed that God was his Father and not Joseph, but that God was specially his Father, because he was the Messiah. Hence his parents do not understand his reply, though Luke, to soften this answer, adds 51*b*,

which repeats 19*b*. *Cp.* for the two passages, Loisy, *Luc*, pp. 131 and 118.

52. 'By "grace" (χάριτι) one might understand acquired "favour," but the construction of the phrase invites us rather to see in it the personal quality of religious excellence (notwithstanding the literary relationship with 1 Sam. ii. 26)' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 131). In that case the translation would be 'increased in wisdom, and in stature and in grace, in the sight of God and of men.'

[ii. 4. For Nazareth and Nazarene, *cp.* August von Gall's interesting book on the Kingdom of God (βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) (1926), p. 432, n. 4].

CHAPTER III

1–20. John the Baptist

(*Cp.* Mark i. 1–8 ; Matt. iii. 1–12 ; and Mark vi. 17–29 ; Matt. xiv. 3–12)

Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the country around the Jordan, proclaiming the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins ; as it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, saying, ' The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth ; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.'

Then said he to the crowds that came out to be baptized of him, ' O offspring of vipers, who has suggested to you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth, then, fruits befitting repentance, and begin not to say to yourselves, We have Abraham for father : for I say unto you that God is able to raise up children unto Abraham from these stones. Already is the axe laid unto the root of the trees : every tree, then, which brings not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.'

And the crowds asked him, saying, ' What, then, shall we do ? ' He answered and said unto them, ' He that has two coats, let him give a share to him that has none ; and he that has food, let him do likewise.'

Then came also tax-collectors to be baptized, and they said

13 unto him, 'Master, what shall we do?' And he said unto them,
'Exact no more than that which is ordered you.'
14 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, 'And what
shall *we* do?' And he said unto them, 'Practise extortion to none,
neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your pay.'
15 And as the people were in expectation, and all men were ponder-
ing in their hearts about John, whether he might not be the Messiah,
16 John answered, saying unto them all, 'I baptize you with water;
but one mightier than I comes, the latchet of whose shoes I am
not worthy to unloose; *he* will baptize you with the Holy Spirit
17 and with fire. His winnowing fan is in his hand to purify his
threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into his garner; but the
18 chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.' And with many
other exhortations he proclaimed the good tidings unto the people.
19 But Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him about Herodias
his brother Philip's wife, and about all the other wickednesses
20 which he had done, added yet this unto all, that he shut up John
in prison.

After the introductory two chapters Luke gives the story of the ministry in Galilee from iii. to ix. 50. Here he mainly follows the order and the framework of Mark. And what in this section is not from Mark is largely from Q.

But if Streeter be right, this statement would be incorrect. For Streeter holds that Luke iii. 1–iv. 30 contain nothing from Mark. All is taken from Q and L, which constitute the source called Proto-Luke (pp. 205–208).

1. Luke, in the guise of a careful and learned historian, starts his narrative with an elaborate indication of date. One may compare Thucydides ii. 2. The fifteenth year of Tiberius is 28–29 A.D. Hence if the ministry of Jesus lasted about a year, the crucifixion, according to Luke, must have taken place in 29 or 30, probably the latter.

2. A blunder. There were not two acting high priests. The real high priest was Caiaphas. Annas is said in the Fourth Gospel to have been his father-in-law. He had been high priest from A.D. 6 to 15, and was doubtless still an influential personality in Jerusalem.

4. There is an apparent agreement of Luke with Mark in this verse against Matthew. Streeter says: 'The number of verses in

this section of Luke (iii. 1–iv. 30) which contain anything at all closely resembling Mark are very few (Luke iii. 3–4 ; iii. 16, 21–22 ; iv. 1–2). The first is the most striking ; for Luke agrees with Mark against Matthew (who therefore probably here represents Q) in reading " the baptism for repentance for the remission of sins " (Luke iii. 3) instead of " repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand " (Matt. iii. 2). Mark's phrase (which occurs also in Acts ii. 38) may well in this case have seemed to Luke an improvement on that of Q. On the other hand, the application to John the Baptist (Luke iii. 4) of the prophecy in Isaiah, " The voice of one crying in the wilderness," was probably a piece of primitive Christian apologetic antecedent to all written documents, and therefore probably stood in Q as well as in Mark. The probability is *slightly* enhanced by the fact that Matthew and Luke *concur* in giving this quotation alone, without that from Malachi which Mark prefixes ' (p. 205).

6. ' All flesh.' ' It was obviously for the sake of this declaration that Luke continued the quotation thus far. That the salvation of God is to be made known to the whole human race is the main theme of his Gospel ' (Plummer).

7. In Matthew this speech is addressed, not to the ' crowd,' but to the Pharisees and Sadducees.

10–14. An interesting insertion, whether taken from a special and distinct source or composed by Luke himself. The point of view seems different from, and milder than, 7–9. The demands made are not very high. This is perhaps intentional, by way of contrast to the demands of Jesus. (The tax-collectors and soldiers are probably both Jews.) Some find the passage interesting as giving us an insight into John's teaching. The simple duties of man to man, justice and compassion—these are to him the fruits of repentance which God demands. In all this he is a true successor of the old prophets. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the passage is Luke's own creation, though dramatically not incorrect.

Cp. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*. ' The fullest account of what John used to say is given by Luke and is chiefly remarkable for rough practical ethics : be kind to those worse off than yourselves, don't cheat, don't bully. That the End is near is assumed as common ground between the Hermit and those who have come out to him, but it is not the subject of his talk ' (p. 15). ' The message of John was comprised in the single word, Repent ' (p. 16). Lake and Jackson say : ' It is possible that Luke is here using an extract from some special source to which he had access ; it is, however, equally possible that it is a piece of expansion due to himself, and

based merely on his own impression of the advice which John probably gave.' 'Whatever the origin of the passage peculiar to Luke may have been, it illustrates his tendency either to minimise the eschatological elements in Mark, or to counteract them. It is not so much in disagreement with the other passages in the Gospels as on a different plane, and it is in sharp contrast to the renunciatory ethics of Jesus, as illustrated by "Follow thou me!" and "Sell all that thou hast." It is, however, worthy of note that this version of John's words had a practical effect in making the Church a support for organised society, thereby neutralising the literal teaching of the Sermon on the Mount' (*Beginnings*, I. p. 104).

15. Luke only. We do not elsewhere in the Synoptics hear that John was regarded by any as the Messiah. Is this verse the creation of Luke to serve as an introduction to 16, 17? *Cp.* John i. 19–25. Acts xiii. 25.

16. Streeter says that as regards this section of Luke: 'The saying "he shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire" is the only one where it is likely that he is influenced by Mark. In this case it is possible that the contrast, as the saying stood in Q, was between baptism by water and by fire. In Mark it is between baptism by water and by the Spirit. If so, it would appear that neither Matthew nor Luke liked to dispense with either expression, and conflated the two versions. The conflation is such an obvious one that it would be quite likely they should both make it independently' (p. 206). The 'fire' is therefore here quite different from the fire of 17: it is the fire of Acts ii. 3.

18. Luke only.

19–20. Luke here anticipates and briefly sums up later stories in Mark and Matthew. He does not mention the death of John. But he too accepts the historic order, namely, that Jesus did not begin to preach till John's work was interrupted by his incarceration.

21, 22. The Baptism of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark i. 9–11; Matt. iii. 13–17)

21 Now it came to pass, when all the people had been baptized,
and Jesus had also been baptized, and was praying, that the
22 heaven was opened, and the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily
shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which
said, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.'

21. The miracle is somewhat pressed. A mention of the 'bodily form' is peculiar to Luke. That Jesus prays after his baptism is also said by Luke. 'We might suppose we were being told about (and in fact we really are) a baptism in the primitive Christian community.' For after immersion the custom was to pray to obtain the Spirit. Jesus's baptism is a prototype of Christian baptism (*E. S.* I. p. 411).

22. The reading of D is: 'Thou art my Son: I have begotten thee this day,' a quotation from Psalm ii. If this, as some think, is the true original reading, it would show that Luke, in its original form, knew nothing of the miraculous birth. To the divine Son the baptism could bring no new, special relation to God. Conybeare (upholding the reading of D) observes: 'The idea conveyed is that Jesus was spiritually reborn or regenerated on this occasion, a new soul, as it were, being engendered in him by the spirit which now entered into him and thenceforth inspired his words and actions' (*Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. 172). For a further cogent defence of the D reading, see Streeter, p. 143.

Professor Burkitt doubts whether the 'D' reading, with its quotation from Psalm ii., is the original reading in Luke, still more whether it represents an older form of the story. It is (he says) assumed that the 'D' reading implies 'a more glaringly "Adoptionist" view of the baptism of Jesus than the ordinary text,' but he considers that it is hardly possible to conceive a more 'Adoptionist' way of telling the story 'than that actually taken by Mark. Possibly the story in Mark is capable of a conventionally orthodox interpretation, but the most obvious meaning is Adoptionist, so that when retold in Matthew words are inserted (iii. 14, 15) to safeguard the dignity of Jesus even before Baptism. I do not see that the Psalm-passage, simply because it has the word "to-day," more favours the heresy that Jesus only became Son of God at His Baptism than the text of Mark does. In fact, I think the "Western" reading in Luke iii. 22 would seem less "dangerous," because it is the very words of Old Testament Scripture and therefore likely to contain non-obvious mysteries.' It would, he adds, 'be quite in the manner of Luke to substitute a Psalm-passage for a Saying that appeared difficult or shocking, as he substituted "Into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Ps. xxxi. 5) for "Why hast Thou forsaken me?"' Professor Burkitt even doubts whether Q contained any account of the Baptism of Jesus at all, but I cannot give his reasons here. (*J. T. S.* xxvi., April 1925, pp. 290, 291.)

23–38. The Genealogy of Jesus

(*Cp.* Matt. i. 1–17)

23 And Jesus himself, at the beginning, was about thirty years
of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, the son of Heli,
24 the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Melchi, the son
25 of Jannai, the son of Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos,
26 the son of Nahum, the son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of
27 Maath, the son of Mattathias, the son of Semein, the son of Josech,
the son of Joda, the son of Joanna, the son of Rhesa, the son of
28 Zerubbabel, the son of Shealthiel, the son of Neri, the son of Melchi,
the son of Addi, the son of Cosam, the son of Elmadam, the son of
29 Er, the son of Jesus, the son of Eliezer, the son of Jorim, the son of
30 Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Simeon, the son of Judas, the
31 son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son
of Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattatha, the son of
32 Nathan, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the
33 son of Boaz, the son of Salmon, the son of Nahshon, the son of
Aminadab, the son of Arni, the son of Admin, the son of Hezron,
34 the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of Jacob, the son of
Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the
35 son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Peleg, the son of Eber, the
36 son of Shelah, the son of Cainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of
37 Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah,
the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of
38 Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son
of God.

23. It is interesting that the genealogy is put here, and not in chapters i., ii. Its source must have been different from any sources used by Luke in i. and ii. If Jesus was thirty years old at the beginning of his ministry, and if this lasted about a year, he would have been born about 1 B.C. or A.D. 1. According to i. 5, however, he was born before the death of Herod, *i.e.* 4 B.C. And if ii. 2 is accurate, he was born A.D. 6. In that case the crucifixion occurred in A.D. 35, which Holtzmann considers a possible date. But, as we have seen, there is every reason to suppose that ii. 2 is not accurate. Though Jesus may have been born in 4 B.C. and yet have died as late as A.D. 35, it is more probable that his death occurred in 29 or 30. The word ἀρχόμενος used thus absolutely

is odd and provokes suspicion. Conybeare thinks the text has been 'much disturbed.' 'When he began' is usually made to refer to the commencement of his public ministry, but Spitta (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VII. p. 66) points out that the public ministry only opens in iv. 15. The time reference is to the baptism, the account of which has just been given. Hence Spitta supposes that ἀρχόμενος refers to Jesus beginning to be the Son of God, and Conybeare thinks that words to this effect must originally have followed on ἀρχόμενος, but that they were omitted so as not to conflict with the later view that Jesus was divine from his birth (*op. cit.* p. 177).

The genealogy is inconsistent with chapter i. 35. Whoever drew it up clearly did not believe that Jesus had no human father, for, if so, the genealogy has no point. The final redactor of Luke thinks well to append and include the genealogy, but adds that it is inaccurate. Jesus was thought to be the son of Joseph, but in reality he was not. The list of names differs somewhat from that of Matthew; Jesus it may be noticed, is not descended from Solomon, but from another of David's sons. Moreover, in contrast to Matthew, the genealogical tree is pushed up to Adam, for Jesus is the 'Second Adam.' (*Cp.* Romans v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45–49.) Adam is 'Son of God,' as well as Jesus. The sonship was not yet a fixed dogmatic idea; Jesus was not the only son. 'That Luke should take the genealogy beyond David and Abraham to the father of the whole human race is entirely in harmony with the Pauline universality of his Gospel' (Plummer).

Perhaps Luke himself arranged the last part of the genealogy.

[iii. 7. v. Gall (p. 313, n. 1) says, perhaps justly: 'Lukas bietet entschieden hier den ursprünglicheren Text.']

CHAPTER IV

1–13. The Temptation

(*Cp.* Mark i. 12, 13 ; Matt. iv. 1–11)

1 And Jesus being full of the Holy Spirit returned from Jordan,
2 and was driven about by the Spirit in the wilderness for forty days,
tempted by the Devil. And during those days he ate nothing :
3 and when they were ended, he hungered. And the Devil said
unto him, ' If thou be the Son of God, say to this stone that it
4 become bread.' And Jesus answered him, saying, ' It is written,
5 Man shall not live by bread alone.' And the Devil, taking him
up, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment
6 of time. And the Devil said unto him, ' All this power will I give
thee, and the glory of them : for it is delivered unto me ; and to
7 whomsoever I will, I give it. If, then, thou wilt do reverence
8 before me, all shall be thine.' And Jesus answered and said unto
him, ' It is written, Thou shalt do reverence to the Lord thy God,
9 and him only shalt thou serve.' And he brought him to Jerusalem,
and set him upon the pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him,
' If thou be the Son of God, throw thyself down from here ; for it
10 is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, to keep
11 thee : and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time
12 thou dash thy foot against a stone.' And Jesus answered and
said unto him, ' It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.'
13 And when the Devil had finished every temptation, he departed
from him for a season.

Luke appears to use both Mark and the source of Matthew's version, but he makes considerable changes. Streeter holds that Luke did not use Mark in this section. It comes from Proto-Luke who formed it from L and Q (pp. 205, 206).

1. Is the Spirit which drives him into the wilderness different

from the Holy Spirit with which he is filled? In Matthew and Mark the Spirit appears to be a power external to Jesus. The temptations, as in Mark, appear to continue through the forty days, but as in Matthew the special temptations described occur after the forty days.

3. 'Son of God.' Ultimately the conception of 'Son of God' in this special sense is not Jewish, but Hellenistic. It is not due to a development of such Jewish passages as Psalm ii. but starts from an infiltration of Hellenistic ideas, which are then backed up and supported by these Biblical quotations. The whole question of the 'Son of God' idea, its non-Jewish origin, and its combination with the Jewish Messiah idea, are illuminatingly set forth by Wetter (Gilles) in his important book, *Der Sohn Gottes* (1916).

5–8. The order of the temptations is changed. *Cp.* Matt. iv. 8–10.

6. 'This power': the power of the kingdoms. Klostermann renders: 'Machtbereich.' 'For it is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it'; Luke only.

9–12. Matt. iv. 5, 7. The inversion of the two temptations produces a more dramatic climax. No temptation should follow the final reply.

13. 'For a season.' The allusion is perhaps to the devil's action in xxii. 3. For a quite fresh suggestion as to the origin of the Temptation stories, see Petersen in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1924, p. 399.

14–30. Jesus in Nazareth

(*Cp.* Mark i. 14, 15, vi. 1–6; Matt. iv. 12–17, xiii. 53–58)

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and the report of him spread through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, and was praised by all.

And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And when he unrolled the book, he found a place where was written: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me; to preach good tidings to the poor

has he sent me, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to send away the crushed in liberty,
19, 20 to proclaim an acceptable year of the Lord.' And he folded the book, and he gave it again to the attendant, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him.

21 And he began to say unto them, 'To-day this scripture which
22 your ears have heard has been fulfilled.' And all approved of him, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his
23 mouth. And they said, 'Is not this Joseph's son?' And he said unto them, 'Nevertheless, ye will say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: all that we have heard was done in
24 Capernaum, do also here in thine own country.' And he said, 'Verily I say unto you, No prophet is acceptable in his own
25 country. I tell you of a truth, there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, and a great famine was throughout all the land;
26 and unto none of them was Elijah sent, but only to Sarepta in the
27 land of Sidon, unto a widow. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was
28 cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian.' And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these words, were filled with wrath.
29 And they rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they
30 might cast him down headlong. But he passed through the midst of them and went his way.

14, 15 correspond with Mark i. 14, 15, but the content of Jesus's teaching, as summed up in Mark, is omitted, for another and very different opening is given in iv. 21. 'Jesus opens his preaching by making himself its object. "I am the anointed of the Lord, filled with his spirit." He does not predict the near advent of the Kingdom; he says that the year of grace has begun with his ministry. He does not call to repentance: he brings to the poor salvation and redemption' (Wellhausen). Streeter thinks that 14, 15 is from Q. 'It is remarkable that, whereas Mark i. 14 says that Jesus after the Temptation went into *Galilee*, Matthew and Luke agree in mentioning that He went first of all to *Nazareth* (Matt. iv. 13, Luke iv. 16). Still more remarkable, they both agree in using the form Nazara—which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. It would look as if Q, which clearly had a word or two of narrative introduction

o John's Preaching and the Temptation, had a brief notice of the hange of scene in which the name Nazara occurred. This would lso explain why in the Lucan version the story of the Rejection t Nazareth is inserted in this context—or rather it would justify he insertion, placing as the opening incident of the ministry a story which the author evidently regards as symbolizing in little the whole course of Israel's rejection of Christ and His religion. We nfer, then, that Luke iv. 14–15, which has hardly any points of verbal agreement with Mark, except in the unavoidable proper names Jesus and Galilee, was derived from Q, not Mark' (pp. 206, 207). The whole section comes from Proto-Luke. But if this be so, how much unhistoric matter Proto-Luke contained; how little reliance can be placed in any statements which are due to L or to Proto-Luke where such statements deviate from Mark, or even where they are additional to those of Mark. Can we really always recognize in Proto-Luke, apart from his use of Q, an authority 'comparable to Mark' (p. 232)? It seems very doubtful.

14. The 'report' or 'fame' of him. But this is really to anticipate. Jesus had not yet begun to teach or cure.

16–21. Luke only.

16. Luke now makes a great change from the order of Mark. His aim is to symbolize the rejection of the gospel and the Christ by the Jews, and their acceptance by the Gentiles. The miracles which Jesus is said to work outside Nazareth represent the diffusion of the gospel beyond Israel. The widow of Sarepta and Naaman are types of Christians who were once heathen. 'Understood in this way, the scene at Nazareth illumines the remainder of the Gospel, and gives us a glimpse of the future of the divine message, the unbelief of the Jews and their reprobation, the desire they had to kill Jesus, who lives for ever, and their wish to stamp out the Gospel, which has spread throughout the whole world. All that Luke has to tell in his two books is condensed in this one picture' (*E. S.* 1. p. 839). Rightly then does it prelude the long story of the Gospel and the Acts. Moreover, Luke wants to make the story of Jesus's teaching begin in Nazareth, his true birthplace. Hence he has to place the 'rejection' narrated in Mark vi. at the very opening of the ministry. The reason why Luke desired to make Jesus begin his ministry at Nazareth was not that he thought it only natural that this should have been the case, but that the rejection in his own city typifies and prefigures his rejection by his own country. Nazareth anticipates Jerusalem.

Awkward changes are necessitated by putting the story thus early.

17. The reading from the prophets occurs in Luke only. There is not yet a fixed Haphtarah, a fixed prophetic section to be read each week. There was more freedom and variety in the liturgy in those 'good old days.'

'His custom' is to attend synagogue, not to 'read' there in public. Or the reference is to the preliminary words in 15. He went to the synagogue to teach them, as was now his wont. The S.S. seems to have a better order. There Jesus is given the book, and he stands up to read. He does not propose himself.

Commentators are divided as to whether we are to understand that Jesus opened the roll by divine control at this passage, or whether he deliberately and intentionally chose it. Here Jesus proclaims his mission. He is not (according to Luke) the 'political' Messiah; he is no warrior king and deliverer. He is the servant of God whose mission it is to bring to the poor and the afflicted spiritual enlightenment and salvation. The quotation is from Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, with a clause added from lviii. 6. Luke chose the passage from Isaiah because he saw in it the best representation of Jesus's Messianic mission. The year of grace may be intended to refer to the year (in duration) of Jesus's own ministry. Mark had used the word "Euaggelion," or Good Tidings, in his summary of the content of the early preaching of Jesus. Nevertheless, in spite of that word, it is permissible to believe that the burden of that preaching was at least as much contained in 'repent' as in a description of the delightful nature of the Kingdom for the good or the poor. There is therefore a good deal to be said for Loisy's remark, though there may be also some exaggeration in it: 'It will be noticed that the quotation, as it stands, and in the sense in which the Evangelist means the words, contains an outline of Jesus's work which differs appreciably from that given at the beginning of Mark (i. 15). In place of the approaching Kingdom of God, which calls for repentance, is substituted the gospel of salvation for the poor, truth for the ignorant, redemption for sinners. Here is inaugurated the Christian system of redemption' (*Luc*, p. 157).

18. The quotation should probably be punctuated as in the text above.

20. The custom apparently was to read standing up, but to preach, or comment upon the passage read, sitting down.

21. Luke gives what is for him the essence of what he supposed Jesus might have said.

22. Here Luke's narrative seems to begin to draw near to

Mark's story in Mark vi. 2, 3. The audience is not only said to be astonished as in Mark, but even delighted. They admire the beauty of his words. Luke wants the men of Nazareth to acknowledge Jesus's eloquence and charm, and yet to reject him all the same. He does this rather awkwardly. The question at the end of 22 is apparently not meant unkindly. The change of tone and feeling comes only in 28, and is produced by Jesus himself: his words are provocative. 'They all approved of him'; literally, 'bore him witness': *i.e.* they bore witness in his favour: they openly recognized and admitted his excellence. Or they approved and applauded him; *i.e.* they felt that his words confirmed the expectation with which they had intently listened to him. Another view would be that the men of Nazareth are compelled to recognize the power and beauty of the teaching and personality, but no sooner do they feel this than they react and rebel against the feeling. They attempt to get rid of the new comer and his new teaching by a reference to his ancestry. The carpenter's son, the son of Joseph, our neighbour, whom we all know, can after all have nothing fresh or true to tell us.

'Is not this Joseph's son?' The words are curious. *Cp.* Mark vi. 3 where we find, 'Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses and Juda and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' and Matt. xiii. 55 where we read, 'Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary, and his brothers James and Joseph and Simon and Judas? And are not also his sisters all with us?' The omission of any reference to Jesus's mother and brothers and sisters in Luke may be due to a desire to avoid mentioning them in a connection where it would have to be inferred that they were people whose relative one would not expect to speak with such convincing grace and power.

Are we to consider that the words 'carpenter's son' and 'Joseph's son' in Matthew and Luke show less revision and change than Mark's, 'Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary?'

23. This verse has to be put in by Luke on account of his placing the story of the rejection at the opening of the ministry. Jesus, as it were, predicts that the rejection will happen, although it is happening now. The story is predicted and yet anticipated, a most curious combination. It also has to be implied that Jesus had already performed many miracles in Capernaum, an implication which verses 14 and 15 had hardly indicated.

'Heal thyself.' What does this mean here? (1) Show us, your fellow citizens, miracles, before we can credit those you have done elsewhere, or (2) make us, who know you and are incredulous, believe in you first, before you try to become, and to be acknow-

ledged as, the healer of all Israel and the servant of God. Instead of saying that Jesus could do no miracles at Nazareth because of the unbelief of his fellow citizens, Luke makes them demand miracles beforehand. At least this is what Jesus assumes that they are going to say. The symbolism of the narrative explains the peculiarity of its construction. The men of Nazareth represent the Jews who want signs and miracles, but are not worthy to have them. The Gentiles, typified by the widow and by Naaman, receive and believe in Jesus; the Jews, typified by the men of Nazareth, reject him. The proverb, as here used, reveals, according to Harnack, Luke the physician.

24. Luke now again appears to quote Mark, indicating, perhaps, his return to his source by a fresh 'And he said.' Yet it must be confessed that the saying is here out of place, and what follows illustrates the previous verse rather than this one.

Some think that 24 is an interpolation from Mark in the narrative of Luke which is taken from another source than Mark. If one has to make a connection as the verse now stands, one has to suppose the meaning to be: It is likely enough that you should reject me and my teaching, for how should a prophet find recognition in his own country (or in his own city)? Probably what we have to think of throughout is not so much the reception afforded to Jesus at Nazareth as the attitude of the Jews towards Christ and Christianity. In this verse *πάτρις* is really rather Judæa than Nazareth.

25–30. Luke only. The connection of 25 *seq.* with 23 is this. That you, my fellow townsmen, will reject me is illustrated by two important stories in the Scripture where a Prophet, instead of helping or honouring his own people, helped or signalled out persons belonging to a foreign nation. But the real point of 25–27 is that in them Jesus makes his rejection by Nazareth typify his rejection by the Jews. As in old days it was Jews who were rejected, and Gentiles who were chosen, so shall it be again.

25. 'Three years and a half.' The Book of Kings has three years only. Loisy suggests that the reason is that half seven years is given in Daniel as the time of affliction preceding the coming of the Kingdom. It had become a more conventional space of time for a solemn period than three. *Cp.* Revelation, xii. 14.

26. The text has here at the end of the verse *χήραν*, 'a widow.' But the sense is immensely improved if, with W., we read 'Aramæan' for 'widow.' 'Aramæan' would in Aramaic differ from 'widow' by one letter only. Hence the Greek misrendering. 'Aramæan'

would not have here a national, but a religious, signification. It equals 'heathen,' as in 27 also. But the words in the text are really a quotation from 1 Kings xvii. 9, so perhaps the brilliant emendation is false.

The examples given do not effectually illustrate either 23 or 24. Elijah was not specially honoured in Sarepta, or Elisha specially despised in Israel. The examples are merely chosen for the symbolism. As these prophets went outside Israel, so will Jesus go, so will the gospel. The words in Jesus's mouth at this juncture are impossible. *Cp.* Matt. x. 5, 6.

28–30. This exaggerated wrath and the attempt to murder are clearly unhistorical. But, in the form which it is made to wear, the rejection at Nazareth provides a suitable introductory story for the whole life and mission. The rejection of the Jews, their hatred and hostility, the call of the heathen, are all indicated and anticipated.

In spite of the desire of the Jews to murder him, Jesus walks without harm away from them. 'It is the divine power, and not the majesty of Jesus, which restrains the people of Nazareth' (*E. S.* i. 849, n. 2). The story ends with a manifestation of the divine power, which is much more extraordinary than the healings. According to Streeter this section is from Proto-Luke. Now Proto-Luke is composed of Q and L. But 16*b*–30 is not from Q. Therefore presumably it is pure L. Now L is supposed to be very early in date, A.D. 60 like Mark. But, if so, L, early though he be, must have editorially changed, and modified, and used for symbolic purposes, and made unhistorical, a traditional (? written) narrative of the rejection which was similar to that of Mark. Is not all this unlikely in itself, or if he did act thus, what value can we elsewhere give to L if there are any internal reasons for suspecting the historicity of his narratives ?

31–37. The Unclean Spirit in the Synagogue at Capernaum

(*Cp.* Mark i. 21–28)

And he came to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath day. And they were amazed at his teaching, for his speech was with authority.

And in the synagogue there was a man, who had a spirit of an unclean demon, and he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Ha !

what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God.'
35 And Jesus rebuked it, saying, 'Hold thy peace, and come out of him.' And the demon threw him down in the midst of them, and
36 came out of him, without hurting him. And wonder fell upon them all, and they spoke among themselves, saying, 'What is this word? for with authority and power he commands the unclean
37 spirits, and they come out.' And the report of him went out into every place of the country round about.

Luke now returns to Mark's first chapter, but he passes over Mark i. 16–20, which he does not give till v. He wants to bring Jesus now at once to Capernaum, and so postpones the call of the first disciples.

By his making the 'rejection at Nazareth' precede this present section, verses 32 and 36 are in pretty obvious contradiction with verse 23.

33. 'A spirit of an unclean demon.' The spirit consisted of a demon. But this reading may be a conflation of 'a demon' and 'an unclean spirit.'

35. Luke adds: 'without hurting him.' The marvel is heightened.

38, 39. Peter's Mother-in-Law

(*Cp.* Mark i. 29–31; Matt. viii. 14, 15)

38 And he arose and went out of the synagogue, and entered into the house of Simon. And Simon's wife's mother was suffering
39 with a great fever; and they besought him concerning her. And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever; and it left her: and immediately she arose and waited on them.

38. Simon is introduced quite suddenly, as a known character. The reason is that Luke really follows Mark i. 29, though he transposes the 'call' of Simon to the next chapter.

39. The miracle is heightened. Jesus does not touch the woman's hand. He 'rebukes' the fever as if it were a demon.

40–44. Many Healings—Jesus leaves the City

(*Cp.* Mark i. 32–39 ; Matt. viii. 16–17, iv. 23–25)

Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him ; and he laid his hands on each of them, and healed them. And demons also came out of many, crying out, and saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' And he rebuked them, and permitted them not to speak : for they knew that he was the Messiah.

And when it was day, he left the house and went to a lonely place : and the crowds sought him, and came unto him, and tried to keep him so that he should not leave them. But he said unto them, 'I must preach the good tidings of the kingdom of God to other cities also : because for this I was sent.' And he went about preaching in the synagogues of Judæa.

40. The 'laying on of hands' is added. Luke seems rather to believe in its special magical power. *Cp.* Acts viii. 17. Anything connected with healing interests him specially. To him Jesus is pre-eminently the Healer. Moreover 'Doctor' Luke is careful, as here, to distinguish between natural illnesses and demoniac possessions. *Cp.* vi. 18, vii. 21, xiii. 32.

41. *Cp.* Mark iii. 10–12. 'That he was the Messiah' (the Christ, *τὸν χριστόν*) is added to Mark i. 34. To Luke, 'Son of God' = Messiah and *vice versa*.

42. Slight variation from the story in Mark. The special disciples are not yet chosen.

43. Note the phrase, 'I must preach the good tidings of the kingdom of God.' *εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*. The content of the Gospel is the kingdom. It is imminent and at hand. Luke's 'I was sent' (*i.e.* from God) is a doubtfully accurate interpretation of Mark's 'I came forth' (which probably means 'from the city.' The noun *εὐαγγέλιον* is not found in Luke. Why the noun is avoided both in Luke and in John is doubtful. The noun occurs in Acts xv. 7, xx. 24. See Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, pp. 286–292, E. T.).

44. 'He went about preaching in the synagogues of Judæa.' It is usually said that 'Judæa' (which is the better attested reading here) includes Galilee. Or, again, it is held that Judæa means Palestine.

CHAPTER V

1–11. The Call of Peter

(*Cp.* Mark i. 16–20 ; Matt. iv. 18–22)

1 And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him,
hearkening to the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,
2 and he saw two boats lying by the lake : but the fishermen had
3 gone out of them, and were washing their nets. And he went on
to one of the boats, which was Simon's, and asked him to put out
a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people
4 from the boat. Now when he ceased speaking, he said unto Simon,
' Put out into the deep water, and let down your nets for a catch.'
5 And Simon answered and said unto him, ' Master, we have toiled
all the night, and have caught nothing : nevertheless, at thy word
6 I will let down the nets.' And when they had done this, they
inclosed a large number of fish : and their nets began to break.
7 And they beckoned unto their companions who were in the other
boat to come and help them. And they came, and filled both the
8 boats, so that they began to sink. When Simon Peter saw it, he
fell down at Jesus's knees, saying, ' Depart from me ; for I am a
9 sinful man, O Lord.' For amazement seized him and all that were
with him at the catch of fish which they had taken : and so too
10 it was with James and John, the sons of Zebedee, who were partners
with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, ' Fear not ; from hence-
11 forth thou shalt catch men.' And when they had brought their
boats to land, they abandoned everything, and followed him.

This passage is Luke's substitution for the simpler story in Mark. The fishing has already become half allegorical. The fish in the deep sea are probably the heathen, who are to be caught in masses by the teaching of Jesus and his disciples.

The Mark story has here become a legend ; a miracle that symbolizes it precedes the saying about the fishing for men. John

xxi. 2–14 is a still later development. Or, perhaps, Luke's story was taken from one connected with an apparition of the risen Jesus by the lake. (The breaking of the net must not be allegorically pressed, but Peter's remark as to the failure of his previous attempts perhaps alludes to the lack of success of the apostolic preaching among the Jews, and to his own hesitation, at the first, to the diffusion of the gospel among the Gentiles.) As Luke has no Galilæan apparitions of the risen Christ, he could only use such a story by changing its character and its date.

Streeter regards v. 1–11 as taken from Proto-Luke ; if so, it only shows how rapidly legends and miracles encrusted and darkened the actual and historic life of Jesus (pp. 215, 222). Taylor seems to think that we can believe in both stories. He says : ' In the mind of the two writers, *i.e.* Mark and Proto-Luke, the two stories are separately conceived. This does not mean that we have to choose one to the exclusion of the other. It is the miraculous element in the Lukan story which tempts us to do this, but a miracle is not necessarily involved, though this is the suggestion of the narrative, nor have we any need to postulate a long interval for the growth of legendary accretion. We cannot dismiss the Lukan narrative as a legendary version of what is told in Mark i. 16–20.' It is then argued that the story ' really explains why Simon and the rest left all and followed ' Jesus. The story is ' psychologically convincing ' (p. 233). Most persons will hardly be able to agree with the learned writer here. The symbolism of the story—its almost obvious allusion to the conversion of the Gentiles—must be taken into account as well as its legendary accretions. And this symbolism is somewhat hard to reconcile with a date as early as A.D. 60 or 65.

1. ' The word of God.' *Cp.* viii. 11, 21 ; xi. 28. The preaching of Jesus is already the word of God no less than the O.T. *Cp.* Harnack, *Constitution*, p. 334. Luke omits to notice that Jesus must have returned to Capernaum from Judæa (iv. 44).

3. Jesus teaches the people from the boat. This is taken from Mark iv. 1, and is passed over therefore in viii. 4.

5. ' Master.' ἐπιστάτα. Used six times in Luke by speakers addressing Jesus. He does not use ῥαββεί.

7. ' Began to sink,' or, rather, ' seemed about to sink,' as the nets seemed as if they would break. ' Threatened to sink.'

8. Peter as a sinful man is afraid of the near presence of the ' man of God ' and his miracles. This is quite in accordance with

Old Testament precedents and ideas. *Cp.* Judges vi. 22 ; Isaiah vi. 5 ; and also 1 Kings xvii. 18.

10. The words of Jesus, in Mark, addressed to Simon and Andrew, are in Luke addressed to Simon only. He represents the apostles as a whole.

12–16. Healing of a Leper

(*Cp.* Mark i. 40–45 ; Matt. viii. 1–4)

12 And it came to pass, when he was in one of the cities, behold
a man full of leprosy: who, seeing Jesus, fell on his face, and
besought him, saying, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me
13 clean.' And he stretched out his hand, and touched him, saying,
'I will: be thou cleansed.' And immediately the leprosy departed
14 from him. And he bade him tell no man: 'but go, and show
thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as
15 Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.' But the report of
him spread the more: and great crowds came together to hear
16 him, and to be healed of their sicknesses. But he withdrew
himself into lonely places, and prayed.

Mark's narrative is on the whole closely followed.

What is the reason for the special localization of the story 'in one of the cities'? Does Luke refer back to iv. 43, 44? Is 'praying' in 16 a substitute for its omission in iv. 42 (Mark i. 35)? Perhaps we should render 16, 'He lived in retirement in lonely places, praying.' Goguel notices that in spite of the omission in iv. 42, Luke mentions prayer more often than Mark or Matthew. *Cp.* iii. 32, vi. 12, ix. 18, 29, xi. 1 (p. 521).

Mr. Ragg contrasts the action of Jesus with the laws in Leviticus about leprosy (though the Pentateuchal skin maladies are not what we know as leprosy to-day), and especially with the cruel injunctions in Lev. xiii. 45, 46. Jesus was 'fearless of ceremonial defilement where mercy and compassion swayed Him. Even so, deliberately following their Lord's footsteps, St. Francis in the thirteenth century, and Father Damien in later days, have not shrunk from closer contact with the more deadly disease of elephantiasis which has been (probably erroneously) identified with the leprosy of the Bible' (p. 69). No one would wish to cavil at the laurels which rightly deck St. Francis's and Father Damien's brows, but it is very doubtful whether the theoretical laws of Leviticus were

actually carried out. According to the story in Luke, the leper no less than Jesus was in the city, and the Talmudic rules about leprosy appear considerably to modify the Pentateuchal precepts. One wonders how far the 'leper' of the first century was really an 'outcast.'

17–26. Healing of a Paralysed Man

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 1–12; Matt. ix. 1–8)

And it came to pass, one day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees and teachers of the Law sitting by, and people had come out of every village of Galilee, and Judæa, and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was upon him to heal. And, behold, men brought on a bed a man who was paralysed; and they tried to bring him in, and to place him before him. And when, on account of the crowd, they could find no way by which they could bring him in, they went up on to the roof, and let him down through the tiles with his bed into the midst before Jesus. And when he saw their faith, he said unto him, 'Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.' And the scribes and the Pharisees began to argue, saying, 'Who is this man who speaks blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone?' But when Jesus perceived their thoughts, he answered and said unto them, 'What do ye argue in your hearts? Which is easier: to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man has power upon earth to forgive sins' (he said unto the paralysed man) 'I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed and go home.' And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his home, glorifying God. And utter amazement seized them all, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, 'We have seen marvellous things to-day.'

17. Luke brings in the Pharisees and legal 'doctors' from the first. The reading adopted is that of the S.S. 'Judæa and Jerusalem' may be an added, unsuitable exaggeration. 'The power of the Lord,' or as the O.T. would say, the 'hand,' or 'spirit,' of the Lord, came upon him, and drove him to the accomplishment of miraculous deeds.

25. The coincidence or agreement in wording between Matthew

and Luke against Mark is luminously explained in Streeter, pp. 299, 300. Luke adds another 'glorifying God' to its use in Mark ii. 12 (Luke v. 26). He is fond of mentioning the glorification and praise of God. *Cp.* i. 64, ii. 13, 20, 28, vii. 16, xiii. 13, xvii. 15, xviii. 43, xix. 37, xxiv. 53 (Goguel, p. 522).

26. If 'they' are specially intended to refer to the Scribes and Pharisees, the shorter reading of 'D' is more appropriate: 'they were filled with fear.'

27–32. Call of Levi

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 13–17; Matt. ix. 9–13)

27 And after this he went forth, and saw a tax-collector, named Levi, sitting at the tax-house; and he said unto him, 'Follow me.'
28 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.
29 And Levi made him a great banquet in his house: and there was a great company of tax-collectors and of others that sat down
30 with them to table. But the Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples, saying, 'Why do ye eat and drink with tax-
31 collectors and sinners?' And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'The healthy have no need of a physician, but they that are sick.
32 I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.'

28. 'He left all.' This can hardly mean he abandoned his whole property, for then how about 29? Perhaps it only means that he abandoned his calling.

32. Luke adds 'to repentance,' perhaps in order to distinguish this sort of 'call' from the call of 27. Or is the object to show to *what* he called sinners, that object being 'repentance, a condition of salvation, and not salvation itself?' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 184).

33–39. Fasting

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 18–22; Matt. ix. 14–17)

33 And they said unto him, 'The disciples of John fast often, and offer prayers [and so too the disciples of the Pharisees]; but thine
34 eat and drink.' And he said unto them, 'Can ye make the wedding
35 guests fast, while the bridegroom is with them? But the days

will come, when the bridegroom will be taken away from them, and then they will fast in those days.'

And he spoke also a parable unto them: 'No man tears a piece from a new garment and puts it upon an old one; for, if he do, he both will tear the new, and the patch from the new will not match with the old. And no man pours new wine into old wineskins; for, if he do, the new wine will burst the skins, and it will be spilled, and the skins will perish. But new wine must be poured into new skins. And no man having drunk old wine desires new: for he says, The old is good.'

33. 'They': *i.e.* the Pharisees and Scribes of 30. The words 'and so too the disciples of the Pharisees' are a clumsy interpolation and must be excised. In Luke attention is also called to the fact that the disciples of John have and use [special] prayers. But in the rest of the passage no further allusion is made to prayers. *Cp.*, however, xi. 1, where the matter is taken up again.

36. The wording of this important and difficult saying is different in Luke. The 'piece of (new) undressed cloth' becomes 'a piece from a new garment.' Either the change is due to the odd custom alluded to in Mark being unintelligible to Luke, though his own amendment suggests an act of extraordinary folly, or the 'new garment' implies the already independent and separately constituted Christian community.

The sceptical Loisy considers that, even in Mark, the general meaning of the incompatibility of the old and the new in matters of religion is inconceivable in the mouth of Jesus. The sayings are applications of popular proverbs, but these applications could not have been framed except 'in the tradition of an already constituted Christianity.' I wonder whether, fifty years hence, Gospel criticism will have rejected both the very conservative conclusions of such men as Turner, Streeter, and Burkitt, and the ultra-sceptical conclusions of such men as Loisy and Bultmann.

39. Luke only. The meaning is obscure. It may suggest that the disciples of John may justifiably continue in their ancient practices, while the disciples of Jesus must not imitate them. The old cannot be patched up by a few new trimmings: the new is only distorted and spoiled by adoptions and borrowings from the old. There are numerous other explanations. The saying, which would apparently even justify the Jews in their hostility to the new religion (a meaning certainly not intended by the evangelist), is very puzzling.

CHAPTER VI

1–11. Two Sabbath Stories

(*Cp.* Mark ii. 23–28, iii. 1–6; Matt. xii. 1–14)

1 And it came to pass on a sabbath day that he went through
some corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and
2 ate them, rubbing them in their hands. And some of the Pharisees
said, 'Why do ye what is not permitted on the sabbath day?'
3 And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Have ye not read even
that which David did, when he and they who were with him were
4 hungry? How he went into the house of God, and took and ate
the shewbread, and gave it also to them that were with him; which
5 is not permitted for any to eat except the priests alone?' And he
said unto them, 'The Son of man is lord also of the sabbath.'
6 And it came to pass also on another sabbath, that he entered
into the synagogue and taught: and a man was there whose right
7 hand was withered. And the scribes and Pharisees kept watching
him to see whether he would heal on the sabbath day; that they
8 might find an accusation against him. But he knew their thoughts,
and said to the man who had the withered hand, 'Rise up, and
9 stand forward.' And he arose and stood forward. Then said Jesus
unto them, 'I ask you: Is it permitted to do good on the sabbath
day rather than to do evil? to save life rather than to destroy it?'
10 And looking round on them all, he said unto the man, 'Stretch out
thy hand.' And he did so: and his hand was restored. And they
11 were filled with frenzy; and they discussed with one another what
they should do to Jesus.

3. 'Have ye not read even that' is an awkward and unlikely phrase. Better to follow D, which adopts Mark's 'never.'

5. This verse corresponds with Mark ii. 28, but the explanatory verse 27 is wanting in Luke. Without it the words, 'the Son of

man is lord even (or, also) of the Sabbath,' occur very abruptly; the *καί* ('even' or 'also'), omitted by some MSS., becomes also rather more difficult. The omission by Luke of Mark ii. 27 can be used in support of the theory that 'Son of man' in Jesus's mouth meant 'man' generically, and did not mean '*The* Man,' the Messiah. For to Luke the term meant undoubtedly the Messiah; hence Mark ii. 27 could not be for him the proof of his verse 5. For Mark ii. 27 (it can be argued) only supports 28 if in that verse Son of man means 'man.' Therefore Luke omits it.

The MS. D puts 5 after 10: after 4 it possesses a remarkable addition of its own, as follows: 'On the same day he saw a man working on the Sabbath, and he said to him: Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, thou art blessed (*μακάριος*); but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.' The saying is in all probability not authentic. It is, for one thing, too subtle and Pauline (*cp.* Romans xiv. 14, 20–23), and, secondly, it is highly doubtful whether Jesus would have gone so far in open approval of a direct violation of one of the most fundamental injunctions of the Law and of one of the Ten Commandments.

Though the saying is not authentic, it is exceedingly suggestive and interesting. It embodies the very principle of Liberal Judaism in its changes and reforms. Mere ignorant deviation from, or abandonment of, tradition and orthodoxy is valueless or even bad. ('The ignorant man is not pious.') Still worse is violation of orthodox practice from mere indifference, apathy, or convenience. The only right deviation or violation is deliberate, intentional, with full *connaissance de cause*. Only he who knows (in *this* sense, *bien entendu*) is, or can be, really pious, though the outward act of violation is the same. He only is *makarios*, blessed, happy, *free*.

8. Luke adds the touch that Jesus knew their thoughts beforehand.

12–19. Election of the Twelve Apostles—Many Healings

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 13–19, 7–12; Matt. x. 2–4, xii. 15–21)

And it came to pass in those days, that he went out on to the mountain to pray, and he passed the whole night in prayer to God. And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and from them he chose out twelve, whom he also called apostles; Simon (whom he also named Peter), and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, James the

16 son of Alphæus, and Simon called the Zealot, and Judas the son of
James, and Judas Iscariot, who became the betrayer.
17 And he came down with them, and stood on a level place,
together with a large crowd of his disciples, and a great multitude
of people from all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of
Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed of their
18 diseases; and they that were troubled with unclean spirits were
19 cured. And all the crowd sought to touch him: for a power went
out from him, and healed them all.

Two paragraphs in Mark are now given in inverse order. Luke desires to give greater prominence to the call of the Twelve. Jesus selects them from his disciples, and thus distinguishes between the chosen Twelve and the general body of disciples. Jesus passes the whole night in prayer before he makes his choice. This adds solemnity to the choosing and the choice. For Streeter 14–16 come from Proto-Luke (pp. 215, 222).

13. Jesus gives to the Twelve the name of Apostles. Loisy rightly, I think, says: 'The name "apostle" is an anachronism in this place.... Originally the apostles, itinerant missionaries of early Christianity, were quite distinct from the "Twelve," who were the leaders of the first community; the Twelve became the "apostles" *par excellence*' (*Luc*, p. 193).

15. Luke gives the right translation of the name. 'Canaanæan.' Simon belonged to the 'Zealot' party.

16. 'Judas [the son] of James' stands in the place of Mark's Thaddæus and Matthew's Lebbæus.

17. D omits 'and Jerusalem,' probably rightly. This verse and 18, 19 correspond with Mark iii. 7–11, but the locale is different. It is not by the lake, but at the foot of the mountain. The wording makes it look as if the 'multitude' also came down with Jesus from the mountain as well as the disciples. Luke really means that they were at the foot of the mountain. The confusion is due to Luke at this point quoting again from Mark where the 'crowd' is present before Jesus ascends the mountain (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 195). Jesus stands to speak the sermon (13) as a more suitable posture in which to be heard; but he really addresses the disciples only (*Luc*, p. 197). For the 'power which went forth from him' *cp.* v. 17, and Mark v. 30.

20–49. The Sermon on the Level Place

We have now a long non-Marcan section extending to viii. 3, taken, Streeter thinks, from Proto-Luke (p. 203 *seq.* p. 222). First comes a long discourse addressed to the disciples (though the 'crowd' is also conceived as being present), which corresponds with Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. It is, however, spoken ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, 'on a level place.' Some deny that Luke meant that Jesus had fully descended from the mountain: he stopped on a level place a little way down. But the great crowds could hardly be supposed to be anywhere except at the foot or base of the mountain, and the odd difference of *locale* for the sermon in the two Gospels can hardly be got over.

Matthew's Sermon on the Mount is far longer than Luke's Sermon on the Level Place: parallels to some passages in Matthew occur in Luke elsewhere. Only three or four verses in Luke do not find a parallel in Matthew. Luke seems to have known and used an earlier version of the common material than was used by Matthew. But bits of Luke's Sermon no less than bits of Matthew's seem to posit a date later than Jesus, when the Christian community was already in existence, and when trouble and persecution had begun.

It is often suggested that Luke omits the passages dealing with supposed Rabbinic teaching and with the relation of Jesus to the Law as of no interest to his Gentile readers. It does not follow, because Luke may have used an earlier version of the common material, that therefore he always preserves the better or earlier readings. On the contrary, Matthew often seems to have the better and earlier readings.

The parallels between Luke and Matthew may be summarized thus:

Luke vi. 20–23 = Matthew v. 1, 3, 5, 6, 10–12.
„ 24–26 not in Matthew.
„ 27, 28 = Matthew v. 44.
„ 29, 30 = „ v. 39, 40, 42.
„ 31 = „ vii. 12.
„ 32, 33 = „ v. 46, 47.
„ 34, 35 not in Matthew.
„ 36 = Matthew v. 48.
„ 37, 38 = „ vii. 1–2.
„ 39, 40 not in Matthew, but *cp.* Matthew xv. 14, x. 24.
„ 41, 42 = Matthew vii. 3–5.
„ 43, 44 = „ vii. 18–20.

Luke vi. 45 not in Matthew, but *cp.* Matthew xii. 34, 35.
,, 46 not in Matthew (*cp.* vii. 21).
,, 47–49 = Matthew vii. 24–27.

20–26. The Beatitudes and the Woes

(*Cp.* Matt. v. 1–12)

20 And he lifted up his eyes upon his disciples, and said, 'Happy
21 are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God. Happy are ye
that hunger now: for ye shall be satisfied. Happy are ye that
22 weep now: for ye shall laugh. Happy are ye, when men shall
hate you, and expel you, and revile you, and reject your name
23 as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap
for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the
same manner acted their fathers unto the prophets.
24 'But woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your
25 consolation. Woe unto you that are now satisfied, for ye shall
hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and
26 weep. Woe unto you, when all men speak well of you, for so did
their fathers unto the false prophets.

20–23. The long notes in the commentary on Matthew allow me to be briefer here. To Streeter Luke's sermon is all from Q (*via* Proto-Luke), whereas Matt. used both Q and M. The beatitudes in Luke are shorter and fewer than those in Matthew. The first two might well have been uttered by Jesus with his special sympathy for the poor and the afflicted. The point of view is precisely the same as that of the Psalmist. The rich and bad have their own way in this world: the poor and righteous shall have their own way in the next. The identification of the poor with the righteous, of the wicked with the rich, is too simple and sweeping for our more developed and impartial judgment. Even Matthew felt the difficulty, and sought to turn the original poverty in this world's goods and advantages into a sort of spiritual humility.

If any of the Beatitudes go back to Jesus and are authentic, the third person of Matthew is much more likely to be the original form than the second person of Luke, especially in Luke's form of the Beatitudes in which, not the moral qualities of the true disciples of Jesus are described, but the situation of the actual disciples in relation to the world outside. That Luke's fourth beatitude (like Matthew's eighth and ninth) reflects the later days of persecution seems pretty obvious. But really the first three do so none the

less, because there is no reason to believe that the actual disciples were very poor or hungry or unhappy. On the other hand, to change Luke's sort of beatitude into Matthew's sort was far easier and more natural than *vice versa*. No Christian reader or commentator would be able to peruse with patience any suggestion that the Beatitudes are not of Jesus's own composing, but an outside (*e.g.* a Buddhist) student would, perhaps find something to say for Loisy's sceptical remark, 'It is not certain that the first beatitudes were conceived independently of the last. The passage as a whole may have been composed in the very early days of Christianity, in face of Jewish hostility, in the spirit of the primitive Gospel and in the light of Isaiah lxi. 1' (*Luc*, p. 200).

22, 23. The early Christians are being persecuted, but in view of the recompense in heaven which awaits them (at once after death, or at the Resurrection ?), they are to rejoice in their misfortunes. For 'Son of man' in 22 Matthew (v. 11) has simply 'me.' A significant fact.

'Reject, or, cast out, your name as evil' seems to mean: 'speak evil of, and revile, the name ye bear' (*i.e.* the name 'Christian').

24–26. The 'woes,' antitheses to the beatitudes, are wanting in Matthew. They sound somewhat mechanical and late. To address the absent rich in the second person seems artificial. The 'woes' were easily constructed with the beatitudes as basis and contrast. Are the 'rich', bad people Scribes and Pharisees ? This is commonly assumed, but is doubtful. Doubtless the Christian community still mainly consisted of poor, humble, unimportant folk. But that there were, after the fall of the Temple, many rich Pharisees is hard to believe.

Marriott defends the view that the original Sermon of Q contained the 'woes.' (And, of course, they are authentic.) 'Pronouncements of blessing rather than of woe were congenial to Luke's character' (p. 74).

'Received your consolation' is an odd phrase, but the meaning is clear, and the thought is familiarly Rabbinic. They have had a good time (as they reckon it) on earth, so there is no need for them to be 'consoled' and recompensed in the next world for sorrow and suffering which they have not experienced in this world. The choice of the word 'consolation' is due to 'they shall be comforted' in Matt. v. 5, which Luke has changed into 'ye shall laugh.'

26. The verse is constructed so as to be precisely parallel to 23, just as 24, 25 are constructed to be precisely parallel to 20, 21.

The ὅτι ('because'), here translated ('for'), of 24, 25 corresponds with the ὅτι ('because'), here translated ('for'), of 20, 21. The γάρ ('for') of 26 corresponds with the γάρ ('for') of 23. 'Their fathers' in both cases means the Jews generally. But the γάρ of 23 makes better sense than the γάρ of 26. The 'reward' of the persecuted disciples will be great, just as all would agree that the 'reward' of the maltreated prophets has been great in 'heaven'. But 'for' does not have so good a meaning in the sentence (26), 'Woe to those of whom all men speak well, for thus did the Jews of old flatter the false prophets,' unless we are to assume that, just as the true prophets are in 'heaven', so the false prophets are (as all would agree) in 'hell'. Unless we are to assume that this is the meaning, 'for' means here only 'as', ('as their fathers flattered the false prophets'). Better sense is obtained if 'you' are not absent Jews, but Christians. It is not the well-to-do and nominal Christians who shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven. The Evangelist was thinking 'much less of Jesus's hearers than of his own readers. Those whom he threatens are not persecutors of the Church, but worldly folk and Christians who share their feelings' (*Luc*, p. 202).

27–36. Love of Enemies

(*Cp.* Matt. v. 39–42, 44–48, vii. 12)

27 'But I say unto you who hear, Love your enemies, do good to
28 them who hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them
29 who ill-treat you. And unto him that smites thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and from him that takes away thy
30 cloak refuse not thy coat also. Give to every man that asks of thee; and from him that takes away thy goods ask them not
31 again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to
32 them likewise. For if ye love them who love you, what favour
33 have ye? for even sinners love those that love them. And if ye do good to them who do good to you, what favour have ye? even
34 sinners do the same. And if ye lend to them from whom ye hope to receive, what favour have ye? even sinners also lend to sinners,
35 to receive as much again. But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing in return; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Most High: for he is good
36 unto the ungrateful and the evil. Be ye therefore pitiful, even as your Father is pitiful.'

The difference between this section and Matt. v. 38–48 is very marked and curious. Is the omission of all the famous antitheses of Matthew the deliberate act of Luke? Did he know them, had he read them in Q, but did he deliberately omit them, because he was not interested, and his readers would not be interested, in Jewish rites and practices, in the Mosaic Law, and in the attitude of Jesus to that Law? That seems doubtful. Or are we to assume that Matthew and Luke used different sources? (So Streeter.) Or may we believe that the way in which Luke presents the love of enemies and the maxim on non-retaliation is the original form in which these subjects were presented in the source (Q), and that Matthew's antitheses and order are due to himself? In any case, the connection of 27–36 with the foregoing is harsh. We may entirely acquit Jesus of having enunciated the great command, 'Love your enemies', immediately after an unloving denunciation of the rich and the satisfied (who, moreover, are, perhaps, to be identified with his own enemies). If we are even to love our enemies, may we cry 'woe' on anybody, even if they are *not* our enemies? Is 'woe unto you' an expression or indication of love? The connection which has been seriously suggested between 26 and 27 ('though *I* have cried woe unto the rich, *you* my hearers are not to hate, but to love them'), is almost comic in its absurdity. The fact is that while 'you who hear' is applied to the rich, who are condemned *in absentia*, the whole section was originally quite independent of, and disconnected with, 24-26 or even 20-23. It is the editor who makes Jesus turn abruptly from the rich who have been addressed in their absence to the disciples who actually hear him, and to plunge at once into the heart and essence of his ethical message. The hardest duty of all is put in the forefront and beginning. The evil they endure from others is not to be returned, but on the contrary good is to be rendered for evil. And this, not merely or mainly, as it would seem, for the enemies' sake, but for themselves. In order to reap the heavenly reward, they must entirely forgo all human reward. God's thanks are reserved for those who neither seek nor obtain the thanks of man. At the same time one cannot help feeling a certain dissonance in the idealism of 27 *seq.* preceded by the denunciations of 24–26. One wonders, too, how far the high idealism has often been practically carried out. How far did the disciples of Jesus ever seek to love their enemies, for example, the Jews? The history of Christianity supplies the answer. The lofty demands of Jesus have been too frequently violated. The very author or compiler of 24–26 and 27 *seq.* did not perceive the dissonance between them. Did even Jesus show or feel a yearning pity for those 'rich' who, on his own showing, so greatly required it? Would he have mourned their destruction

and hastened to prevent it? If God, as he says in 35, be really good to the wicked, how can they be permanently excluded from the Kingdom of heaven, how can it be right to point at them the finger of scorn? Human nature is inconsistent and frail, and Jesus was not exempt from frailty and inconsistency. Even for him it was not easy to practise what he taught, or to see the mote in his own eye while he chastised the beam in another's.

27, 28. Mr. Marriott says: 'The four precepts in Luke form a double climax, of the evil treatment received, and of the good return enjoined to be made. This may seem to betoken Luke's literary handling of his material. If we are right in thinking that Luke has in this case altered Q's order to give the first place to the precept of love to enemies, he may well have also emphasised it by these additions. Perhaps he had in mind as he wrote the various manifestations of enmity which were directed against the Christians of his day in different parts of the Roman world' (p. 88). The nobility of these lofty injunctions cannot be ignored. They are more detailed and expressive than their parallel, Matt. v. 43, 44. Never mind whether Jesus carried them out or not. Here they are. They are a superb ideal, and however often men may have violated them, they have yet had *some* effect, and may, in course of time, have more. We must be grateful for them, and recognize their greatness and their inspiration. For what other test of inspiration have we than the greatness and originality of the actual content of the words themselves? Judged by that test, the great things in the Psalms and the Gospels are inspired, the poor and bad things, *e.g.* Psalms cix. 9, cxxxvii. 9, cxxxix. 21; Matt. xxiii. 33, xxv. 41, vii. 13, 14, are not.

29 uses Matt. v. 39, 40, under the point of view of 'love your enemies.' 29 *a* seems more in place in Matthew than here. You *do*, in a sense, 'do good' to your enemy, if you give him your coat when he has robbed you of your cloak, but it is more hard, as B. Weiss said, to see what good you do to him by 'offering him the other cheek,' unless it be that your humility and gentleness may change his heart. Instead of a law-suit about the clothes, Luke supposes a robber. There is to be no resistance, even though the enemy seeks to take coat as well as cloak. In 30 the same injunction is repeated in a generalized form.

Prof. Pfleiderer seems to me right when he says of these verses that it is honestly impossible to deny that their commands are 'not practicable in any society, because they would destroy all law and order, and give free play to brute force. They are only to be understood from the feelings of a time when the world

seemed about to dissolve, and all social institutions to be annihilated by the fire of the last Judgment. Only under such circumstances could it seem proper wholly to abandon one's own rights, and to show complete indifference to honour and shame in this world in order to receive for oneself the glories of the world to come' (*Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 87, 1905). The usual interpretation of the paradoxes of the Sermon in the Plain or on the Mount may be most clearly and forcibly given in the words of Dr. Plummer. The doctrine is excellent: how far it fully does justice to the Sermon is more doubtful. 'The four precepts here given are startling. It is impossible for either governments or individuals to keep them. A state which endeavoured to shape its policy in exact accordance with them would soon cease to exist; and if individuals acted in strict obedience to them society would be reduced to anarchy. Violence, robbery, and shameless exaction would be supreme. The inference is that *they are not precepts, but illustrations of principles.* They are in the form of rules; but as they *cannot* be kept as rules, we are *compelled* to look beyond the letter to the spirit which they embody. If Christ had given precepts which could be kept literally, we might easily have rested content with observing the letter, and have never penetrated to the spirit. What is the spirit? Amongst other things this: that resistance of evil, and refusal to part with our property, must never be a *personal* matter: so far as we are concerned, we must be willing to suffer still more and to surrender still more. It is right to withstand and even to punish those who injure us: but in order to correct them and protect society; not because of any personal animus. It is right also to withhold our possessions from those who without good reason ask for them: but in order to check idleness and effrontery; not because we are too fond of our possessions to part with them. *So far as our personal feeling goes*, we ought to be ready to offer the other cheek, and to give, without desire of recovery, whatever is demanded or taken from us. Love knows no limits but those which love itself imposes. When love resists or refuses, it is because compliance would be a violation of love, not because it would involve loss or suffering.'

31. The justification of the foregoing enactments is given in the famous Golden Rule, which in Matthew comes much later, vii. 12. On its active side it is then further illustrated by 32–34.

32. Matt. v. 46. For 'what reward have ye?' Luke has 'what χάρις is yours?' The Greek word χάρις is by R.V. translated 'thank.' The meaning is in either case the same. It means reward from God.

Love does not here mean a mere feeling of affection. It means kindly service. 'To love' in 32 is not different in meaning from 'to do good to' in 33.

If one is asked for a modern example of 'loving your enemies,' and for a practical result of the teaching of Jesus in this regard, I would recommend my Jewish readers more especially to the first twenty pages of a little book called *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet* by Lilian Starr (1924). Mrs. Starr (Lilian Wade), as we are told in the introduction by Mr. Basil Mathews, was a nurse in the Church Missionary Society Mission Hospital at Peshawar, a hospital which Lord Rawlinson declares to have done splendid work. After two years of work there, she married in 1915 Dr. Starr, a young physician and surgeon, who had been there since 1911. In 1917 her husband was brutally murdered by a Pathan. Soon after Mrs. Starr left the hospital, but in 1920 she returned to the hospital to continue her work among the very people one of whom had murdered her husband, and 'thus to show in practice the Christian revenge in contrast to the system of blood-feuds, or vendetta, prevalent without exception among all the frontier tribes.' (I may add that it was Mrs. Starr who, with the help, and at the order, of Sir John Maffey, rescued Miss Ellis from Tirah.) One may differ profoundly from dogmatic Christianity; one may even criticize certain portions of the teaching of Jesus, but who will not pay his homage to Mrs. Starr, and who must not allow that the motive power for her life has been the love of her Master and that part of his doctrine, which (1) demanded all for the highest and (2) urged men to 'love,' *i.e.* do good to, their enemies?

33 equals Matt. v. 47, with some change of phraseology. The meaning here and in 32 is brought out more clearly if we put in an 'only.' 'If you only do good to those who do good to you,' etc.

34, 35. Luke only. 34 gives a further illustration of the principle that help and service should seek no human return. 34 comes to this, that the only lending which is meritorious in God's eyes is the loan which is practically equivalent to a gift.

34. τὰ ἴσα. The probable meaning is that, among 'sinners,' A lends to B, if he is quite certain to get back what he lends. Or it may refer to the payment of interest. Among sinners, A lends to B, in order that A may receive interest and lend again. 'Even sinners lend to one another so that they too may receive loans; τὰ ἴσα = the same services, *i.e.* loans on which interest is payable, so that the mediæval Church, on account of 34, 35, forbade Christians to take interest, and thus made the financial intervention of the Jews unavoidable' (Klostermann and Holtzmann).

35. The general maxim of 'love your enemies' is again repeated and expanded. It seems probable that 'children (or, sons) of the Most High' must be here taken, not in the sense of becoming like God by doing and being good (as in text v. 45), but as the promised heavenly reward. You will become sons of God at the Resurrection, *i.e.* like unto the angels. See especially Luke xx. 36 and *cp.* Wisdom of Solomon v. 5; Matt. v. 9. In that case, perhaps, the words, 'for he is good unto the ungrateful and the evil' may have been appended later. The words μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες are variously translated. In accordance with Hellenistic usage R.V. renders 'never despairing,' but 'hoping for nothing in return' makes much better sense. The rendering of R.V. would mean either, 'never doubting that God will requite you,' or 'never despairing about your money.'

36. The injunction is really the introduction to what follows, not as in Matthew the summing up of what has just been said. Luke's 'pitiful' for Matthew's 'perfect' (v. 48) seems more natural, simple, and original. It seems, too, to add the idea, also expressed at the end of 35, that the good we are to do our enemy is not to be done merely for our own sakes, but also for the sake of the enemy. And, perhaps, underlying the injunction about the cheek and the cloak, is the idea that by this humility and non-resistance you may shame the sinner and man of violence into righteousness and peace.

'Your Father' for 'God' in Luke only here and xii. 30, 32.

37–42. Against judging and condemning one's Neighbour

(*Cp.* Matt. vii. 1–5, xv. 14, x. 24, 25)

'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: acquit, and ye shall be acquitted. Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.'

And he spoke a parable unto them, 'Can the blind lead the blind? will they not both fall into the ditch? The disciple is not above his master: but he that is quite perfected will be like his master. And why lookest thou at the splinter that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? How canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the splinter that is in thine eye, when thou thyself seest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first pull the beam out

of thine own eye, and then thou wilt see clearly to pull out the splinter that is in thy brother's eye.

38. Here Luke seems to return to the doctrine of active benevolence. There is no clear connection between 37 and 38. The end of 38 is found in Matt. vii. 2, but is there used in a totally different way. The rest of 38 is not found in Matthew. The Greek 'they will give' is equivalent to the impersonal passive, 'it shall be given you.' The giver is God in the future world. Perhaps the redundant phrase, 'good measure—into your bosom,' has been added. The measure in Luke refers to giving; in Matthew (vii. 2) to judging. If the words 'good measure—bosom' are not omitted, the last words of the verse are not here quite suitably affixed. The former speak of an overflowing recompense; the latter, from another point of view, speak of an exact quantitative equivalent. But perhaps Luke thinks that a qualitative measure is spoken of. (*Cp.* Marriott, p. 196, and Klostermann.)

39. Apparently a fresh subject. If 39 and 40 are an introduction to 41, then it may be said that they still continue the subject of charity in judgment, even as Matt. vii. 3 continues the thought of 1, 2. But the main thought of Matt. vii. 1–3 has been obscured in Luke by the insertion of 38 *a*, 'give and it shall be given unto you.' As the text now stands, the connection between 38 and 39 is very poor. It is also noticeable that 39 has a fresh preamble. Its material is used in Matt. xv. 14; the material of verse 40 in Matt. x. 24, 25. Matt. xv. 14 is an attack upon the Scribes. Here the substance of it seems to be used as an introduction to 40 (Matt. x. 24), which appears to warn the disciples and others of false teachers and innovations. The Christian teacher must not go beyond, or deviate from, or alter, the words of Christ. The disciple, even when perfected, cannot be above his master: in his perfection he can only be just like his master. Complete identity of teaching would mark the perfect disciple. The saying would not be out of harmony with certain Rabbinic ideas, but if it occurred in the Talmud, the German Protestant theologians would probably quote it to show the stagnant unprogressiveness of Rabbinic teaching. Another meaning assigned to 39 and 40 is that they are a warning against false teachers in the sense that, as the disciple cannot, at best, see farther or be better than his master, the choice of a false master will inevitably produce an erring disciple.

41, 42. Matt. vii. 3–5. In Matthew the connection between vii. 1, 2 and 3–5 is good and regular enough, but, in Luke, as

between 39 and 40, so between 40 and 41, the connection is poor. Luke apparently saw a connection between the mote and the beam, and the blind leading the blind. The blind who leads the blind will never reach his goal, for the disciple cannot be more learned than his master. The man with the beam can no more help the man with the mote than the blind can lead the blind.

43–45. The Criterion of Virtue

(*Cp.* Matt. vii. 16–21, xii. 33–35)

'For a good tree brings not forth rotten fruit; neither does a rotten tree bring forth good fruit. For every tree is known by its own fruit. For from thorns men do not gather figs, nor from a bramble bush do they pluck grapes. The good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth that which is good; and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart brings forth that which is evil: for from the abundance of the heart his mouth speaks.'

43, 44. Rather than judge another, let the disciple be careful that he is a true disciple in deed and not only in word. And the true test of the good and true disciple is his life. If he is good, his works are good, and by his works and deeds he can be recognized for what he truly is. Or perhaps the meaning is: to improve and correct one's neighbour, one must be thoroughly good oneself, for good words will issue only from a good heart.

46–49. Hearing and Doing

(*Cp.* Matt. vii. 21, 24–27)

'And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not that which I say? Whoever comes to me, and hears my words, and does them, I will show you to whom he is like: he is like a man who built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on the rock: and when a flood came, the stream dashed against that house, and could not shake it: for it was well built. But he that hears and does not, is like a man that built an house upon the ground without a foundation; and when the stream dashed against it, it fell in immediately; and the ruin of that house was great.'

As in Matthew's enlarged version, so in Luke, the point of view implies a large community which had already existed some time, and possessed many nominal, and some excellent, adherents. A mere nominal adherence will not suffice at the Judgment. Good and sensible doctrine: a justification of works. The metaphors in Luke and Matthew show some variants in language and working out.

Matthew's version may be nearer that of Q. In Luke 'the image is more precise, and more systematically developed. The house is not merely built, the foundations have been dug and laid' (Goguel I. p. 230).

[Though v. Gall (p. 473 n. 3) praises Leisegang's attempt to trace hellenistic influences and spirit in Luke's formulation of the Beatitudes, I think that most scholars will agree that Leisegang has gone completely wrong here. (*Pneuma Hagion*, pp. 134–140.).]

CHAPTER VII

1–10. The Centurion and his Servant

(*Cp.* Matt. viii. 5–13)

Now when he had ended all his words in the hearing of the people, he entered Capernaum. And a certain centurion's servant, whom he valued, was sick, and about to die. And having heard of Jesus, he sent unto him some elders of the Jews, begging him to come and save his servant. And when they came to Jesus, they besought him earnestly, saying, 'He deserves that thou shouldst do this for him; for he loves our nation, and it is he who has built the synagogue for us.' Then Jesus went with them. And when he was already near the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, 'Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof. Wherefore too I thought not myself worthy to come unto thee: but speak a word, and let my servant be healed. For I also am a man set under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this man, Go, and he goes; and to another, Come, and he comes; and to my servant, Do this, and he does it.'

When Jesus heard these words, he marvelled at him, and turned round, and said unto the crowd that followed him, 'I say unto you, Not even in Israel have I found so great faith.' And they that had been sent, on returning to the house, found the servant cured.

After the Sermon in the Plain and before recurring at viii. 4 to the order and narrative of Mark, Luke inserts some material mostly taken from Q, and also found in Matthew. But Luke's order is by no means the same as Matthew's. Yet just as in Matthew the story of the Centurion follows after the Sermon on the Mount (with the interposition of viii. 1–4), so in Luke, the same story follows on the Sermon in the Plain. Luke, moreover, makes diverse changes

in the story of the centurion. The centurion sends the Jewish elders to Jesus instead of coming himself. Hence the addition of 4 and 5. Then friends are made to say the words, which are scarcely suitable except in the centurion's own mouth, in 6–8. Luke's version, whether its peculiarities are due to himself or to a special source, are clearly secondary as compared with Matthew.

2. The sick person is called δοῦλος by Luke here and in 4 and 10. In 7 he is called παῖς as in Matthew, but παῖς is taken to mean servant, not son.

3–5. Luke only. The first embassy. The object is to obtain the intervention and the help of Jesus by sending Jews to him in order to mediate between him and the heathen centurion.

6. Jesus immediately agrees to go. The second embassy is thus really needless, and becomes a little clumsy. The idea is to show the great humility of the centurion. But the whole effect, both of the speech and of Jesus's reply, is weaker and less natural than in Matthew. The resemblance of the centurion to Cornelius in Acts x. is worthy of notice. *Cp.* Loisy, *Luc*, pp. 216–218.

11–17. The Young Man of Nain

(Luke only)

11 And it came to pass shortly afterwards that he went to a city
called Nain; and many of his disciples went with him, and a
12 great crowd. Now when he came near the gate of the city, behold,
a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother, and
she was a widow: and many people of the city were with her.
13 And when the Lord saw her, he felt compassion for her, and he
14 said unto her, 'Weep not.' And he came and touched the bier:
and they that bore it stood still. And he said, 'Young man, I say
15 unto thee, Arise.' And the dead man sat up, and began to speak.
16 And Jesus gave him to his mother. And fear seized them all:
and they glorified God, saying, 'A great prophet has risen up among
17 us; God has visited his people.' And this report about him went
forth throughout all Judæa, and throughout all the region round
about.

The story is found in Luke only. He needs it here to substantiate one of the statements made in vii. 22. It is still more

miraculous and marvellous than the story of the daughter of Jairus. It has parallels in later Greek literature, and may have, as Bultmann thinks (p. 133), its origin in a Hellenistic-Christian environment. The miracle is increased by the absence of any 'faith' in anybody. The story is constructed upon the basis of the stories of Elijah and Elisha in 1 Kings xvii. 17–24 and 2 Kings iv. 33–37. Almost each detail in the Elisha story finds its parallel here. According to Streeter the section 11 to 17 comes from Proto-Luke, and therefore presumably from L (as it is not due to Q). Here again we perceive the unhistorical character of L, if L there be. For as to the character of the story in 11–17, as we have it, there can hardly be two opinions. Taylor, indeed, puts up a defence for the historical character of the story, but one can hardly imagine his arguments convincing anybody but one who, as an orthodox Christian, was not convinced beforehand (pp. 250, 251).

Loisy still clings to his symbolic interpretations both of the centurion and of the young man. Thus he says: 'Just as, in the preceding narrative, the evangelist shows us the salvation of the Gentiles in the story of the healing of a heathen, worked at a distance by Jesus, so he now turns the thought of his reader to the work which Christ wrought directly, the salvation of Israel, realized in the group of believers who composed the first nucleus of Christianity. The disconsolate widow represents Jerusalem, the centre of God's people, threatened with the loss of her only son, and in fact losing him, only to recover him miraculously through the power of Jesus. Thanks to him, God's promises are not vain, and the mother who wept for her dead son can see him still living' (*Luc*, p. 220). Thus the widow here might be compared with the widow in 2 Esdras ix. 38–x.

11. How the city of Nain came to be made the scene of the miracle cannot be ascertained.

13. 'The Lord.' Jesus is often called so by Luke, but not by Mark, except in the spurious close (xvi. 19, 20). In Luke he is so called fifteen or sixteen times, and the vocative κύριε occurs sixteen times in Luke, and once only in Mark (vii. 28). See Streeter, pp. 212, 213. As in the case of 'Son of God,' pagan parallels or analogies must be called in to account for the use of the word as applied to Jesus. *Cp.* the discussion in Clemen, pp. 81–86. 'Thus the conception of Jesus as the "Lord" will have to be ultimately traced back to a heathen god of Asia Minor, whom we are not able to specify, in our present state of knowledge, more particularly.' *Cp.* 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

14. 'He touched the bier.' Jesus touches the bier to make

the bearers stop. In an earlier phase of the story did he touch the body? And was the alteration made to heighten the miracle?

16. 'Prophet.' *Cp.* Matt. xxi. 11. But it is noticeable that in Luke Jesus is more often spoken of as a prophet than in Matthew or Mark.

18–35. John the Baptist and his Enquiries

(*Cp.* Matt. xi. 1–19)

18, 19 And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John called unto him two of his disciples, and sent them to Jesus, saying, 'Art thou he that is to come? or are we to wait for
20 another?' When the men had come unto him, they said, 'John the Baptist has sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that is to
21 come? or are we to wait for another?' And in that same hour he cured many of sicknesses and afflictions and of evil spirits; and unto
22 many that were blind he gave sight. And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Go, and tell John what ye have seen and heard; the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor receive the good tidings.
23 And happy is he who finds no stumbling-block in me.'

24 And when the messengers of John departed, he began to speak unto the people concerning John: 'Why went ye out into the
25 wilderness? To see a reed shaken with the wind? Or why went ye out? To see a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they who wear grand clothing and live luxuriously are in the palaces of
26 kings. Or why went ye out? To see a prophet? Yea, I say unto
27 you, and much more than a prophet. This is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall
28 prepare thy way before thee. I say unto you, Among those that are born of women none is greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.

29 'And all the people that heard him, and the tax-collectors,
30 justified God, and were baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the teachers of the Law rejected the purpose of God towards themselves, and would not be baptized by him.

31 'To whom then shall I liken the men of this generation? and
32 to what are they like? They are like unto children sitting in the market-places, who call to one another, and say, We have piped

unto you, and ye have not danced; we have made lamentation, and ye have not wept. For John the Baptist has come, neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He has a demon. The Son of man has come, eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a glutton, and a wine-bibber, a friend of tax-collectors and sinners! And wisdom is justified by all her children.'

The source of this section is probably Q. So Streeter (pp. 186, 273, 292).

John is in prison, but his disciples have access to him.

20, 21. Luke enlarges the wording of Matthew. He represents Jesus engaged in miraculous cures at the very moment of the embassy. Notice specially the cures of many blind folk. 'Our evangelist is by no means shy of multiplying miracles' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 223). Dr. Carpenter thinks that the addition of 21 'translates into outward physical miracle the symbolic language in which Jesus was wont to describe inward moral change' (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 173, 244).

27. 'Thy face'; 'before thee.' In the original (Mal. iii. 1) the words are, 'Behold I send my messenger, and he shall prepare a way before me.' The 'my' and 'me' refer to God; here the pronoun is changed, and 'thy' and 'thee' refer to Jesus. The historic Jesus would scarcely have thus used and changed this utterance of Malachi.

29, 30. In Matthew, after xi. 11, sentences (12–15) follow for which Luke has no parallel till xvi. 16. Luke on the contrary inserts here two verses about the Baptist which have a parallel in Matt. xxi. 32. These verses are odd; they are in the third person, and yet, presumably, Luke must have meant us to understand the verses as a part of Jesus's speech. As to the origin of the verses and their original position in the source (Q), opinions differ. Perhaps they were inserted in this place on account of 35, 'Wisdom is *justified* of her children.'

'Justified God': *i.e.* by their behaviour; by being baptized they admitted that God's intention and purpose in sending John, and John's message from God, were right and true.

'The baptism of John.' The author knows another baptism, namely, the Christian baptism.

30. The phrase ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς is curious. It seems to mean that the Scribes frustrated God's will, so far as it concerned

them, in that they denied John's divine mission, and were not baptized.

31–35. Matt. xi. 16–19. There is a certain hesitancy and contradiction in the Gospel references to John. He knows about Jesus, and he does not know: he recognizes him as the Messiah, and he inquires; he is the greatest of men in the old order, but he belongs to that dying order, and is for that reason inferior. The disputes between John's disciples, with their claims for their master, and the disciples of Jesus may be reflected in these varying assertions. The older teacher had, as it were, to be adopted by the new Prophet and put in his subordinate place. Of 31–35 Loisy says: 'This logion like all the others referring to John—one might almost say, like everything in the Gospels concerning John—reflects the apologetic anxiety of early Christianity to justify itself, either by its relations with the baptizing sect out of which it grew, or by explaining to its own advantage the part played by John' (*Luc*, p. 227).

35. The people and the tax-collectors (29) are the children of wisdom, and they have shown that wisdom was right and true by their attitude towards John and Jesus. For wisdom spoke through John and through Jesus.

36–50. Love and Forgiveness

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 3–9; Matt. xxvi. 6–13)

36 And one of the Pharisees asked him to eat with him. And he
37 went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to table. And, behold, a woman in the city, who was a sinner, learnt that Jesus
38 sat at table in the Pharisee's house. And she brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood behind, at his feet, weeping, and began to wash his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kept kissing his feet, and anointing them with the ointment.

39 Now when the Pharisee who had invited him saw it, he said to himself, 'This man, if he were a prophet, would know who and what sort of woman it is who is touching him, that she is a sinner.'
40 And Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Simon, I have something
41 to say to thee.' And he said, 'Speak, Master.' 'There was a certain moneylender who had two debtors: the one owed five

hundred pieces of silver, and the other fifty. As they were unable to pay, he remitted it to them both. Which, then, of them will love him more?' Simon answered and said, 'I suppose the one to whom he remitted more.' And he said unto him, 'Thou hast rightly judged.'

And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, 'Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she has washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with her hair. Thou gavest me no kiss: but she, since I came in, has not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but she has anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which were many, have been forgiven, for she loved much: [but he to whom little is forgiven, loves little.]' And he said unto her, 'Thy sins are forgiven.' And they that sat at table with him began to say to themselves, 'Who is this that even forgives sins?' And he said to the woman, 'Thy faith has saved thee: go in peace.'

One of the greatest and most famous of Luke's additions to the Gospel store. Nevertheless, the story is by no means free from difficulty, and the very meaning of the famous sentence in which the story culminates (47 *a*) is disputed and unclear. The story is placed here by Luke to illustrate verse 34; Jesus is the friend of sinners. But what is its relation to the story in Mark xiv. 3–9 which Luke omits? In spite of the grave differences between the two stories, one can hardly believe that they are two separate, independent stories, each of which happened at the time when it is recorded to have happened. It seems more probable that Mark's story is the ultimate origin of Luke's story, even though Luke's story may not have been constructed by Luke, but have been taken by him from another source. Streeter holds that this section comes from Proto-Luke, and, in fact, the appearance of this story where it now is placed is a plank in his argument. 'Mark gives an Anointing at Bethany the day before the Last Supper; Luke omits this, but gives an Anointing by a woman that was a sinner in Galilee. That Luke, with his special interest in repentant sinners, should have preferred the version he gives is quite explicable; but his desertion of the Marcan context is unintelligible if the version he substitutes was a floating tradition attached to no particular occasion. His proceeding is quite explicable if the version substituted stood along with the other matter with which Luke connects it in a written document which Luke on the whole preferred to Mark' (p. 210).

36. There is no reason to believe that Luke intended the reader to understand that the Pharisee asked Jesus to dinner from any unfriendly motive. Presumably, therefore, the attacks of Jesus upon the Pharisees were less unqualified and less general than they are represented to have been in such passages as Matt. xxiii. 1–36.

The host in Mark xiv. 3 is a leper; here he is a Pharisee; his name, here only mentioned in 40, is in both cases Simon. One would not gather from this verse that the Pharisee host had given Jesus a poor reception, but yet something of the sort seems implied in 44 and 45. But this may not be definitely intended. 'Up to this point Jesus and the Pharisee conduct an interchange of courtesies in which it seems that the author takes delight. What Jesus goes on to say may be construed as criticism levelled at the Pharisee who has failed to pay Jesus all the proper honours. But that is because the story is badly constructed, a fact which will become more and more apparent as we near the end of it. Despite appearances, the contrast which is drawn between the behaviour of the Pharisee and that of the woman is not based upon those duties of politeness, which the host has neglected and the woman has performed in his stead. It is based upon the woman's demonstrations of love and gratitude, which, however, are suitable only to her relation towards God and his representative—a situation which is not that of the Pharisee. The latter is not deemed to have been uncivil to Jesus, nor is Jesus meant to show incivility on his part by rebuking the Pharisee in his own house; this is so, although the antithesis seems to be worked out to the latter's disadvantage' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 233).

37. 'A woman of the town, a sinner.' In plainer words, a harlot. She is able to enter uninvited the Pharisee's house. Nobody seems very astonished. 'The appearance of uninvited persons on such occasions does not seem to have been anything out of the way. We should be startled by the entrance of a harlot into even a company consisting solely of men in a very different way from the Pharisee' (Wellhausen).

38. 'She began to wash his feet.' 'This was no part of her original plan. She came to anoint his feet and was overcome by her feelings; hence "She began." The tears led to the wiping, which was also unpremeditated. Among the Jews it was a shameful thing for a woman to let down her hair in public; but she makes this sacrifice. καὶ κατεφίλει. Note the compound verb and the change of tense, "She continued to kiss affectionately." Kissing the feet was a common mark of deep reverence' (Plummer). Moffatt renders: 'She stood behind him at his feet in tears; her

tears began to wet his feet, so she wiped them with the hair of her head, pressed kisses on them and anointed them with the perfume.' There is something to be said for the view that the perfume and the box have been introduced from Mark. The action of the woman would be more natural if it were impulsive. She has not intended to do anything of the sort, but her tears, falling upon Jesus's feet, wet them, and so she dries his feet with her hair and kisses them. (His feet are bare, because, in accordance with custom, he has left his sandals at the entrance of the dining-room.)

However this may be, the vital question is: Did the woman know Jesus already, or did she not? Was she a penitent already, or had her penitence hardly begun before she entered the room? Did she love Jesus greatly because Jesus had greatly helped her—because Jesus had given her the assurance and conviction of forgiveness, because he had made her repent of her former evil life—or did a sudden and overpowering love and adoration of Jesus bring about the assurance from Jesus and the conviction within herself that her sins were forgiven? There is perhaps something in the observation made by Havet as to the contrast between this scene in Luke and the scene in Mark xiv. 3–9. 'There, a religious act of adoration performed with simplicity; here, transports of passion and veritable caresses.' Women play a greater part in Luke than in Mark or Matthew. (*Le Christianisme et ses origines*, IV. p. 63.)

39. One need not assume that the Pharisee is supposed to think thus with contempt or with satisfaction. Jesus, however, reads his thoughts from his face, and the thoughts are given to the reader by the narrator as the following dialogue requires them. ἅπτεται 'touches,' 'clings.' 'The verb implies more than mere touching, and is the present of continuous action' (Plummer).

42. The decisive question concerns the 'parable.' Is it an original and determining feature of the story? Or is it a later insertion which misses the point? (Incidentally we may notice that there is a sort of arithmetical touch about the 'parable' which some might say is hardly pleasing. If it occurred in the Talmud, how theologians like J. Weiss would have been down on it. Is gratitude to be reckoned by the mere size of the service? How Jewish! So much service, so much gratitude. How Rabbinical! But Jesus says quite simply and without any irony, though the poor Pharisee hesitates a little: 'You have judged rightly.') Undoubtedly the parable is one of the parts of the whole story which is peculiar to Luke and in no wise adapted from Mark. Hence it is the less likely to be a later insertion. If it is not, then it governs

the meaning of the whole. The woman had already been moved to repentance by Jesus; Jesus had already caused her—whether he knew it or no—to feel the stirrings of repentance, and to resolve to abandon her old method of life. And if she *had* repented, then she was forgiven. Because of what Jesus had done for her, because he had enabled her to repent and secure the forgiveness of God, therefore she poured forth upon him these beautiful exhibitions of her love. The parable says: the greater the measure of forgiveness, the greater the love which flows from the joy of it and the gratitude for it. And Jesus in 47 would say to the Pharisee: 'Her sins have been forgiven; the love she has shown to me is the proof that she has received forgiveness for her sins.' In that case the story should end with 47. 48 is needless, 49 and 50 still more so. (Even on the other interpretation, we *could* do without 48 and 49, and certainly without 50.)

44. Jesus does not exactly rebuke the Pharisee for a lack of hospitality, but he points out how the woman has shown extraordinary proofs of affection (and of gratitude).

45. 'Since I came in.' A touch of exaggeration, if the woman came in after Jesus was already at table.

47. The crucial verse. Omitting the second half, are we to interpret the first half: 'You may infer that her many sins have been forgiven her, because you see how great is her love.' Or is the meaning: 'Because she has shown great love, therefore I announce to you that her sins have been forgiven. Her great love has procured forgiveness for her great sin.' This is the more usual interpretation; it is specially favoured, I believe, by Roman Catholic commentators, and for that very reason is objected to by some Lutherans, because it seems to make forgiveness the *reward* of love. The Lutherans hate the idea of reward. All must be 'grace': God's free gift. There is no doubt that the ordinary interpretation is incomparably the more original, and it is in harmony with the general teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. If faith can cause forgiveness, why not, or how much more, love! But if this interpretation be correct, then the 'parable' must be an interpolation, due to a false conception of the meaning. And 47*b* must be also interpolated: 'he to whom little is forgiven, loves little.' (Even on the other interpretation these words are needless and prosaic.) [Instead of ἀφέωνται αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αἱ πολλαί (her sins which are many are forgiven) the MS. 'D' reads ἀφέωται αὐτῇ πολλά. ('Much is forgiven her, for she loved much.') Wellhausen accepts this as the older and better reading.]

48. If the interpretation according to the parable be correct, this verse is needless. The woman is told what she already knows. And Wellhausen, who adopts the other interpretation, yet considers that 48 is otiose. I cannot share this view. If we may accept the interpretation according to which the love produces the forgiveness, the announcement of forgiveness to the woman herself is almost necessary. We need not suppose it to be merely modelled on v. 20, 'Thy sins are forgiven': it is a new pronouncement, and the woman must be told directly.

What have we to assume on this interpretation? We have to assume a certain measure of previous repentance: some stirring of the better nature. The woman has heard of the great teacher who is preaching repentance, and also shows loving tenderness to 'sinners.' She has a longing to see him. She enters the room, and the personality of Jesus does the rest. Her heart is moved by love for him. She pleads with him by her tears which are the sign of her love and by the lowly actions of her humble adoration. Certainly if we have to abandon the saying, 'Her sins which were many, have been forgiven, for she loved much,' in its ordinary sense and interpretation, we have to abandon one of the greatest sayings in the Gospel. The doctrine implied in it appears to be a development of the doctrine that 'love covereth all sins.' We are not to understand by it, at all events to-day, that love cancels the *punishment* which would otherwise have had to be borne for committed sins. The point is rather that love is able to change the sinful nature, and to turn it towards goodness and God. Goethe teaches this lesson in his sublime, but daring, ballad, 'Der Gott und die Bajadere.' Love redeems.

Jesus had no other way of expressing all this than by saying, 'Her sins have been forgiven.' But it hardly seems going too far to assume that what he was keen about was the changed and repentant heart of the sinner. This changed and repentant heart implied the forgiveness of the sin.

Love has produced this changed heart. The woman would not have 'repented' and given up her sinful life by any amount of preachings about the wickedness of sin or the excellence of repentance. Some counter attraction or force was needful: some power greater than the pleasure or habit of sin. This power was love. It is *not* meant that love weighs against sin: that if you love, you may also sin, and your love will cause forgiveness for your *continuing* sin. It is love which will make you overcome or abandon your sin. If we omit the parable and read the story without it, the impression as to what is meant is overwhelming. The forgiveness announced by Jesus is then the essence of the story. And Jesus, as God's messenger, proclaims it on the strength of the repentant love or

loving repentance which the woman has shown. That she hates her past life of sin is clear by the love she shows to Jesus. Hence Jesus, as God's prophet, announces that God has forgiven her sins.

Wellhausen quotes a beautiful story attributed to Mahommed. 'A harlot came across a dog which lay dying of thirst beside a well. She took off her shoe and tied the strings of her headdress to it, and brought up water from the well for the dog to drink. For that loving deed, said the Prophet, her sins were forgiven her.'

But there is much to be said for the other interpretation which makes it possible to accept and retain the parable. And the verb ἀφέωνται is in the perfect tense: 'have been forgiven.' It is argued that the woman had already repented ('perhaps quite recently and in consequence of Christ's teaching'). 'The teaching of Christ had brought her to repentance and to assurance of forgiveness, and this assurance had inspired her with love and gratitude. Jesus now confirms her assurance and publicly declares her forgiveness' (Plummer). 47*a* means: 'For which reason, because she has shown much love, I say unto thee that her sins *have been* forgiven.' Because of the great love which she has shown, Jesus is aware that she realizes that she is forgiven, and he asserts that her assurance is correct. J. Weiss adopts this explanation also. Her loving demonstrations showed that she had much reason for gratitude and love. 'She must therefore through Jesus have become convinced of the forgiveness of her sins. Indirectly we here become aware what influence the preaching and personality of Jesus had upon such lost women. It gave them courage for a new life and the consciousness that, in spite of everything, they were still children of the heavenly Father—and the woman thanks him for that with an overflowing heart.' Whether according to this interpretation one must suppose that Jesus knew the woman already may remain uncertain. He may not have *told* her that her sins are forgiven: she feels and is convinced of it. But nevertheless, J. Weiss agrees that 47*b* had best be omitted as an awkward and unnecessary interpolation; moreover, he is also obliged to excise 48. The forgiveness is not the reward of her love. Her love, on the contrary, is the gratitude shown for the conviction of forgiveness. Jesus has made her realize the depth and plenitude of God's pardoning love.

M. Loisy also makes a fine defence for this interpretation of the story, though for myself I feel still unconverted. To begin with he assumes that the tale is not a *mere* adaptation of Mark xiv. 3–9. There were two stories, both historic. The story which Luke found in his source was about a sinner and a penitent, but he added to it traits from the other story which he read in Mark. He added the anointing, the myrrh, the name of Simon. Luke wrongly thought that the two stories were concerned with the

same person, whereas they had really nothing to do with each other. The story of the sinner must have happened in the Galilæan period. The fact that the *mise-en-scène* of both stories was a dinner led to their amalgamation.

The woman, he supposes, knew Jesus and had been touched by his words. She has determined to change her life. Why has she shown to Jesus the marks of devotion and honour which his host had not thought it necessary to show him? 'In the original narrative the kiss must have been the essential point, and it would be enough to explain the offence caused to the Pharisee, by reason not of the act itself, but of the person to whom Jesus allows it. The kiss is for Orientals not only a mark of affection, it is also a mark of honour. To kiss the feet is a sign of entire submission. The penitent woman wishes to honour Jesus by humiliating herself; her tears attest her penitence' (*E. S.* I. p. 685).

The woman has shown him these marks of gratitude because she has received a great good. Her affection is the mark of her gratitude. 'Her gratitude is in proportion to the "grace" which she has received' (*E. S.* I. p. 688). It is not implied that the Pharisee was a sinner. But though in the original story it was God who already had pardoned the woman's sins, and not Jesus, one has to admit that Jesus regards her loving manifestations to himself as the witness of her love towards God; from the love shown to him he infers God's pardon, 'who could not have called forth such love in a soul upon which he did not look with pleasure' (*E. S.* I. 691). He who shows such affection as that poor woman did, cannot be a sinner before God.

As to 47, Loisy too presses the perfect tense. The love she shows proves that her sins have been forgiven. Finally 48–50 is Luke's false addition to the story. Luke wants us to believe that the forgiveness has not already taken place, but that Jesus accords it to the woman after her loving deeds. It is he who starts the usual interpretation: the great love causes the forgiveness. He reproduces words used elsewhere (v. 20, 21, viii. 48). 'The whole ending thus presents an artificial appearance which entitles the critic to draw a distinction between the primitive application of the parable and the meaning which arises out of the editorial combination' (*E. S.* I. p. 689). Loisy further supposes that the woman knew Jesus and had been touched by his words, but no one yet imagined that she had formed the intention to change her way of life. Verse 47 in the original story probably followed immediately on 43. Verses 44–46, 'which bring grievances against the Pharisee,' have been added by Luke, who wanted to show here, as in 48–50, the Pharisee reproved as well as the woman pardoned (*E. S.* I. p. 690, n. 3).

In his new commentary on Luke M. Loisy has modified his views. He now says that, though to make the love the result of the pardon would be in harmony with the parable, 'the evangelist does not seem to have understood the words of Jesus in that sense, but in the other, and the conclusion of the story too contradicts that first sense (*i.e.* that the love is the *result* of the pardon)'. A similar incoherence between story and application is observable in the Good Samaritan, which shows that the evangelist 'did not look at it too closely.' 'Notwithstanding the part which is allotted to the Pharisee in the development of the antithesis which prepares the way for the conclusion, the Pharisee is not, and must not be regarded as, a sinner who shows less love to Christ because his forgiven sins have been fewer. In the adaptation of the story to the parable the Pharisee is not a "half-sinner" who has neglected to earn by special tokens of love the forgiveness which Jesus might have granted him. At the utmost, one may say that the whole of the story suggests an underlying thought analogous to the idea brought out by the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. Just as the humble publican obtains forgiveness, and the Pharisee who has extolled his own merits in his prayer remains what he was before, so the sinning woman obtains the forgiveness she has merited, and Simon the Pharisee remains what he was, a man pleased with himself and lukewarm in charity. It remains none the less true that the combination is clumsy, and behind the lucubrations of the evangelist we are not to look for a story of a sinning woman, nor even an authentic parable, whose equilibrium our author has disturbed by his editorial combination. The evangelist has certainly got hold of a parable, but we cannot say if it was used by Jesus; the story of a woman who was a sinner anointing Jesus with ointment may be admitted, but only conjecturally, and as rather presupposed from the account of the anointing in Mark' ('et comme étant d'abord présupposée au récit de l'onction dans Marc') (*Luc*, p. 236).

49. If 48 recalls v. 20, 49 recalls v. 21.

50. Here the cause of the forgiveness is not her love, but her faith. Nor is this conception unreasonable, even though 50 may be later than 47, for why did the woman buy the balsam and seek out the presence of Jesus? It must have been faith that he could help her in need. She had heard that he was the friend of sinners, that he had come to call them to repentance, not by the method of denunciation, but by evoking their powers of love, by changing the character of their souls. And the knowledge of this, her belief in, and gratitude for, what she had heard of the new great teacher had

already begun to work a revolution in her soul even before she entered the room. The power of Jesus's personality, even when he said no word, was able to do the rest. It is not necessary to see in 50 a trace of Paulinism.

Is it not inconceivable that this exquisite story should ever cease to be one of the treasured religious possessions of the Western world? Dogmatic Christianity in the course of centuries may disappear; Trinitarianism may be succeeded by Unitarianism; but the words of Jesus will still continue to move and cheer the heart of man. If Judaism does not, as it were, come to terms with the Gospels, it must always be, I am inclined to think, a creed in a corner, of little influence and with no expansive power. Orthodox Jews would, I suppose, say that they want no more. Liberal Jews should be less easily satisfied.

[vii. 22–28. For a possible explanation of this passage, reference should have been made to Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, pp. 60–62. He believes that Q depends upon an older Mandaean text, which relates to Enos-Uthra. *Cp.* also *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, by Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, pp. 333–336 (1926); Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 111 n. 1; and v. Gall, p. 432. If this Mandaean text is later than the fall of Jerusalem, the Q passage must be later still, unless, as Schaeder thinks, both writers drew independently from the same 'spät-jüdischen Überlieferung.' In any case, the words in 22, as, for other reasons, the words in 28, cannot have been spoken by Jesus.]

CHAPTER VIII

1–3. Jesus and his Wanderings

(Luke only)

1 And it came to pass afterwards, that he went from city to city
and from village to village, preaching and proclaiming the good
tidings of the kingdom of God. And the Twelve were with him,
2 and certain women, who had been healed of evil spirits and sick-
nesses, Mary called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had
3 gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and
Susanna, and many others, who ministered to them from their
property.

Luke now introduces a new chapter in the story of the life of Jesus: he leaves Capernaum and moves about from place to place. Luke now soon returns to Mark; that source, except, perhaps, indirectly in the story about the woman and the Pharisee, he had neglected since vi. 19. He follows Mark with some changes, omissions, and shortenings till ix. 50. The introductory three verses are peculiar to Luke. The sentence about the women who accompany Jesus and pay for the expenses of the journey is extremely interesting. It would seem indubitable that in his relations with, and in his effect upon, women Jesus was highly original, and that women considerably helped his cause and furthered his measure of success. We may compare Mark xv. 40, but Luke depends upon some other source. We hear nothing more of the women till xxiii. 49.

2. She is perhaps called Magdalene because she came from the city of Magdala mentioned in Matt. xv. 39. There is no reason to identify her with the sinner of the preceding section.

'Although one is able to recognize the editorial hand in this passage, one may ask, though with considerable hesitation, whether the substance of the narrative is not due to Luke' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 237).

4–15. The Parable of the Sower

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 1–20 ; Matt. xiii. 4–23)

And as a large crowd came together, and people flocked to him from every city, he spoke by a parable : ' A sower went out to sow his seed : and as he sowed, some seed fell by the way-side ; and it was trodden down, and the birds of the air ate it up. And some fell upon a rock ; and as soon as it had sprung up, it withered away, because it had no moisture. And some fell among thorns ; and the thorns grew up with it, and choked it. And some fell upon good ground, and sprang up, and bore a crop, an hundred-fold. And when he had said these words, he cried, ' He that has ears to hear, let him hear.'

And his disciples asked him, saying, ' What may this parable mean ? ' And he said, ' Unto you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God : but to the others in parables ; that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand. This, then, is the parable : The seed is the Word of God. Those by the way-side are they that hear ; then comes the devil, and takes away the Word from their hearts, that they may not believe and be saved. Those upon the rock are they, who, when they hear, receive the Word with joy ; and these have no root ; for a while they believe, and in time of temptation they fall away. And the seed which fell among thorns are they, who, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked by the cares and riches and pleasures of life, and they bring no fruit to perfection. But the seed on the good ground are they, who having heard the Word with a right and good heart, hold it fast, and bring forth fruit with endurance.

Luke omits for the present Mark iii. 20–30 ; he starts with Mark iv. inserting Mark iii. 31–35 shortly afterwards.

4. The *mise-en-scène* is indefinite. The situation in Mark has been used already by Luke in v. 3.

9. The disciples ask rightly as to the meaning of this one parable : the answer, however, first speaks of the purpose of the parables in general, and then as to the meaning of this particular one. As to the ' agreement ' of Matthew and Luke against Mark, see Streeter, p. 313.

10. 'The word of God': to Luke the proclamation of the nev religion. The word of God is the word which comes from God, no the word which tells about God.

12. Luke mixes up in his explanation the seed and the men 'Believe' is a special touch. The 'devil' prevents their belief but really it is God who permits and arranges for the devi and his work. *Cp.* verse 10 and the fuller quotation from Isaiah ir Mark iv. 12.

13. 'Fall away' for 'stumble.' The era of apostasy has already begun.

I have never been one of those who, like Wellhausen, seem to regard it as so very important that the Parable of the Sower should be authentic. Yet the Parable itself may have been used or applied or invented by Jesus for purposes somewhat other than those for which it is used in Mark. For there, as in the other two Gospels which depend on him, the parable seems to be used to set forth or explain the results of later Christian teaching. It seems to imply experiences subsequent to the life of Jesus.

16–18. The Hidden and the Revealed

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 21–25)

16 'No man, when he has lighted a lamp, covers it with a vessel, or puts it under a bed; but he puts it on a lampstand
17 that they who enter in may see the light. For nothing is hid which shall not become disclosed; neither is any thing kept secret which
18 shall not be known and come to light. Take heed, then, how ye hear: for whoever has, to him shall be given; and whoever has not, from him shall be taken even that which he seems to have.'

The connection which Luke intended may be: By this parable I have kindled for you a light which you are to let shine abroad; for my teaching is to remain no secret. But he who would teach must have himself heard correctly, for only then does he possess the truth (Klostermann).

16. *Cp.* xi. 33. 'They who enter in.' Are these the heathen?

17. *Cp.* xii. 2, and for 18 *cp.* xix. 26.

19–21. Jesus and his Family

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 31–35 ; Matt. xii. 46–50)

Then came to him his mother and his brothers, and they could not get to him on account of the crowd. And it was told him : 'Thy mother and thy brothers stand without, desiring to see thee.' And he answered and said unto them, 'My mother and my brothers are they who hear the word of God, and do it.'

19. This verse does not quite correspond with 20. In 19 we may suppose that Jesus, as in 4, is out of doors, surrounded by a crowd ; in 20 he would seem to be, as in Mark, within a house. The reason of the lack of consistency is that Luke has transposed the occasion and place of the story. As it now follows the parable of the sower, Jesus in 19 has to be out of doors, but in 20 Luke keeps to the wording of Mark iii. 32. We may note that Luke's narrative is shorter and somewhat less harsh than the narratives of Mark and Matthew. The wording in 21 is influenced by the parable of the sower which has preceded.

22–25. The Storm on the Lake

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 35–41 ; Matt. viii. 23–27)

Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went on to a boat with his disciples : and he said unto them, 'Let us cross over unto the other side of the lake.' So they put forth. But as they were sailing, he fell asleep : and a storm of wind came down upon the lake ; and they were filled with water, and were in danger. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying, 'Master, master, we perish.' Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the surge of the water : and they ceased, and there was a calm. And he said unto them, 'Where is your faith ?' And they were afraid and wondered, saying to one another, 'Who is this man that he commands even the winds and the water, and they obey him ?'

Passing over Mark iv. 26–34, Luke now tells the story in Mark iv. 35 *seq.*

Luke omits Mark's indication of evening, which makes Jesus's sleep less natural. It can hardly be said that 'he fell asleep' shows that it was evening.

22. The agreement of Luke with Matthew against Mark is luminously explained by Streeter p. 302.

25. Luke's version, 'Where is your faith?' has a more technically Christian ring than Mark's, 'Have ye still no faith?'

26–39. The Gerasene Swine

(*Cp.* Mark v. 1–20; Matt. viii. 28–34)

26 And they put in at the country of the Gerasenes, which is over
27 against Galilee. And when he had landed, a man met him from the city who was possessed by demons, and for a long time had worn no clothes, and abode in no house, but among the tombs.
28 When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, 'What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou
29 Son of the Most High? I beseech thee, torment me not.' (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. For oftentimes it had seized him: and when he was guarded and bound with chains and in fetters, he would break the bonds, and be driven
30 by the demon into the desert.) And Jesus asked him, saying, 'What is thy name?' And he said, 'Legion': because many demons
31 had entered into him. And they besought him that he would not
32 command them to go down into the abyss. And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain: and they besought him that he would allow them to enter into them. And he allowed them.
33 And the demons went out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd rushed down the cliff into the lake, and were drowned.
34 And when the swineherds saw what had happened, they fled, and
35 told the story in the city and in the country. And they came out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the demons had departed, sitting at the feet of
36 Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid. And the eye-witnesses told them how the man that was possessed by the
37 demons was healed. And all the people of the district around the Gerasenes besought him to depart from them; for they were seized with great fear. So he embarked on to the boat, and returned.
38 Now the man out of whom the demons had departed besought him that he might remain with him: but Jesus sent him away,
39 saying, 'Return to thine own home, and tell what great things

God has done unto thee.' So he went away, and proclaimed throughout the whole city what great things Jesus had done unto him.

Luke keeps fairly closely to Mark and curtails less than Matthew.

31. The demons ask that they should not be sent into the abyss, which here means hell. Though their request is apparently granted, we are presumably to understand that owing to the suicide of the pigs, they arrive at last in hell all the same.

40–56. The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with an Issue

(*Cp.* Mark v. 21–43 ; Matt. ix. 18–26)

40 And it came to pass, that, when Jesus returned, the crowd
41 received him : for they were all waiting for him. And, behold, there came a man named Jairus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue : and he fell down at Jesus's feet, and besought him that he would
42 come to his house : for he had a daughter, about twelve years of age, his only child, and she was dying.

43 But as he went, the crowd pressed round him. And a woman who had had an issue of blood twelve years, and had spent all her fortune upon physicians, while none of them had been able to heal
44 her, came behind him, and touched the tassel of his garment : and
45 immediately her issue of blood stopped. And Jesus said, 'Who touched me ?' When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said, 'Master, the crowd hang on thee, and press around thee.'
46 But Jesus said, 'Somebody has touched me ; for I know that
47 power has gone out of me.' And when the woman saw that she had not remained unnoticed, she came trembling, and falling down before him, she told him before all the people for what cause she had touched him, and how she was healed immediately.
48 And he said unto her, 'Daughter, thy faith has healed thee ; go in peace.'

49 While he yet spoke, some one came from the ruler of the synagogue's house, saying, 'Thy daughter is dead ; trouble not
50 the Master any more.' But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying, 'Fear not : only have faith, and she will be healed.'
51 And when he came into the house, he allowed no man to go in,

except Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother
52 of the child. And all were weeping, and were bewailing her: but
53 he said, 'Weep not; she is not dead, but sleeps.' And they
54 laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead. But he took
55 her hand, and called, saying, 'Maiden, arise.' And her spirit came back, and she arose straightway: and he commanded that some-
56 thing should be given her to eat. And her parents were quite beside themselves: but he bade them tell no one what had happened.

Luke follows and adopts the version of Mark with unimportant changes. The girl is noted to be the only child. For 55 *cp.* 1 Kings xvii. 22.

44. The tassel has probably been inserted from Matthew, see Streeter, p. 313.

45. Peter is made to give a more polite reply than that of the disciples in Mark v. 31.

46. Jesus here is made to say out loud what in Mark is reported as the cause of his question.

52. Luke makes a confusion here. Those who weep and wail should be among those who were expelled from the house (Mark v. 40). Luke says that 'he allowed none to go in,' but the 'weepers' were clearly 'within.'

If one is sceptically inclined, one may explain these commands for silence as an attempt to prove why these great miracles, though they really happened, were yet so little known. Yet the stories may be the legendary version of incidents which actually took place.

CHAPTER IX

1–6. The Despatch of the Apostles

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 7–13 ; Matt. x. 1, 5–16)

And he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all demons, and to cure diseases. And he sent them to proclaim the kingdom of God, and to heal. And he said unto them, ' Take nothing for your journey, neither staff nor wallet, neither bread nor money ; neither have two coats apiece. And into whatever house ye enter, there abide, and thence depart. And whoever will not receive you, go out of that city, and shake off the dust from your feet as a testimony against them.' And they departed, and went through village after village, preaching the gospel, and healing everywhere.

Mark vi. 1–6 has been already used, so Luke passes on now to Mark vi. 7–13.

4. The house is to be their resting-place and centre. From it they are to go forth on missionary efforts in the town, and to it they are to return. As in Matt. ix. 35, they are to proclaim the Kingdom of God.

In this section, as elsewhere, there are agreements between Matthew and Luke as against Mark. Canon Streeter once argued that these agreements point to Q as a source both of Mark and of the other two Evangelists. (*Oxford Studies*, p. 175.) For another theory *cp.* Dr. Vernon Bartlet in the same volume, p. 326. Streeter's present view is that ix. 3–5 ' is mainly from Mark, but its differences from Mark seem to arise from conflation with the same Q discourse as that best preserved in Luke x. 4 ff.' (p. 248).

7–9. Jesus and Herod Antipas

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 14–16 ; Matt. xiv. 1, 2)

Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was happening ; and he was perplexed, because it was said by some that John was

8 raised from the dead; and by some that Elijah had appeared;
9 and by others that one of the old prophets had risen again. And Herod said, 'John have I beheaded: but who is this, of whom I hear such things?' And he sought to see him.

7. Luke has material changes from Mark and differs also from Matthew. He makes Herod hear of the various views and reports about Jesus, but himself remain puzzled and undecided.

8. Perhaps Luke has misunderstood Mark here (vi. 15). Mark says that one of the various views about Jesus was that he was a prophet, like the old prophets. This probably did not mean that he was one of the old prophets resurrected.

9. The statement 'he sought to see him' is probably unhistorical. Herod sought to kill Jesus rather than to see him. So Luke xiii. 31 is probably more accurate. As it stands the statement prepares the way for xxiii. 8.

10–17. The Feeding of the Five Thousand

(*Cp.* Mark vi. 31–44; Matt. xiv. 13–21)

10 And the apostles returned and told him all that they had done. And he took them, and retired with them alone to a city called
11 Bethsaida. But the people perceived it and followed him: and he received them, and spoke unto them of the kingdom of God, and
12 them that had need of healing he cured. And when the day began to wane, the Twelve came, and said unto him, 'Send the people away, that they may go into the villages and farms round about, and lodge, and find food; for we are here in a lonely place.'
13 But he said unto them, 'Give ye them to eat.' And they said, 'We have no more than five loaves and two fishes; unless we
14 should ourselves go and buy food for all this people.' (For they were about five thousand men.) But he said to his disciples,
15 'Make them sit down by companies of fifty.' And they did so,
16 and made them all sit down. Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he said the blessing over them, and broke them, and gave them to the disciples to set before
17 the people. And they ate and were satisfied: and there was taken up of fragments that were left over by them twelve baskets.

Luke omits Mark vi. 17–29; he had used part of it before (iii. 18–20). The execution of John is not narrated by him, but implied in ix. 9. For the agreements of Luke with Matthew against Mark, see Streeter, pp. 313–315.

The locality of the feeding miracle is given as Bethsaida; in Mark, Jesus only crosses over the lake to that village afterwards. In 10 we should probably read 'village' for 'city' with D. See Streeter, pp. 568–570.

18–27. Jesus the Messiah—The Conditions of Discipleship

(*Cp.* Mark viii. 27–34, ix. 1; Matt. xvi. 13–28)

And it came to pass, as he was praying alone, his disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, 'Whom do the people say that I am?' They answered and said, 'John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; and others, that one of the old prophets is risen again.' And he said unto them, 'But ye—whom say ye that I am?' And Peter answered and said, 'The Messiah of God.' And he sternly admonished and commanded them to tell this to no one; saying, 'The Son of man must suffer much, and be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised.'

And he said to them all, 'If any man would walk after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whoever would save his life shall lose it: but whoever would lose his life for my sake, he shall save it. For what can it profit a man if he gain the whole world, but has lost or forfeited himself? For whoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he comes in his own glory, and in his Father's, and the holy angels'. But I tell you of a truth, there are some of those standing here who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God.'

Luke now makes a great omission from Mark. He leaves out all between Mark vi. 45 and viii. 26. Why he does this is doubtful. Some of the material omitted Luke inserts later in another form, from another source (Q). But this does not account for the omission as a whole. There are various hypotheses, which can be found in Loisy, Klostermann, and other commentaries. *Cp.* also

Hawkins in *Studies*, pp. 66–71. Above all, *cp.* Streeter, pp. 172–178 and his fascinating and delightful hypothesis that Luke used a mutilated copy of Mark which broke off at 'he alone' (omitting 'on the land') in vi. 47, and began again at 'and on the way' in viii. 27.

18. The locality—Cæsarea Philippi—is omitted. Jesus prays by himself, yet the disciples are with him. *Cp.* xx. 1 and, for the phraseology, Mark iv. 10.

19. *Cp.* verses 7 and 8. The disciples say exactly what was reported to Herod. The words: 'others that one of the old prophets is risen again' are wanting in the S.S. And D reads as in Matthew. In any case 'a resurrected prophet' is probably not the original wording, which was, merely, 'a prophet.'

20. The phrase is rather strange: 'The Messiah of God.' Mark has more simply: 'the Messiah'; Matthew, more fully, 'the Messiah, the Son of the living God.' *Cp.* Streeter, p. 303.

Luke omits the censure of Peter, contained in Mark viii. 32, 33; Matt. xvi. 22, 23.

22. The wording would seem to imply that Luke meant us to understand: 'The disciples are to tell nobody of the suffering and death, because this sort of Messiah did not answer to the popular expectations of the Messiah' (Klostermann).

23. This verse is highly important because of the small verbal addition which Luke has made to his source. The words in Mark, noble as they are, refer to a self-denial which is to end in martyrdom. But Luke adds the word 'daily'—'let him take up his cross daily'—and thus transforms the idea into that of a continuous self-denial, to be exhibited in ordinary and everyday life. The uplifting power of these verses none can measure. They may have partly helped to lead to the false asceticism of the Stylites order, but in a gigantic number of cases men and women have tried to save their own souls by active well-doing: the daily carrying of the cross has been realized in a life which has at least *sought* the welfare and benefit of others. The word 'daily' is, however, omitted in S.S. and may be a later, though highly significant addition. Burney, for rhythmical reasons, holds that 'daily' is authentic and original. This seems to be one of the instances where rhythm proves too much (pp. 66, 142, n. 1).

25. It is implied that the most important thing in the world

that a man can busy himself about is the salvation of his soul. Jewish critics are apt to cavil with this view. They argue, first, that to worry yourself as to whether you are 'saved' or not is to cast unworthy and improper doubts upon the loving-kindness and forgiveness of God. Secondly, it makes for selfishness, because the most important thing to you becomes your own personal good, whereas it ought to be the good and welfare of others. Thirdly, it tends to morbidity and gloom, upon the one hand, or, when you have attained a conviction that you *are* saved, to self-righteousness and sanctimonious pride, upon the other. Fourthly, it tends to make people set about the right thing in a wrong way. It *is* of importance that you should lead a good and useful life, and if you do that, you will, as a matter of fact, be certainly 'saved.' But you had far better give your mind to the good and useful life (the means) rather than to the post-earthly results of that life. These you can and should, with confidence and cheery trust, leave to God. While on earth, you should think of how to spend your time on earth to the best advantage for your fellow-men and for the benefit of human society upon earth. If you are always thinking of what is to befall you after death, you are far less likely to lead a cheery, useful and beneficent life upon earth. Salvation, like happiness, is best secured by not thinking too much about it.

There is doubtless some truth in these criticisms. They supply a useful corrective to exaggerations and caricatures of the doctrine indicated in this verse. But in itself the doctrine is not unsound. Assume an eternal life of blessedness after death, *really believe in it*, and clearly the only wise use of 'time' can be in so employing it as to obtain 'eternity.' Moreover, we may regard the doctrine of the verse as a form of self-development or self-culture. And we know that the old puzzle as to the apparently conflicting claims of developing 'self' and of working for others can only be solved in practice by holding that both are primary duties, and that in most cases, if not really in all, that which is the 'right' thing for any individual to do under given circumstances (however difficult for *him* to determine), is best for his 'soul' *and* best for the world.

26. Luke has slightly modified Mark's language, 'rather for the solemn sound of the words than for the development of the idea. The result is nevertheless a kind of trinity, in which the place which the author assigns to the angels characterizes his own theological position. *Cp.* xii. 8, 9, xv. 10, xvi. 22, xxii. 43; one recalls the part that angels play in the stories of the Infancy' (*E. S.* II. p. 26, n. 7).

28–36. The Transfiguration

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 2–8 ; Matt. xvii. 1–8)

28 And it came to pass, about eight days after these sayings, that
he took with him Peter and John and James, and went up on to
29 the mountain to pray. And as he prayed, the appearance of his
face was changed, and his raiment became white and shining.
30 And, behold, two men were talking with him, who were Moses
31 and Elijah : they appeared in glory, and spoke of his end which he
32 was about to fulfil at Jerusalem. But Peter and they that were
with him were heavy with sleep : and when they woke up, they saw
33 his glory, and the two men that stood with him. And it came to
pass, as they were parting from him, Peter said unto Jesus, ' Master,
it is good for us to be here : let us make three tents ; one for thee,
and one for Moses, and one for Elijah '—not knowing what he said.
34 While he thus spoke, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them :
35 and they feared as they entered into the cloud. And a voice came
36 out of the cloud, saying, ' This is my chosen Son : hear him.' And
when the voice came, Jesus was found alone. And they kept silence,
and told no man in those days of anything which they had seen.

Luke's version contains many little peculiarities which must be due, it is generally believed, to his having used some other source, be it Q or no, than Mark. Streeter does not favour this view (p. 215). On verse 29, see pp. 315, 316.

31. The subject-matter of the conversation of Jesus with Elijah and Moses is only mentioned by Luke.

32. The rare word *διαγρηγορήσαντες* must here probably be taken to mean : ' when they woke up.' Apparently Luke thinks that the transfiguration happened at night, *cp.* 37.

34. ' Overshadowed them.' Whom ? ' They (the disciples) feared as " they " entered into the cloud.' Who entered ? The narrative seems confused. After 33 Moses and Elijah apparently disappear. The cloud, in Luke, seems to cover the disciples and Jesus only, and this cloud (which is the cloud that conceals the Voice of God) frightens the disciples, or perhaps, the cloud and the voice together. *Cp.* Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 97 n. 1. *ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι τὴν φωνήν* : when the voice spoke,

Jesus was alone. Luke seems to press the point more than Mark that Jesus was alone when the voice spoke. Moses and Elijah are far below him in dignity and nature. But the Greek words can mean either (1) 'And when the voice came' (so R.V.), or (2) 'after the voice had passed' (so Plummer and R.V. M.).

35. ἐκλελεγμένος, 'chosen'. I may note here that Norden strongly supports the view that εὐδοκεῖν in Matt. xvii. 5 or Mark i. 11 means 'choose.' (*Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 132.)

37–43*a*. The Epileptic Child

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 14–29; Matt. xvii. 14–21)

And it came to pass, on the next day, as they came down from the mountain, that a large crowd met him. And, behold, a man from the crowd cried out, saying, 'Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is mine only child. And, lo, a spirit seizes him, and he suddenly screams; and it tears him so that he foams, and leaves him only with reluctance, after bruising him sorely. And I besought thy disciples to cast it out; but they could not.' And Jesus answering said, 'O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you and bear with you? Bring thy son hither.' And while he was coming, the demon tore him and convulsed him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and he healed the child, and gave him back to his father. And they were all amazed at the mighty power of God.

In this section too there are agreements between Luke and Matthew, but they are really more apparent than real. See Streeter, p. 317. The boy is made an only child as in vii. 12 and viii. 42.

43*b*–45. Second Prediction of Suffering

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 30–32; Matt. xvii. 22, 23)

But while all marvelled at all the things which he did, he said unto his disciples, 'As for you, put these words into your ears: the Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men.' But they understood not this saying, and it was hidden from them, in order that they should not perceive it: and they were afraid to ask him about this saying.

The disciples' elation at the Master's triumph is intentionally humiliated by Jesus. He predicts his coming defeat and sufferings. The resurrection is here omitted, so that there may be no light to the shadow. That is one view. Another view is that we have here the oldest record of the prediction, according to which Jesus merely predicted his defeat, but said nothing about his resurrection.

44. 'Put these words into your ears,' *i.e.* the words which are to follow—namely (γάρ), that 'the Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men.'

45. It was no lack of intelligence on the part of the disciples that they failed to comprehend the prediction. Their minds were supernaturally dulled. Luke is anxious to spare the apostles and to explain any apparent obtuseness. Mr. Ragg, following Dr. Bartlet (in *Oxford Studies*) says of 45: 'An intensely Hebraic pleonasm such as the Gentile Evangelist would hardly have invented for himself. This again argues a non-Marcan source' (p. 137).

46–50. Who is the Greatest?

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 33–41; Matt. xviii. 1–5)

46 And a dispute arose among them, as to which of them was the
47 greatest. And Jesus, knowing the thought of their heart, took a
48 child by the hand, and set him by him, and said unto them, 'Whoever receives this child in my name receives me: and whoever receives me receives him that sent me: for who is least among you all, he is greatest.'
49 And John answered and said, 'Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name; and we prevented him, because he does not
50 follow us.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Prevent him not: for he that is not against us is for us.'

48. The words which Jesus says here in Luke at the end of the passage are put in Mark at the beginning, for Luke 48*b* corresponds with Mark ix. 35*b*. In Mark the meaning appears to be that in Jesus's community and kingdom the only greatness lies in lowly and useful service. The child who is brought in by Mark *after* 35 appears to teach another, though kindred, lesson, namely that kindness and service, rendered to the poorest in Christ's name are the true tests of true discipleship. In Luke the child is brought in at the beginning, and the two teachings are combined or fused

together. The meaning apparently is: 'He who would be the greatest among you must first of all become as the least by lowly service to the most humble member of the community.'

As μείζων in 46 is to be translated not 'greater,' but 'greatest,' so in 48 μικρότερος and μέγας must be also translated 'least' and 'greatest.'

49, 50. Mark ix. 38–40. Not in Matthew. Apparently Luke would have us understand that this man was a real disciple, but that he worked independently. A Jew who, not being a true disciple, attempted to cast out demons by using the name of Jesus, would not have been successful. *Cp.* Acts xix. 13–16. (Loisy, *Luc*, pp. 282, 283.)

51–56. The Journey to Jerusalem—The Samaritan Village

(Luke only)

And it came to pass, when the days for his being taken up (into heaven) were fulfilled, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem. And he sent messengers before him, and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to prepare for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was turned to go to Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw it, they said, 'Lord, wouldst thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them?' But he turned, and rebuked them. And they went to another village.

A new division begins here. A break is made in the narrative of Mark, which is not resumed till xviii. 15. The division is Luke's 'great insertion' or wedge driven into the Marcan narrative. Luke places in this division a number of anecdotes and sayings for which his sources did not give him place or date. The insertion begins nearly at the point where Mark has finished the Galilæan ministry and starts the journey to Jerusalem. Mark x. 1 corresponds in fact with Luke ix. 51. It has been supposed that Luke desired us to regard the whole insertion from ix. 51 to xviii. 14 as incidents which happened on the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem. The insertion is usually called by the Germans: 'Der lukanische Reisebericht.' Luke ix. 50 corresponds with Mark ix. 40. Mark ix. 41–50 is here omitted, though for 42 there is a parallel in Luke xvii. 1, 2 and for Mark ix. 49, 50 in Luke xiv. 34, 35.

To Streeter it is all a portion of his Proto-Luke (p. 222). 'The section Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14 is the centre and core of the Third Gospel. It occupies 25 out of the 80 pages of Luke in the Greek Testament before me, and it contains most of the parables and narrative peculiar to Luke as well as about half of the material in Luke which can plausibly be assigned to Q. It is often spoken of as "The Peræan section." This is a misnomer. Mark represents our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem as having been through Peræa on the east of Jordan, but there is absolutely no hint of this in Luke. On the contrary, the way in which allusions to Samaria and Samaritans are introduced in this section suggests that he conceived of the journey as being through Samaria. But the geographical notices are of the vaguest. Some scholars have spoken of this section of the Gospel as "the travel document." This is, from the critical standpoint, an even more dangerously misleading title, as it implies that this section once existed as a separate document. The only safe name by which one can call it is the "Central Section" —a title which states a fact but begs no questions' (p. 203). The section ix. 51–56 Streeter thinks may have been taken from Q, as well as 57–60, and perhaps 61–62 also (p. 290, but also p. 289).

Jesus sets his face towards Jerusalem. 'We now get many important didactic passages which have no parallel in Mark, and not even in Matthew. It is on the journey to Jerusalem that Jesus, according to Luke, utters a good deal of his most important teaching, though some of it does not suit the situation. Jesus, with Luke (as in John), journeys through Samaria, and not, as in Mark and Matthew, through Peræa. Jesus does not avoid the Samaritans, contrary to Matt. x. 5. He combats the prejudice against them (x. 33, xvii. 16). He does not regard the Jewish hostility to the Samaritans as justified because it is returned. Nor are all the Samaritans hostile. If in one Samaritan village he, as a Jew, is rejected, another village receives him' (Wellhausen).

It was, according to Josephus, the customary and regular route for Galilæans going up for the festivals to Jerusalem to pass through the Samaritan territory. The Samaritans are not mentioned in Mark. In Matthew they are just alluded to as heretics (x. 5). 'Enter into no city of the Samaritans.' In Luke the desire is evident and marked to make Jesus use the Samaritans as illustrative of his universalistic doctrine and of the teaching: 'Love your enemies.'

The story of the inhospitable Samaritans Luke must have taken from some source, whether that source be Q or another. Some think that Luke had one especial source which was not Q and not used by, or known to, Matthew. And that source, it is believed, grouped together a considerable part of the sayings and doings of

Jesus between the Galilæan and Jerusalem periods. So too in Mark there is an interval between the two periods, the interval taken up by vii. 24 to ix. 50 (The Northern Journey).

Some think that Luke's account of the Samaritan journey and his notices of the 'travel' period are of his own devising. Thus Bultmann says: 'Luke seems to have felt a need not to leave the journey to Jerusalem so undescribed as Mark does. It also provided a suitable background for many stories which had no traditional place. Thus he frequently mentions the journey x. 38, xiii. 22, xiv. 25, xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xix. 1, 11. But he is not skilful, for though Jesus travels through Samaria, he is surrounded by the same people, and questioned by the same opponents, as in Galilee. He is invited to dinner by Pharisees; goes into a synagogue; Antipas tries to arrest him; and finally, as in Mark, he comes to Jericho; all this shows that Luke has not been able to carry through successfully his fiction of the Samaritan journey. It is difficult to decide whether he determined to let the journey to Jerusalem pass through Samaria because the story in ix. 52–56 gave him the idea, or whether he hit upon the notion of his own accord, and himself gave the Samaritan locale to the story of ix. 52–56' (p. 222). *Cp.* also Loisy (*Luc*, p. 284). The Samaritan journey, entirely unhistoric, prefigures to the redactor the Conversion of the Gentiles. Verse 51 may be by the real Luke, who meant to indicate a rapid journey to the capital, not the long interval imagined by the later 'redactor.'

51. The verse corresponds to Mark x. 1, and then the 'great insertion' begins. The noun ἀνάληψις ('assumption') is only found here in the New Testament. It refers to the ascension into heaven. For the wording *cp.* Sirach xlviii. 9, xlix. 14; 2 Kings ii. 11; 1 Macc. ii. 58. 'The days were fulfilled': *i.e.* the appointed time had nearly arrived. The 'days' neared their end.

53. They were supposed to be pilgrims going up to Jerusalem, the hated religious centre, for the Passover festival. Hence the Samaritans were less than ever disposed to receive them kindly.

54. The allusion is obviously to 2 Kings i. 10–12. The story is a fine one, but whether it be taken from Q or not, its historical character is doubtful.

55. Many MSS. add: 'and he said, Know ye not what manner of spirit ye are of?' or, as otherwise rendered: 'and he said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.' And some MSS. add further: 'For the Son of man did not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' These additions are in true accordance with

the best spirit of the gospel and of Jesus. *Cp.* R.V. M. Harnack (in '*Ich bin gekommen*'), for learned reasons which I cannot here set forth, essays to show that this longer reading is the true original reading of Luke and is authentic. Jesus says here something in addition to what he said in xix. 10 or in Mark ii. 17. He did not come to destroy anybody, even those who deserved destruction. 'Seine Berufsaufgabe ist schlechthin eine errettende, und dieser Geist soll auch seine Jünger durchwalten.' Unfortunately this is not the spirit in which he dealt with his enemies, and it is not the spirit which ever penetrated the Church. But however this may be, these sublime words, and the no less sublime words in Luke xix. 10, which so strikingly use and apply Ezekiel xxxiv. 16: 'The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost,' show us Jesus at his best. There is no reason to think that the object of his mission, as here expressed, was not realized by himself. To seek and save the lost was doubtless one of the objects which, as he believed and truly believed, God had commissioned him to discharge. And of how much goodness and self-sacrifice through the ages has not the 'imitation of Christ' in this regard been the source! It has been the motive for innumerable deeds of patient heroism, and has redeemed much sinfulness, and restored many wanderers from virtue to goodness and to God. But how strange it is that Jesus himself did not realize that if this was the Son of man's mission, it should have been applied, and was applicable, to the Scribe and the Pharisee as well as to the outcast and the tax-collector. Had not Scribe and Pharisee also souls to save? And if they opposed the new teacher, was it not his business, on his own principles, to return the soft answer which removes wrath? But so it was and so it is. To follow the ideal when it is personally distasteful is ever the hardest thing for mortal man. And so strange is the human heart in its casuistry, that Jesus had probably no idea that he was violating his own principles. Though he taught that it was just the 'Pharisees and Scribes' who were really lost, he made no genuine effort to win them over or to save them. By his denunciations—assuming them to be genuine—he only deepened their antagonism, and from his point of view made the lost souls still more certainly lost. If he saved some, he destroyed others, or at least permitted, and even foretold, their assured destruction. And the Church has followed in the footsteps of her Master. She too has both reclaimed and rejected, saved and destroyed. She has indeed sought out the lost when they were willing to agree with her dogmas, but directly they did not see eye to eye with her in all things, she has scattered ruin and ban, fulminated and destroyed. She has persecuted the heretic on earth, and proclaimed his eternal damnation in hell.

Jesus is constantly brought into comparison with Elijah. He

outdoes Elijah's greatest miracles. And if his disciples do not punish the churlish village with heavenly fire, this is not due to lack of might in their Master, but to the difference of his mission. Jesus is greater than Elijah, and a higher spirit inspires him. Nor can we deny that the spirit of Luke ix. 55, with its exemplification of the doctrine of vi. 29, is higher and nobler than the spirit of 2 Kings i. 10–12.

56. Wellhausen and Loisy suppose the other village to have been another Samaritan village, but Holtzmann takes the opposite view. He says: 'One would only then have to conclude that the "other village" was Samaritan, if one had to infer from xvii. 11 that Jesus's journey was continued through Samaria. But in truth this paragraph contains the reason why this did not take place. The new section of Luke opens with a rejection in Samaria, as the former section had begun with a rejection in Galilee.'

57–62. Discipleship and its Conditions

(Matt. viii. 19–22)

And as they went on their way, a man said unto him, 'Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.' And Jesus said unto him, 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has not where to lay his head.' And he said unto another, 'Follow me.' But he said, 'Lord, allow me first to go and bury my father.' But Jesus said unto him, 'Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and proclaim the kingdom of God.' And another also said, 'Lord, I will follow thee; but first permit me to take farewell of those at my home.' And Jesus said unto him, 'No man, who has put his hand to the plough, and then looks back, is fit for the kingdom of God.'

57, 58. *Cp.* Matt. viii. 19, 20. The place which Luke chooses for these verses seems more suitable than Matthew's, but in either case the picture of the hunted outcast or homeless wanderer which is suggested can scarcely be historical, even though the passage be taken from Q. There is, at any rate, no reason to suppose that Jesus had bodily sufferings before he reached Jerusalem.

59. Matt. viii. 21. Luke's version of the famous reply becomes far more intelligible by his making Jesus begin by saying 'Follow me.' Moreover, in Luke the man is not yet a disciple. Matthew's awkward words: 'another of the disciples' are avoided.

60. The addition 'Go thou and proclaim the Kingdom of God' is only in Luke, and is important. Discipleship includes the duty of missionary work.

61, 62. The story of the third candidate for discipleship is only found in Luke. Once more the parallel with, and the contrast to, Elijah are to be noted. Elisha may go first and kiss father and mother; the would-be disciple of Jesus may neither bid farewell to them nor bury them.

The saying of Jesus was perhaps current; Luke provided it with a setting. 'Fit,' that is, not to enter, but to work for, the Kingdom. Such a worker must have no other cares and thoughts. Once he has made up his mind, his service must be whole-hearted and entire. Throughout the ages the magnificent saying may have induced many a doubting and weary labourer to continue without flinching some hard and self-sacrificing task.

[ix. 22. For the 'third day,' *cp.* some good remarks in v. Gall, p. 155.

ix. 18. For the wording here and in Mark viii. 28 as compared with Mt. xvi. 13, *cp.* v. Gall, p. 433. He preserves the distinction between Messiah and the Son of man: Jesus believed that he was the second, but made no claim to be the first. He was not the national 'Messiah,' but the heavenly, pre-existent, Son of man, who was also the Son of God. The identification of the Son of man with the Messiah is later than Jesus. A doubtful hypothesis, but ably set forth.]

CHAPTER X

1–16. The Seventy Disciples

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 37, 38, x. 7, 8, 10–16, 40, xi. 21–23)

After these things the Lord appointed yet seventy others, and sent them two and two before him unto every city and place, whither he himself intended to go. And he said unto them, 'The harvest is large, but the labourers are few: beseech, therefore, the Lord of the harvest that he send out labourers into his harvest. Go forth; behold, I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry neither purse, wallet, nor shoes: and salute no man on the way. And into whatever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if a son of peace be there, your peace will rest upon him: if not, it will return to you. And remain in the same house, eating and drinking what is theirs: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

'And into whatever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat what is set before you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God has come nigh unto you. But into whatever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go out into its streets, and say, Even the very dust of your city, which cleaves to us, we do wipe off against you: yet know this, that the kingdom of God has come nigh. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom than for that city.

'Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they would have long ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the Judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which wast exalted unto heaven, shalt be thrust down unto Hades. He that hears you hears me; and he that rejects you rejects me; and he that rejects me rejects him that sent me.'

Luke had already told of the dispatch of the Twelve, mainly following Mark; here he tells the same story over again following another source (Q), which Matthew had also used, though he mingled it with Mark. Luke makes the repetition possible by enlarging the number of the missionaries to 70, who are thus distinguished from the first twelve. Some good MSS. give the number as 70; others as 72. Perhaps the number may be due to the Elders of Exodus xxiv. 1, Numbers xi. 16, who may be counted as 70 or 72. That the speech was originally composed for the Twelve, and not for an imaginary 70 or 72, can be even seen in Luke, for xxii. 35 refers back to x. 4 and is spoken to the Twelve. Many regard the 70 or 72 as symbolizing the heathen nations. (It is supposed that there are 70 or 72 nations enumerated in Genesis x.) The 70 apostles would then prefigure the Christian preachers to the world at large. 'May not the Mission of the Seventy be the parallel version of Mark's Mission of the Twelve?' (Streeter, p. 217). To Streeter ix. 51–xviii. 14 is all from Proto-Luke who combined bits of Q with bits of L. 2–16 he regards as from Q. Taylor's defence of the historical character of the Mission of the Seventy seems to me extremely feeble, pp. 235, 249.

1. They are to prepare the way for Jesus, who is to follow, but this intention is not carried out. They appear to act in his place, substitutionally. The huge number and the object assigned are alike improbable and unhistorical. Symbolically regarded, they may prefigure the preaching to the nations of the word of the Good Tidings, and of the spiritual Coming of the Christ to these nations in their conversion.

2. *Cp.* Matt. ix. 37, 38.

3. *Cp.* Matt. x. 16.

4. The variant of ix. 3. *Cp.* Matt. x. 10.

5, 6. *Cp.* Matt. x. 11-13.

7–12. Luke expands material which is also used in Matt. x. 7, 8, 10, 14, 15. *Cp.* also Luke ix. 4, 5; Mark vi. 10, 11.

In 5–7 they enter a house and eat there; in 8–11 they enter a city and eat there. Apparently the two statements reflect the earlier and more private preaching in houses, and the later and more public preaching out of doors.

8. They are apparently not to scruple to eat food which according to the Jewish Law is illegal, *e.g.* rabbits or meat cooked in milk.

All this assumes later events and Pauline preaching among the heathen. It is peculiar to Luke. *Cp.* 1 Cor. x. 27, ix. 5–14.

9. 'The Kingdom of God has come nigh unto you' (*cp.* Matt. x. 7). This seems to mean: the Kingdom is beginning upon earth, even if you reject the apostles. The only result of your rejection is that you will not benefit by, or participate in, the Kingdom. The Kingdom is already present, and is about to show itself to, or be realized among, you, if you show receptivity. But if rejected, then all that can be said is that the Kingdom has been near you (but will not now be granted to you). *Cp.* verse 11.

13–15. The denunciation of the Galilæan cities finds another place in Matthew (xi. 21–23). It is out of place here. 'The pronouncement of a Christian prophet casting a retrospective glance at the work of Jesus in Galilee' (Loisy).

16. *Cp.* ix. 48; Matt. x. 40, xviii. 5; Mark ix. 37.

17–20. The Return of the Disciples

(Luke only)

7 And the seventy returned with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the
8 demons became subject unto us in thy name.' And he said unto
9 them, 'I beheld Satan fall as lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and in nothing shall it injure
0 you at all. Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven.'

17. They seem to return very quickly. 17 is the variant to ix. 10. *Cp.* Mark vi. 30. The demons became obedient to them through the use, or invocation, of the name of Jesus.

18. A strange verse which may be quite independent originally of 19, 20. Elsewhere Jesus is not reported as having visions. The fall of Satan means the inauguration of the rule of Messiah; the advent of the Kingdom. 'The ministry of Jesus in Luke is represented as a kind of warfare between the powers of good and evil' (Carpenter).

'As lightning'; so suddenly. 'I saw'; when? During the absence of the Seventy? The tense is the imperfect, *ἐθεώρουν*.

The interpretation of the verse is an amusing illustration of the immense difficulty of arriving at any certain conclusion as to what Jesus said or did not say. It illustrates the unavoidable subjectivity of the commentators. To J. Weiss the verse is most *à propos*. It suits *his* theory exactly. The mind of Jesus is filled with divine assurance that it is he who is to destroy the devil's kingdom and to inaugurate upon earth the Kingdom of God. He is no mere teacher, but a prophet, a prophet who knows visions and ecstasies. His thought is intensely eschatological. There is thus not 'the least reason to deny' that he had a vision such as is here described. And the verse is undoubtedly authentic: it carries 'the stamp of authenticity in its very character which could not possibly have been invented.' Whereas to W. the verse even as a record of a vision is 'too dry and incomplete.' Moreover, Jesus is no visionary. The isolated verse is 'quite apocryphal.' It is certainly apocryphal, because it does not suit W.'s interpretation of Jesus's character. It is certainly authentic, because it suits the interpretation of Weiss. Dr. Carpenter says that 'the saying has all the appearance of originality, though Luke seems to have placed it in a later connection than it probably originally occupied' (*The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*, 1911, p. 90, n. 2). Loisy says: 'La vision est fictive comme la mission' (*Luc*, p. 209).

19, 20. Bultmann regards these verses as probably connected with each other, but not connected originally with 18, and later than the lifetime of Jesus (p. 96). 19 is modelled on Psalm xci. 11–13. The disciples are not to attach too much importance to the subjection of the demons. Rather are they to rejoice in their being enrolled as citizens of the heavenly Kingdom. The Kingdom of God is now conceived as soon to be realized on earth, and now as already existing in heaven.

21, 22. The Father and the Son

(*Cp.* Matt. xi. 25–27)

21 In that hour Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, 'I praise thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and the clever, and hast revealed them unto the simple. Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in
22 thy sight.' Then, turning to the disciples, he said, 'All was delivered unto me by my Father: and no man knows who the Son is, except the Father; and who the Father is, except the Son, and him to whom the Son would reveal him.'

These verses have been fully dealt with in the notes on Matthew. Luke's introduction is to be noted. Jesus is distinctly said to be inspired by the Holy Spirit in his joy and also in the words which he says. The introduction to 22 is also an addition of Luke's.

23, 24. The Happy Eye-witnesses

(*Cp.* Matt. xiii. 16, 17)

And he turned unto the disciples, and said privately, 'Happy are the eyes which see what ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see what ye see, and have not seen; and to hear what ye hear, and have not heard.'

24. What the disciples see is the advent of the Messiah. For this prophets and kings (David, Hezekiah and Josiah) had yearned in vain. Luke has 'kings,' where Matthew has 'righteous men.' To mark off these verses better from what precedes, Luke provides them with a special introduction. They are specially addressed to the disciples and appertain to them. Perhaps these were the only words which the original redaction of the Logia (Q) connected with the return of the disciples.

25–37. The Acquisition of Eternal Life and the Parable of the Good Samaritan

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 28–34; Matt. xxii. 34–40)

And, behold, a teacher of the Law came forward and tempted him, saying, 'Master, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' He said unto him, 'What is written in the Law? how readest thou?' And he answered and said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.' And he said unto him, 'Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.'

But he, desiring to justify himself, said unto Jesus, 'And who is my neighbour?' And Jesus answered, saying, 'A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, who stripped him, and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance a priest came down that way: and he saw him,

32 and passed by. And likewise a Levite came to that place, and he
33 too saw, and passed by. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed,
34 came where he was: and he saw and had compassion. And he went up to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn,
35 and took care of him. And on the morrow he took out two pieces of silver, and gave them to the innkeeper, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatever thou spendest more, when I come
36 back again, I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was a neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?'
37 And he said, 'The one that shewed him pity.' Then said Jesus unto him, 'Go, and do thou likewise.'

The famous parable of the good Samaritan, which is only found in Luke, occurs as a sort of awkward appendix to a story which corresponds with the story in Mark and Matthew of 'the greatest commandment.'

It is pretty clear that the parable must, originally, have been quite independent of the story with which it is now connected. This story Streeter thinks comes in Luke's version from L or possibly from Q (pp. 210, 320).

25. 'Tempting him.' So too in Matthew (not so in Mark) where, however, the tempting is more in place as one of a series.

The Rabbi does not ask, as in Mark and Matthew, 'which is the greatest commandment?', but what he must do to obtain eternal life. (So in the story of the young man with great possessions, Mark x. 17; Matt. xix. 16; Luke xviii. 18.) It may be that the change is due to Luke thinking that his Gentile readers would not be interested in a merely legal question. The ultimate meaning is much the same. Loisy thinks that 'eternal life is meant to echo the words which Jesus had just addressed to his disciples' (*Luc*, p. 304).

26, 27. In Mark and Matthew Jesus gives the answer himself; in Luke he elicits it from the Rabbi.

It is interesting that Luke is not concerned to give to Jesus the 'high originality' of combining together Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. He is not alarmed that this combination should be effected by one of a class, to whom otherwise he is not partial. The combination was apparently a commonplace, equally familiar to Christian and to Jew. It is more probable that if this was an *actual* conversation

it was as Luke gives it, and that Mark and Matthew altered the original arrangement as it stood in the oldest source.

28. Jesus commends the Rabbi for his answer, and says to him, not harshly, 'This do and thou shalt live.' Nevertheless in the next verse the Rabbi is represented in a somewhat unfavourable light, as unsatisfied, and his reply (Luke only) gives the opportunity for Jesus to explain the true meaning of a commandment which he (the Rabbi) had repeated with his lips, but had not really understood in its depth and purity.

Thus Luke, too, though in a different way from Matthew, is glad to depreciate the Rabbi. He is glad to hook on the parable of the good Samaritan to the story of the 'greatest commandment' in such a way as not only to give it a convenient place, but to attack the Scribes into the bargain.

29. 'Desiring to justify himself.' Apparently this means that he wanted to excuse himself; the matter was not so simple after all, for though he knows the verse in Leviticus well enough, the question is, Who is my neighbour? How widely must the term be stretched? Whom must it include?

The explanation of his question Luke means to be that the man wanted to know how far the duty of neighbourly kindness extended. One must, however, remember that the question is an editorial artifice for connecting the story with the parable. Even if the story is authentic, the question is probably not authentic.

It is, however, very odd that the question should be so badly constructed. For though the question is to lead on to the parable, the parable does not fit in with, or answer to, the question. For the answer to the question should be: 'Anybody is your neighbour who needs your love; even though he be a Samaritan.' The neighbour should be the *object* of the action. Instead of which the parable is an answer to the question, 'Whose neighbour am I?' In the parable, that is, the neighbour is the *subject* of the action, the man who helps, not (as he should be) the man who needs help. In other words, a Jew ought to help a wounded Samaritan, not a Samaritan a wounded Jew. Yet it may also be said that the Samaritan puts the Jews to shame, for he knows the meaning of 'neighbour' better than the Jews. The Jew is in need of his help; therefore the Jew is his neighbour. In fact, from one point of view, 'your neighbour' is the man who shows you love; from another, 'your neighbour' is the man whose need demands that you should show love to him. In verse 36 the 'neighbour' is the man who shows pity; that is, the 'neighbour' is the subject, not the object. Nevertheless, one can understand the confusion arising

in Luke's mind. Though verse 36 does not really fit in with the Rabbi's question, yet the verse is doubtless due to Luke, and was not in the original parable. The subject and object of charity were muddled up in the Evangelist's mind. Deeds of love must not be limited by race; that the Samaritan helps a Jew serves to illustrate the thesis that a Jew ought to help anybody.

34. To wash wounds with wine as well as oil is, it appears, true to medical custom in antiquity.

36. Which was the 'neighbour' to the unfortunate man? *i.e.* the 'neighbour' is the 'subject,' not, as in the command, the 'object' of the loving action. Perhaps the original question was: 'Which of the three appears to you nearest to the kingdom of God, or more qualified to inherit eternal life?' One must not press the parable, even as it stands, by arguing that if the Samaritan be a 'neighbour,' the Priest and Levite are not neighbours. It is not meant that the neighbour is only he to whom one is grateful—that if to the wounded man the Samaritan was his neighbour, he is to love the Samaritan, and *not* to love the Priest and the Levite, for they were not his neighbours. That would be to break the butterfly upon wheels. No doubt that the Evangelist has also some symbolism in view. 'His purpose is to show that the kind-hearted Samaritan—in other words, the Christian worthy of the name—fulfils the whole Law; not so the haughty Jew' (*Luc*, p. 309).

Many commentators suppose that the parable is placed by Luke at this point of his Gospel because Jesus is passing through Samaria. But the locale of the parable 'between Jerusalem and Jericho' suits best for a Jerusalem audience. The parallel story in Mark (xii. 28–34) is spoken in Jerusalem.

It is, however, very doubtful whether in the original parable as spoken by Jesus the good man was a Samaritan at all. It is probable that in the original parable the three men were Priest, Levite, and Israelite; not 'Priest, Levite, and Samaritan.' It was the great scholar Halévy who put forward this view in 1882, and although his arguments have been ignored by Christian scholars, they still seem to me extremely forcible. I do not think much of Halévy's argument that it is very doubtful whether the historic Jesus would have made a Samaritan a hero of charity. For (*a*) Matt. x. 5 may not be authentic, and (*b*) the historic Jesus was, in all probability, at least as universalistic in his teaching as 2 Isaiah or the author of Jonah or of Isaiah xix. 23–25. And the parable, as we have it, is quite in the spirit of these three men and of their teaching. The chief arguments of Halévy are quite different and much more plausible.

(1) How could a Samaritan be passing and repassing between Jericho and Jerusalem? As Halévy says: 'The hatred between the two peoples was such that they had no dealings with each other. All goods of Samaritan origin were strictly taboo, and no commercial transactions took place. Jews and Samaritans never ate together, and refused each other's hospitality.' How, then, could a Samaritan be found between Jerusalem and Jericho, and be on good terms with the landlord of an inn?

(2) The collocation of Priest, Levite, and Samaritan is to Jewish ears extremely absurd. Israelite, Samaritan; such a contrast is reasonable. Priest, Levite, and Samaritan is no less queer and impossible than 'Priest, Deacon, and Frenchman' would be to us to-day. On the other hand, Priest, Levite, and Israelite is a frequent and usual collocation. The word 'Israelite' was commonly used to mean a man who was neither Priest nor Levite (like our word 'layman'). So we might say, 'Priest, Deacon, and Layman.'

(3) 'The point of the parable lies in this contrast: the Priest and the Levite who live by the gifts of pilgrims, and who ought to show an example to the common people, abandon pitilessly a poor wounded pilgrim on a deserted road.' A simple Israelite saves him. This meaning of Israelite as equalling non-Priest, non-Levite, so familiar to Jewish readers, was incomprehensible to the Gentile Christians for whom Luke used the parable. To them Priest and Levite were also Israelites, and so the third man could not be Israelite too. Hence the correction of Ἰσραηλίτης (Israelite) into Σαμαρείτης (Samaritan), 'and this correction was welcomed with all the more favour because it satisfied a real need, namely, to connect once more with Jesus the idea of the superiority of pagan Christians over unconverted Jews' (*Revue des Études juives*, IV. pp. 249–255).

The customary explanations of the Priest and the Levite are not satisfactory. Thus Klostermann says: That a Priest and Levite are put in contrast with a Samaritan is to be explained on the supposition that they ought to have been merciful beyond all others. But then the contrast ought to have been between them and a plain Israelite, not between them and a Samaritan. Nevertheless, I have to mention that Dr. Abrahams in his admirable chapter, 'The Good Samaritan' (*Studies*, 2nd Series, VII. pp. 33–40) does not accept Halévy's hypothesis. It would be good if many a German Protestant theologian could read Dr. Abrahams' essay: what a wry face they would make over it! And yet it is serene, and not partial; only just. Dr. Abrahams shows conclusively that much still commonly quoted (*e.g.* by Klostermann) from Rabbinical literature as a contrast to the parable is irrelevant, and that Rabbis were quite capable of acting according to the teaching

of the parable, and that some actually did so. And certainly one recorded *action* is worth ten fine sentiments.

Yet Dr. Abrahams is as appreciative of the parable as any Christian. And rightly. Nor does it matter even if Halévy's hypothesis could be proved to be correct. For whether the Samaritan was original to the parable or not, at all events he is there now, and the conception of the good Samaritan is one which the world will not easily let go. For the parable is one of the simplest and noblest among the noble gallery of parables in the Synoptic Gospels. Love, it tells us, must know no limits of race and ask no enquiry. Who needs me is my neighbour. Whom at the given time and place I can help with my active love, he is my neighbour and I am his. If the grudging Jewish critic should still seek to argue that even this parable, though 'true' is not (as regards the Old Testament) 'new,' he must surely admit that the exact parallels to it in that book are very few. Nor can he deny that nowhere in the Old Testament parallels is the doctrine so exquisitely and dramatically taught. No sensible and impartial person would wish to deny the excellence of such commands as Exodus xxii. 21, xxiii. 4, 5, but why should we not also gladly welcome and use a parable which can appeal with such power to the heart and imagination of young and old as the parable of the good Samaritan?

38–42. Mary and Martha

(Luke only)

38 Now it came to pass, in the course of their journeying, that he entered into a certain village: and a woman named Martha
39 received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, who seated herself at the feet of the Lord, listening to his words.
40 But Martha was agitated about all the service, and she came up to Jesus, and said, 'Lord, dost thou not care that my sister has left the
41 serving to me alone? Tell her, then, to help me.' And Jesus answered and said unto her, 'Martha, Martha; [thou art anxious
42 and troubled about many things: of one thing (only) there is need:] Mary has chosen the good part, from which she must not be drawn away.'

After the lesson of the good Samaritan, the story of Martha and Mary may be intended to show that the next duty after the love of one's neighbour is that of listening to the Gospel: after charity comes faith. Whether the story has any historic basis is

uncertain. It was perhaps taken from the same source as ix. 51–56, and may in that source have immediately succeeded that passage.

38. Martha seems to be the 'Hausfrau'; perhaps a widow. Mary is probably unmarried.

40. Martha was distracted and bothered about the service. Apparently this means that she was anxious to give the preacher a fine reception and a good dinner.

41, 42. The text is uncertain, but the original may have been: 'Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about much (*i.e.* much and various food and elaborate entertainment), but I need few things'—*i.e.* my wants are few. The first correction of the text may have made it assume the form which the oldest MSS. have now: 'but I need, or, there is need of, few things or one thing,' but 'one thing' for 'very little' seems strange. Probably the 'one thing' which the compiler of that text, if he really added the words ἢ ἑνός, meant, was not a part of the many things, not food or entertainment, but something spiritual, God's Word, or the like. Finally, to suit this interpretation the word 'few' was omitted, so that the reading became: 'of One thing only there is need,' and this would become identical with that spiritual 'good portion' which Mary had chosen for herself—hearing the gospel and the good tidings of the Kingdom. But the S.S. has only 'Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen the good part' etc., and some think that this shortest form of the first half of the verse is the most original. The additions may have been, first: 'You trouble yourself about much, but (only) of one thing is there need,' and then secondly, a variant, 'You trouble about much, but little is needful.' The first of these had a spiritual meaning; the second a material one: my needs are few. Then, lastly, these two variants were combined into the text; 'little is necessary, or rather, one thing only.' Mary's choice (to be wholly immersed in the teaching of Jesus, wholly occupied in thinking of, and preparing for, the Kingdom) is better than being troubled with outward concerns. Thus not only outward charity (x. 30–36) is necessary, but also inward devotion. The active and the contemplative life are both requisite. The last four words of the verse should apparently be translated, not as in A.V. and R.V., but thus: 'from which she must not (or shall not) be drawn away': from the good portion which she has chosen, *i.e.* from her conduct in listening to the Word of God, she must not be drawn away, hindered, or disturbed.

Loisy still persists in thinking that, under the figure of the two women, Jewish and Gentile Christianity are represented according

to their respective characters and in their relation to each other, which should be friendly and not inimical. The reading of the S.S. is the correct one. Faith is enough; no need for Mary to observe the details of the ceremonial law; Martha's 'service' symbolizes the injunctions of the code (*Luc*, pp. 311–313).

[x. 22. A fresh defence of this passage can be found in v. Gall, pp. 435, 436, depending upon his whole theory of the Son of man, who is also the Son of God, with its Iranian origin. His entire chapter on the subject is well worth reading (pp. 409–446), but I much doubt whether, as a whole, it will win acceptance. Nor can the immense difficulties in the way of the authenticity of x. 22 be as lightly got over as v. Gall seems to think possible. In other passages v. Gall is often sceptical as to authenticity. So, *e.g.*, where Jesus is made to refer to this Age and the next Age as in Luke xviii. 30 or xx. 35, or to 'the children of this Age' as contrasted with 'the children of light' in xvi. 8. He quotes J. Weiss with approval as regards xvi. 8, 'Die Ausdrücke haben fast johanneische Färbung,' p. 271].

CHAPTER XI

1–13. On Prayer

(*Cp.* Matt. vi. 9–13, vii. 7–11)

And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, 'Lord, teach us to pray, as John too taught his disciples.' And he said unto them, 'When ye pray, say, Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves forgive all who are in debt to us. And lead us not into temptation.'

And he said unto them, 'If one of you have a friend, and go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine has come on his journey to me, and I have nothing to set before him. Will he from within answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is already shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give to thee. I say unto you, Even if he will not rise and give to him because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as much as he needs.

'And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asks receives; and he that seeks finds; and to him that knocks it shall be opened. If a son shall ask for bread from any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask for a fish, will he give him a serpent? or if he ask for an egg, will he give him a scorpion? If then ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more will your Father from heaven give of the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?'

1. The 'doctors' differ as to the historical character of this introduction to the Lord's prayer.

Wellhausen argues thus: 'The disciples make their request because they see Jesus praying, and because they do not want to be inferior to the disciples of John who already possessed a special prayer of their Master's. Both reasons can easily be combined, but it would seem that the first was added later. The disciples of John have a priority, as in fasting and baptism, so also in prayer. It is acknowledged that fasting only became prevalent among the disciples of Jesus after his death: the same thing will have been the case as regards prayer. *Cp.* v. 33. The passage reflects a time in which the disciples, and no longer the two Masters, stand over against each other. In Matt. vi. the Lord's Prayer is a later addition; Mark is ignorant of it.'

On the other hand, Loisy argues thus: 'The fact itself of the request made to Jesus is a conclusion not deducible from the prayer. A historian of the life of Christ would have been more tempted to leave it out than to invent it' (*E. S.* 1. p. 599).

It was customary for a famous Rabbi to compose a special prayer. A number of these special prayers which in the Talmud are attributed to particular Rabbis became part of the regular liturgy.

The Lord's Prayer is slightly shorter in Luke than in Matthew, and the wording is not quite the same. For 'Thy Kingdom come' some MSS. and some old church fathers read: 'Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us.' *Cp.* verse 13. The shorter form in Luke is perhaps more original than the form in Matthew. Whether even his form goes back to Jesus is uncertain. It may represent a gradual putting together, and stereotyped fixing, of prayer formulæ and phrases which Jesus may often have used. That there is no reference or allusion to the prayer in Mark or Paul makes it doubtful whether it can have served already in the apostolic community as the regular form of prayer. *Cp.* the notes on the Lord's Prayer in Matthew. To Streeter the Lucan form of the prayer is from L, and the reading, 'May thy holy spirit, etc.' is the true reading, though less original than Matthew's version taken from M. As to ἐπιούσιος, 'its presence in Luke' may be 'due to an assimilation to Matthew which has infected' all the MSS. (p. 277). Harnack's conclusions were given in the notes on Matthew. Loisy's last conclusions are different and sceptical. 'It is probable that tradition ascribes to Jesus a prayer in reality adopted by the first community, that is to say, a Jewish prayer, modified a little in order to express the Christian hope and the needs of the community. The sect was very anxious that *its* prayer should have been prescribed by Jesus, just as the adherents of John the Baptist had a prayer which had been, or which was supposed to have been, recommended by *their* master' (*Luc*, p. 315).

2. Perhaps Luke with his *ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε* makes the prayer rather more of a rigid formulary than Matthew with his *οὕτως προσεύχεσθε*.

4. The *γάρ* (' for ') is rather awkward. The meaning is not: ' forgive us *because* we have forgiven.' But rather: we may ask you to forgive us, for we have forgiven others. We have fulfilled the needful condition.

5–8. Luke only. *Cp.* xviii. 1–8 (also Luke only. The two parables form a pair, which have perhaps been separated by Luke.)

8. ' Because of his importunity '; the Greek word is even stronger: *ἀναιδεία*, literally, shamelessness. From one point of view much, or, at any rate, long prayer is idle (Matt. vi. 7); from another, importunate prayer is urged. The two injunctions are not necessarily inconsistent; yet the former seems to-day the more acceptable to us. The ' shamelessness ' is not blamed. The friend yields because he is afraid that the persistency of the man may cause him *further* trouble. The quiet confidence of Matt. vi. 8 (' your father knows ' etc.) contrasts to some extent with the advice here given by Luke, which is not of a particularly elevated kind. If you go on long enough, God, wearied by your importunity, will grant your request.

How simple and unphilosophic Jesus's conception of God must have been. People sometimes sneer at the ' Jewish ' conception of the ' external ' God—a God, who is just a ' person ' like ourselves, separate from us and from the world. Such a God was undoubtedly the God of Jesus, a far simpler God probably than the God of the author of Psalm cxxxix. (*cp.* Prof. W. James, *A Pluralistic Universe*, p. 111). But yet He was a very ' near ' God all the same. And so He was and is very near, even though ' external,' to most old-fashioned Jews.

9–13. This section, like the Lord's Prayer 2–4, occurs in Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount.

13. Luke changes the ' good things ' of Matthew (vii. 11) to ' Holy Spirit.' The real essence of all Christian prayer should be a request for the reception of the Holy Spirit. But the S.S. reads (as Matt. vii. 11) that God will give ' good things.' This may be original. The Holy Spirit may be a later change. A fine and notable change, in that case, depending upon a fine idea. Some think that the use of the ' Holy Spirit ' in verse 13 confirms its use in the second petition of the Prayer.

14–26. Jesus and Beelzebul

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 22–30 ; Matt. xii. 22–30, 43–45)

14 And he cast out a demon, and it was dumb. And it came to
pass, when the demon had gone out, the dumb man spoke ; and
15 the people marvelled. But some of them said, 'He casts out
16 demons through Beelzebul the lord of the demons.' And others,
17 tempting him, demanded from him a sign from heaven. But he,
knowing their thoughts, said unto them, 'Every kingdom divided
18 against itself is ruined, and one house falls upon another. If
Satan also be divided against himself, how can his kingdom endure ?
because ye say that I cast out the demons through Beelzebul. And
19 if I by Beelzebul cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them
20 out ? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I through the finger
of God cast out the demons, then the kingdom of God has already
21 come unto you. When a strong man armed guards his palace,
22 his goods are in peace : but when a stronger than he comes upon
him, and conquers him, he takes from him all his armour wherein
23 he trusted, and divides his spoils. He that is not with me is
against me : and he that gathers not with me scatters.
24 'When the unclean spirit has gone out of a man, it walks through
waterless places, seeking rest ; and finding none, it says, I will
25 return unto my house whence I went out. And when it has entered,
26 it finds it swept and garnished. Then it goes and takes with it
seven other spirits more wicked than itself ; and they enter in, and
dwell there : and the last state of that man becomes worse than
the first.'

Here Luke mainly follows the special source (Q) which was used by both him and Matthew. He had omitted Mark's account of the matter in iii. 22–30. Matthew combined Mark and Q.

16. This verse prepares the way for xi. 29. Its parallel in Matthew is xii. 38.

Why does Luke put the demand for a sign here instead of before 29, as Matthew more properly does ? Loisy deals with this point very aptly. 'It is not by mere literary artifice, in order to subordinate to a general introductory phrase Jesus's vindication of himself and his observations concerning signs, that Luke links up the request for a sign with the words concerning Beelzebul. It is because he

perceived a relation between these two subjects which, in the collection of sayings (Q), had been placed in juxtaposition actually by reason of this relation. It is the adversaries of Jesus, the Jews, who both hurl the slander at him and make the request. Although the slanderers and those who make the request seem distinct from each other, both groups represent unbelieving Judaism. Those who require a sign do not realize that the triumph of Jesus over the demons is a sign in itself. Jesus refutes them by showing that the defeat of Satan proves the arrival of the Kingdom. After that he can fitly reproach them for their untimely desire for a sign' (*Luc*, p. 321).

20. Matthew has 'through the Spirit of God': for this Luke substitutes 'through the finger of God.'

21. The strong man is here represented as the owner of a palace who fights against an enemy.

22. The taken 'armour' may represent the demons. The 'spoils' may represent the possessed persons over whom Satan has had power.

24–26 seem more suitably placed here than in Matthew. The connection intended may be what Loisy suggests: 'Whosoever is not with Jesus in sincere and persevering faith profits nothing by casting out devils or by being released for a time from their yoke. Destined to ultimate perdition, he is like a man possessed of one demon who is delivered for a moment, only to be seized by eight others' (*Luc*, p. 324).

27, 28. Jesus and his Mother

(Luke only)

And it came to pass, as he spoke these words, a woman from the crowd lifted up her voice, and said unto him, 'Happy is the womb that bore thee, and the breasts which thou hast sucked.' But he said, 'Yea, but happy rather are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.'

These verses are a variant of Mark iii. 31–35, already given in viii. 19–21. They may be the creation of Luke or included by him from some other source. That source is, perhaps, Q. *Cp.* Streeter, pp. 278, 279. It may be noticed that no disrespect to Mary

is intended; on the contrary, Luke tends to magnify her position and importance. It is not said that she is not happy to have Jesus for her son, but that still more happy are they who receive the gospel and maintain it.

Physical relationship to the Master is not the highest relationship. Most blessed are they who listen to the word of God, which he teaches, and perform it. However correct this may be, there is a certain depreciation of the most sacred of human relationships which is out of harmony with Jewish feeling. Verses of this kind would, I fancy, be impossible in a purely Jewish book.

28. μενοῦν. We may either render as above, or, 'Nay, rather.'

29–32. The Sign of Jonah

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 38–42)

29 And when a crowd of people was gathered together, he began
to say, 'This generation is a wicked generation: it seeks a sign;
and no sign shall be given it but the sign of Jonah the prophet.
30 For as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the
31 Son of man be to this generation. The queen of the south shall
appear as accuser of this generation, and condemn it: for she
came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon;
32 and, behold, more than Solomon is here. The men of Nineve shall
appear as accusers of this generation, and shall condemn it: for
they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and, behold, more than
Jonah is here.'

The question what the sign of Jonah may be has been briefly alluded to in the notes on Matthew. Does Luke mean that his preaching is the sign, or is the sign his deliverance from the fish? Or is the repentance of the Ninevites the sign? All these and other possibilities have their exponents and champions.

In what way will Jesus, according to Luke, be a sign to the men of this generation? Loisy holds that the sign of Jonah to Luke is what it was to Matthew: it is the miracle of his entombment in the fish and of his being evicted from the fish. The three days and nights are omitted because they did not accord with the traditional date of the resurrection. And 'the sign of the Son of Man is his earthly manifestation crowned by his resurrection, and towards this sign the Jews have displayed nothing but blind unbelief' (*Luc*, p. 327).

33–36. Similes about Light

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 21 ; Matt. v. 15, vi. 22, 23)

'No man, when he has lighted a lamp, puts it in a secret place, or under the bushel, but on the lampstand, that they who come in may see the light. The lamp of the body is thine eye : when thine eye is single, thy whole body is light ; but when thine eye is bad, thy body also is dark. Take heed, then, that the light in thee be not darkness. If, then, thy whole body be light, having no part dark, it will be wholly light, as when the lamp with its bright shining gives thee light.'

33. *Cp.* viii. 16. No connection seems possible between 32 and 33, and between 33 and 34 there seems merely the verbal connection of the word 'lamp.' The parallels in Matthew occur in the Sermon on the Mount.

36. The literal translation of this verse gives a poor and tautologous sense. It is probably corrupt. Merx, after a minute examination of the textual evidence, gives the following as the original of 35 and 36. 'The lamp of the body is the eye. When thine eye is single, thy whole body too is light. When thine eye is bad, thy body too is dark. Look to it, then, lest the light in thee be dark. If the light in thee be dark, how great the darkness.' Jesus is speaking of the internal light ; the light of the soul. If the soul be dark, great is the darkness.

37–54. Against the Pharisees

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiii.)

And as he spoke, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him : and he went in, and sat down to table. And the Pharisee wondered when he saw that he had not first washed before dinner. But the Lord said unto him, 'Now ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and the dish ; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness. Ye fools, does not he that cleans that which is inward clean that which is outward also ? But rather cleanse what is within, and, behold, all things are clean unto you.

'But woe unto you, Pharisees ! for ye pay tithe from mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and neglect justice and the love of God : these ought ye to do, though not to leave the other undone.

43 Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye love the first seats in the
44 synagogues and greetings in the market-places. Woe unto you, for ye are as graves which are not seen, so that men walk over them without knowing it.'

45 Then answered one of the teachers of the Law, and said unto
46 him, 'Master, in speaking thus thou insultest us also.' But he said, 'Woe unto you also, ye teachers of the Law; for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and yourselves touch not the
47 burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto you! for ye build the
48 tombs of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. Thus ye bear witness and consent to the deeds of your fathers: for they killed
49 them, and ye build their tombs. Therefore also the Wisdom of God said, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them
50 they will slay and persecute: that the blood of all the prophets, which has been shed from the foundation of the world, may be
51 required from this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple:
52 yea I say unto you, It shall be required from this generation. Woe unto you, ye teachers of the Law, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye have not entered in yourselves, and those who wanted to enter in ye have prevented.'

53 And when he had departed thence, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press him urgently, and to question him about
54 many things, laying wait for him to catch something out of his mouth.

This long attack corresponds roughly with Matt. xxiii., where Jesus speaks it at Jerusalem in the Temple. Here, far less suitably, he makes the speech on his journey, at table as a guest of a Pharisee. It would have been the height of discourtesy to make such a speech on such an occasion. The interjection of the Scribe at 45 is even milder than the occasion would have demanded. Moreover, the speech demands the presence of a number of Scribes and Pharisees who cannot have all suddenly arrived at the house. The introduction to the speech (verse 38) seems taken from Mark vii. 2, the rest of which chapter is omitted by Luke. Loisy thinks that Luke put the speech against the Pharisees here because he wanted to make the Jerusalem speeches end up with the apocalyptic oration of Mark. But the last verses (53, 54), in spite of the 'attenuation' which they have undergone, show that in the source the speech was followed by the story of the Passion.

Klostermann thinks that the speech was, perhaps, put here because of a fancied connection between 35, 36 with 40, 41. The whole introduction is as artificial as possible, and certainly seems to indicate a late redactional date. As to the attack itself, Loisy now holds that it is not authentic, but his scepticism would be more worthy of belief if it were less general. 'These tirades against the Pharisees, with which tradition has dealt freely, were from the first the denunciation of unbelieving Judaism by a Christian prophet, although critics in general (as, for example, Bultmann, p. 77) continue to ascribe the basis of them to Jesus' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 330). 'Of the seven maledictions found in Matthew our evangelist retains five. As he uses the first as an exordium, he would have only four, if he had not quoted as maledictions two passages which do not have that character in Matthew, because the latter, on his part, has used them as an exordium. The two maledictions which Luke does not retain are secondary, and it is possible that he did not find them in the collection of sayings. He distributes his six maledictions between the Pharisees and the Scribes, three for each group, whereas in Matthew Pharisees and Scribes are addressed simultaneously. It is an artificial combination, and the intervention of the Rabbi (xi. 45) after the three maledictions against the Pharisees is only a way of varying the *mise-en-scène* by an interjected dialogue, of which device the author makes use also in other places. (*Cp.* xii. 41; xiv. 25; xvii. 5, 37.) As the Scribes were Pharisees there was no need for them to be denounced separately, just as the whole discourse is directed against the learned leaders of Pharisaism, not against their followers' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 331).

38. One cannot help sympathizing with the Pharisee's wonder. The guest should not offend the host, whatever his opinions may be. Moreover the custom, though an externality, was as much a custom of decency and propriety as of religion. The Rabbis were very keen about decency and cleanliness from a civilized and secular point of view. The maxim, 'These ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone' (Matt. xxiii. 23 at the end), would have enabled Jesus to wash his hands consistently with his own right principle that the inward *precedes* the outward. The inward cannot always *include* the outward. No amount of right doing and holy being will make a man's hands physically clean. The dirty saint is a bad creation of Christianity, though by no means all Christian saints objected to cleanliness or despised it. Judaism does not know the dirty saint. 'Cleanliness is next to godliness,' taking cleanliness in quite a secular and unlevitical sense, is not a bad proverb, and in full accordance with Rabbinic spirit.

The difficulty remains, however, as to the washing, which is the

same as the difficulty in Mark vii. 1–4. Why *should* the Pharisee have wondered, if no rule as to washing before meals existed at that date? (A.D. 28–30). And if the source is independent of Mark, the difficulty becomes greater; we should then have two independent Gospel passages to set against the Talmudic evidence. In his *Expository Times* article Dr. Büchler held that the Pharisee must have been a priest: 'He observed the washing of the hands himself, and expected everybody partaking of his meal at his table to do the same.' But I do not think that Dr. Büchler would now give the same explanation. *Cp.* the notes on Mark vii. 1–4.

39. 'Your inward part is full,' so probably correctly as against Matthew xxiii. 25. J. Weiss would like to omit 'cup and dish' as a gloss, and thus make the contrast lie between the bodily outside, which they are so keen to keep clean, and their dirty souls. The situation—a meal—makes this beginning very suitable.

It is, perhaps, needless to add that the charge, if applied to the Pharisees as a whole, is unhistorical. Yet scholars, who should know better, go on talking as if all the Pharisees were 'actors' and whited sepulchres. So, for instance, does Mr. Glover in his delightful and learned book, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*. Mr. Glover has many hard things to say of Judaism. Jesus can only be extolled at the expense of the religion of his fathers and contemporaries. The result is that of both Jesus and Judaism very dubious things are said. Did Jesus in very truth 'cut away at once every vestige of the primitive and every savage survival'? Did he not believe in demonic possession? I am not, however, concerned and desirous to weaken a generous enthusiasm, though perhaps it is the fact that it is Mr. Glover's lack of familiarity with Jewish literature which makes 'the sheer originality of Jesus' so 'bewildering' to him. But as to his estimate of Judaism a few words may be added. How well he proves his own sagacious words that religions need testing 'in life': but he does not seem to know Jewish life from within. If he did, he would, I think, have written differently. 'It is easy,' as he says, 'to find faults in the religion of other men,' but as he adds, 'it is not so profitable as it seems.' It is also dangerous unless one is well informed. He seems to think that the enactments of the Law were observed, not because it was believed that God, all wise and all holy, ordered them, but as mere emblems of 'patriotism.' A strange misconception! He says: 'The Sabbath, circumcision, the blood and butter taboos remained —as they still remain in the most liberal of Liberal Judaisms—tribe marks with no religious value, but maintained by patriotism' (p. 132). It is strange to hear that the institution of the Sabbath has no religious value. It is erroneous that Liberal Judaism still

orders the observance of blood and butter taboos. And where they are maintained, it is again erroneous that these 'taboos' are observed from patriotism, and not from religion. But stranger things are said in the next sentence. 'Side by side with this lived *and lives* (italics mine) that hatred of the Gentile, which is attributed to Christian persecution, but which Juvenal saw and noted before the Christian had ceased to be persecuted by the Jew.' But did Juvenal live before Titus: did Juvenal live before Antiochus Epiphanes? The hatred of the Gentile only exists in such Jews who have suffered from Gentile wrong-doing and from Gentile oppression. Mr. Glover also states (on the authority of 'a friend to whom a Jew said as much') that '*to this day* it is confessedly the weakness of Judaism that it offers no impulse and knows no enthusiasm for self-sacrificing love where the interests of the tribe are not concerned' (italics mine). What then is the 'impulse' which makes Jews foremost in the support of every general charitable and educational work? Judaism to-day, whether orthodox or liberal, is 'confessedly' universalist, and the 'impulse' for self-sacrificing love which it offers is just this: that God is goodness, that He is the father of all human flesh, and that He bids us imitate His attributes of justice, loving-kindness, and compassion. There is no Jewish synagogue of whatever shade of opinion where this teaching is not promulgated.

40. Luke only. The ordinary translation of this verse is given in the Revised Version. 'Did not he that made the outside make the inside also?' You should not merely care to make the outside clean: God made the inward, ethical world too. He made the *heart*, the *soul*.

Wellhausen urges that 'make' means here 'put to rights,' 'clean.' Thus in 2 Sam. xix. 24, where the A.V. has 'trimmed his beard,' the LXX has *ἐποίησεν τὸν μύστακα*. He then transposes, with the MS. 'D' 'inward' and 'outward,' and renders, 'Has not he (the man) who has cleaned the inward cleaned the outward also?' I have adopted this rendering above. Another rendering is: 'He who has cleaned the outward has not (thereby) cleaned the inward.'

41. The Greek text reads: 'Give as alms what is within the cup,' *i.e.* its contents or equivalent in money, and then 'all' (*i.e.* both the cup and its contents, or the inner man and the outer man) will be clean. But this is an extraordinary idea, and alms seem quite out of place here. Another suggestion is that *τὰ ἐνόντα* here means 'das Vorhandene,' that which you possess, and that the signification is: 'purify your wicked heart by a big deed of charity,

and you need not bother about outward rules of purity.' Wellhausen says that in Aramaic *zakki* means 'give alms,' while *dakki* means 'cleanse.' The Greek translator misread one letter. Hence W. suggests that we must render: 'Clean what is within, and all is clean to you.' The thought of 40 is repeated in 41. Prof. Torrey, however, denies that *zakki* can mean 'give alms.' He supposes that 41 is the counterpart of 39; there, the first clause referred to cleansing and the second to unrighteousness; here, the two ideas are repeated in inverse order. There Jesus had said, 'Your inner part is full of unrighteousness'; here he says, 'That which is within make righteous' (*ibdu zedakah*). This in Aramaic might easily be rendered in Greek by *τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην* since *ibdu zedakah* is the regular idiom for 'give alms' (*e.g.* Matt. vi. 2). (See Torrey, 'Translations made from Aramaic Gospels,' in *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to C. H. Toy, 1912, p. 313.)

42. Matt. xxiii. 23, with a slightly different and less appropriate choice of words. 'D' omits here the last clause, which is verbally the same as in Matthew. Perhaps rightly. Certainly the principle of it ('These things ought ye to do, and not to leave the other undone') is opposed to 40 and 41 and to Jesus's practice at the banquet. For 40 says: internal cleanness includes (*i.e.* makes supererogatory) outward cleansing. The extra words in Matthew may be a 'legal' Jewish-Christian interpolation.

The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Barnes) (*Modern Churchman*, Vol. XIV., 1924, p. 414) has said: 'Christ's condemnation of the Scribes and Pharisees was not a condemnation of Judaism, but of unethical developments within it.' With that statement we may be in agreement. But when the Bishop in the next sentence goes on to say: 'He found the accredited teachers of His day disloyal to the faith which they possessed,' I must demur. There is no evidence for so sweeping an assertion except the partisan evidence of the Gospels, the accuracy of which is itself in question. The Jewish evidence is in the opposite direction. I think that if you could get three learned Buddhists to try the case, as a case might be tried in the High Court in London, the Bishop's statement would be condemned. The utmost which such a tribunal would allow would be the following. It is only the change of a single word, but the 'little more and how much it is; the little less, and what worlds away.' 'He found some accredited teachers of His day disloyal to the faith which they possessed.' Is not that, alas, often the case as regards every religious community in every age?

43. Matt. xxiii. 6, 7.

44. Matt. xxiii. 27. Men do not realize your inward wickedness,

for your outward show is fair. Hence they may unwittingly be harmed by you morally. The change from Matthew is very curious. It may be due to Luke changing the details of the source which would be unintelligible to readers unacquainted with Jewish customs.

45. A justified interruption from a Scribe. But it is probably made up by Luke to introduce the 'woes' against the 'Scribes' which follow. Yet the next section, 46–52, is really directed, except its first and last verses, against the Jews generally, and not specially against the Scribes.

46. *Cp.* Matt. xxiii. 4. But the wording is oddly varied. That it is said of the *νομικοί* is accurate, for it is only they who by their additions to, and explanations of, the Mosaic Law could create unbearable burdens. Some think that the differences from Matthew in language and order are due to Luke using in this section another source instead of, or in addition to, Q.

47, 48. Matt. xxiii. 29, 30. The argument is ironical, but the irony is somewhat poor. 'Jesus pretends that he believes that the Scribes, in building the tombs of the prophets killed by their fathers, did so in order to glorify their crimes' (*E. S.* II. p. 383).

Torrey says that the last words 'and ye build' (*i.e.* their tombs) (*ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖτε*) is a mistranslation of the Aramaic original, which was ואתון בְּנִין להון 'and ye are children of theirs.' The translator read בָּנַיִן 'ye build,' and then omitted the last word להון, which became to him unintelligible. (*Ibid.* p. 314.)

49–51. Matt. xxiii. 34–36.

49. The words which, in Matthew, Jesus speaks as his own are here attributed by him to the Wisdom of God. Is this a lost Jewish apocryphal book? So it would seem; to interpret *ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ* by 'God in His wisdom,' and to suppose that the verses refer to O.T. passages such as Jer. vii. 25, are harsh and improbable suggestions. It is possible that Luke, in supposing that Jesus made a quotation from a non-Scriptural book, represents an earlier tradition than Matthew, who puts the words direct into Jesus's mouth. But in neither case is the passage likely to be authentic (*cp.* Bultmann, pp. 68, 69). Loisy thinks that the 'Wisdom of God' is intended by the evangelist to be Christ himself. The words are not a quotation (*Luc*, p. 336).

50, 51. The wording is somewhat altered from that of Matthew.

Luke says more emphatically that from this generation the blood that has been shed in the past shall be required.

52. Matt. xxiii. 13. For the 'key of the Kingdom of heaven' Luke has 'the key of knowledge.' He means the same thing. It is the key of knowledge how to enter the Kingdom, as the second part of the verse makes clear. 'The Scribes have, in a certain sense, stolen the key of the Kingdom, which is thus closed, by falsifying the spirit of the Law, and by turning the people away from the penitence which would give them access to God' (*E. S.* II. 373).

53, 54. Luke only. The phraseology is not quite clear, but the meaning is probably what is given in the translation. Dr. Weymouth renders vigorously and suggestively: 'After He had left the house, the Scribes and Pharisees commenced a vehement attempt to entangle Him and make Him give off-hand answers on numerous points, lying in wait to catch some unguarded expression from His lips.'

Moffatt renders: 'After he had gone away, the Scribes and Pharisees commenced to follow him up closely and cross-question him on many points, lying in ambush to catch a word from his lips.'

The differences between Luke and Matthew in the attack on the Pharisees section Streeter explains on the hypothesis that Luke's version is pure Q, while Matthew's version is a conflation of M and Q (pp. 253, 254).

CHAPTER XII

1–12. The Disciples are to proclaim the Christ openly and fearlessly

(*Cp.* Mark iii. 29, viii. 15, xiii. 9–11 ; Matt. x. 19, 20, 26–33, xii. 32, xvi. 6)

In the mean time, thousands of people having gathered together so that they trod upon one another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, 'Beware of the leaven, that is the hypocrisy, of the Pharisees. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be disclosed, or concealed which shall not be known. Therefore, whatever ye have spoken in the darkness shall be heard in the light ; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in a chamber shall be proclaimed upon the housetops. But I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that can do no more. But I will show you whom ye must fear : fear him, who after he has killed has power to cast into hell ; yea, I say unto you, Fear him. Are not five sparrows sold for two pennies ? and not one of them is forgotten before God. But even the hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore : ye are of more value than many sparrows.

'I say unto you, Whoever shall acknowledge me before men, him shall the Son of man also acknowledge before the angels of God : but he that denies me before men shall be denied before the angels of God. And whoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him : but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven.

'And when they bring you before the synagogues and the magistrates and authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say : for the Holy Spirit will teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.'

This chapter is a curious combination of passages, mainly fro Q, found in different connections in Matthew. As Loisy say 'The speeches contained in chapter xii. are nothing but an ama gamation of sentences derived from the Logia, artificially reunite in groups which are connected together by the introductory formula more or less happily invented by the evangelist' (*E. S.* 1. p. 154 Streeter holds that it is all from Q except 13–21.

1. The great crowd is unexpected. The words of Jesus whic follow are intended not for the crowd, but for the disciples, as distinctly stated. The word πρῶτον, 'first,' has been added t smooth over the difficulty. Jesus speaks 'in the first place' t his disciples. The opening words ἐν οἷς are intended to conne this section with what precedes. They mean, 'while what has bee described was going on.' The initial saying of Jesus is not connecte with what follows; it appears to have been placed here by Luk on account of the preceding paragraph having dealt with th Pharisees. Luke interprets the leaven of the Pharisees to be the hypocrisy. *Cp.* Mark viii. 15 and Matt. xvi. 6.

Another explanation of πρῶτον is to connect it with προσέχετ 'First of all let me urge you to beware, etc.'

2. The rest of the section jumps off to another subject. Luk may have seen a connection in that the open declaration of fait demanded in 2 is the opposite of the furtive hypocrisy of th Pharisees. *Cp.* Matt. x. 26; Mark iv. 22; Luke viii. 17.

3. ἀνθ' ὧν. This expression appears to mean here: 'where fore.' No other translation makes good sense. The verse corre sponds with Matt. x. 27, but there is an important difference. I Matthew Jesus says: 'What I say in darkness (*i.e.* privately), d you repeat in the light' (*i.e.* publicly), but here he says: 'Wha you say in darkness, will ultimately be proclaimed upon the roo tops.' Apparently Luke seems to have thought that the apostle had not really preached very publicly. The apostles spoke at firs within the house. (*Cp.* x. 5–7.) But the injunction to show fea less courage before all the world is less in place if the apostles ha no need to display it.

4, 5. The small differences here between Matthew (x. 28) an Luke are nevertheless worth noting, for they have a real theologica interest. They are thus drawn out by Loisy (*E. S.* 1. p. 888) 'Instead of saying that men cannot kill the soul, he says that me can do no more than kill the body; instead of saying that God ca destroy both body and soul in hell, he says that God has power no

only to kill, but to throw into hell. One is greatly tempted to think that Luke revised the formulas in view of an anthropology and an eschatology different from those of the source. He did not wish to say that the dead man, before the Resurrection, was a soul without a body, and above all he did not wish to suggest that sinners will not be thrown into hell before the last Judgment; the individual, who must not be pictured as a shade which sleeps till the Resurrection, can be thrown into hell as soon as he leaves this world. The same conception of what awaits men beyond the tomb will be met again in the parable of Lazarus and in the promise of Jesus to the good thief.'

6, 7. Matt. x. 29–31.

8, 9. Matt. x. 32, 33. In 9 the parallel in Mark is viii. 38, already used by Luke in ix. 26. The dispute is still unsettled whether in this verse, be it authentic or not authentic, the Son of man is meant to be distinguished from Jesus. It is true that where Luke has the 'Son of man,' Matthew has 'I.' But here this 'I' is perhaps not an earlier, but a later, stage of development. Luke, who distinguishes between Jesus and the Son of man, may perchance be here earlier than Matthew, who identifies them. Moreover here the angels are judges; the Son of man gives evidence before them. God the Father is substituted for them in Matthew, and the Son of man is on the way to becoming the judge.

'Before men,' *i.e.* before human tribunals. 'Before the angels of God,' *i.e.* at the last Judgment.

10. This verse is found in Matthew in quite another connection. And this statement about blaspheming the Holy Spirit seems to stand in a better connection in Mark (iii. 29) and Matthew (xii. 32) than here. (Here it is taken from Q: Matthew conflates Mark and Q, Streeter, p. 509.) For whereas this verse says that any one who speaks against the Son of man (who to the Evangelist meant Jesus) shall be forgiven, it was said in the previous verse that he who denies Jesus before men shall be denied before God. By Luke and by Q the verse was placed here because of its second half. He who attacks you disciples, when the Holy Spirit speaks through you, shall never be forgiven. The verse would come better after 12.

11, 12. Matt. x. 19, 20; Mark xiii. 11. Streeter observes that Mark and Luke are furthest apart. Matthew is almost verbally identical with Mark. 'It is, however, noticeable that in both Matthew and Luke the saying occurs in the same discourse as, though separated by a few verses from, "there is nothing hidden

which shall not be revealed," etc. (Matt. x. 26 ff. = Luke xii. 2 ff.). As there is no obvious connection of thought to suggest bringing the two together, the view that Luke xii. 11–12 stood in Q and formed part of the block of Q material, xii. 2–10, would explain the collocation in both Gospels. The saying will then be one of those which in a slightly different form occurred in both Mark and Q' (p. 280).

13–21. Against Covetousness—The Parable of the Rich Fool

(Luke only)

13 And some one from the crowd said unto him, 'Master, tell my
14 brother to divide the inheritance with me.' And he said unto
him, 'Man, who made me a judge or an arbitrator over you?'
15 And he said unto them, 'Take heed, and beware of all covetous-
ness: for a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things
which he possesses.'
16 And he spoke a parable unto them, saying, 'The ground of a
17 certain rich man brought forth plentifully: and he argued within
himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where
18 to store my crops? And he said, This will I do: I will pull down
my barns, and build bigger ones; and there will I store all my
19 produce and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou
hast many goods laid up for many years; rest, eat, drink, and be
20 merry. But God said unto him, Fool, this night they will demand
thy soul from thee: and whose shall be what thou hast prepared?
21 So is it with him who stores up treasure for himself, and is not
rich toward God.'

As this section is part of the big Proto-Luke block (ix. 51–xviii. 14), and is not from Q, it comes, according to Streeter, from L.

13. Jesus's speech is interrupted by some one from the crowd. The incident is used by Luke to serve as a peg for the warnings which are to follow. But it must have had an independent origin, for it contains no allusions to covetousness, but a protest by Jesus against being troubled with matters which do not concern him or come within his competency. He is a religious teacher, who will not, though this may be usual in the East, be occupied with mundane affairs. For 14 Bonhöffer (*Epiktet und das Neue Testament*, p. 295) gives a good illustration from Epictetus i. 15 (Matheson's translation, Vol. I. p. 90). *Cp.* also Exodus ii. 14.

15. This verse is the redactional link between the incident
l the parable. They are independent originally of one another.
e Greek wording is awkward and redundant. Dr. Plummer
parently translates: 'Not in the fact that a man has abundance
t the case that his life is the outcome of his possessions,' *i.e.*
does not follow, because a man has abundance, that his life
sists in wealth. W. translates according to the Syriac: 'Not
superfluity of wealth lies man's life.' Klostermann translates:
or even if a man has abundance, his life is not assured because
his possessions.' According to the other interpretations the
aning is that a man's true life lies outside his possessions. Such
doctrine is in keeping with Psalm xlix. and some other O.T.
sages. Klostermann's interpretation follows the parable more
sely: 'A man's wealth is no guarantee for the continuance of his
.' Dr. Moffatt renders: 'A man's life is not part of his possessions
ause he has ample wealth.'

20. 'This night.' It is assumed that the man's plan, as
tched in 18, has been carried out. On the very night when all
inished, and he could begin his enjoyment, he dies.
'They will demand,' *i.e.* the angels of death; or, an impersonal
ge instead of the passive.

21. 'Rich toward God': a strange expression. Does it mean
rely 'rich before God,' *i.e.* the man who lays up his treasures in
ven; like xii. 33; Mark x. 21? Or does it mean acquiring or
ng wealth for good purposes, for the glory of God, *i.e.* for alms-
ing? The picture in 19 seems based on Sirach xi. 19.

22–32. Against Anxious Care for Worldly Matters

(*Cp.* Matt. vi. 25–33)

And he said unto his disciples, 'Therefore I say unto you, Be
anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; nor for your body,
at ye shall put on. The life is more than the food, and the body
n clothing. Observe the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap;
y have neither storehouse nor barn; and God feeds them:
w much more are ye worth than the birds! And which of you
anxious care can add one cubit unto his height? If ye then
not do that which is least, why are ye anxious about the rest?
serve the lilies, how they neither spin nor weave; and yet I say
o you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of

28 these. If then God so clothe the herbs in the field, which to-day
are, and to-morrow are thrown into the oven; how much more will
29 he clothe you, O ye of little faith? And seek not ye what ye shall
eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye troubled with anxiety.
30 For after all these things do the nations of the world seek: and
31 your Father knows that ye need these things. But rather seek
ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto
32 you. Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure
to give you the kingdom.

Luke here inserts another passage which Matthew has in the Sermon on the Mount. Its position there seems better. For anxious care is there regarded, more properly, as an instance of lack of faith; by its place in Luke it is regarded as a phase of covetousness. For a different view see Marriott, p. 66, who finds a connection between these verses and the preceding parable. The passage is no exception to what Mr. Marriott lays down as a canon: all the Q matter which Luke places in the Sermon was there originally; all the Q matter which Matthew includes in it, but which Luke puts elsewhere was not originally in 'the Sermon of Q' (p. 71).

24. For the generic 'birds' in Matthew, Luke has 'the ravens,' which is more probably original. *Cp.* Job xxxviii. 41, Psalm cxlvii. 9. Is it true, as Mr. Bertrand Russell says in his book on Education, that most birds die of starvation?

25. Perhaps *ἡλικία* should after all be translated by 'length of life' instead of height. Klostermann says that Luke must certainly have so understood it, because only then is the addition of an 'ell' really a very little thing (*ἐλάχιστον*).

26. 'About the rest.' Apparently this means all the other things necessary for physical life, besides food.

27. The reading adopted, *πῶς οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει*, is probably more original than that followed by R.V., which has been assimilated to Matthew.

29. *καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε*. These words occur in Luke only. Their meaning is not quite certain. Moffatt renders: 'Be not worried.'

32. This verse is not in Matthew; it seems to have been added

y Luke to make a connection between what has preceded and the ext short section 33, 34. 'The fear against which Jesus warns his isciples is no longer any disquietude about earthly wants, nor is it ny alarm respecting persecutions, but it is the incertitude which ney may feel as regards their participation in the Kingdom.' Jesus ays that it is God's will that they shall all enter the Kingdom. Let nem (33, 34) only on their part renounce all earthly possessions, nd give the proceeds in alms. 'The little flock who have riches to istribute to the poor is not the small group of poor persons who ccompanied Jesus in his ministry, but the later Christian community, efore whom the redactor puts forward his ideal of renouncement' Loisy).

33, 34. Treasure in Heaven

(*Cp.* Matt. vi. 19–21)

'Sell what ye possess, and give alms; make for yourselves urses which grow not old, a treasure in the heavens that fails ot, where no thief approaches, neither moth destroys. For where our treasure is, there will your heart be also.

This section is also found, though in another connection, in the ermon on the Mount. But Luke's version seems to go further than latthew's. Where Matthew has the injunction not to heap up arthly treasures, Luke's version asks that disciples should sell hat they possess. Luke therefore seems to urge a more complete enouncement, and leaves no doubt as to the value he sets upon lmsgiving. It may be noted that the order to the disciples to sell neir goods is meant literally. The treasure in heaven is 'inex-austible'; the heavenly 'purses' never 'wear out.' In the verses 3, 34 Streeter observes that whereas in 33 the differences between latthew and Luke are considerable, 34 in Luke is practically dentical with Matt. vi. 21. 'Matthew has disconnected this verse rom the discourse, "Be not anxious" (Matt. vi. 25–34), of which t forms the concluding sentence in Luke. Here the combination f variation in order with diversity of wording suggests that Matthew s conflating with Q and M—in which case Luke may be presumed o follow Q' (p. 284). Mr. Ragg's note is sensible. 'Is this a recept demanding literal and universal observance on the part of Christ's disciples? It is easy to "water down" the Gospel precepts nd accommodate them to our own taste and habit. But while uarding against this tendency in ourselves, we must not neglect he evidence, *e.g.* of viii. 3, that Christ numbered wealthy people among His followers, and made use of their wealth' (p. 182).

35–40. Watch: the Lord is Coming!

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 43, 44)

35, 36 'Let your loins be girt, and your lamps burning. And be ye
yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord to return from
the wedding; so that when he comes and knocks, they may
37 open unto him immediately. Happy are those servants, whom
the lord when he comes shall find watching: verily I say unto
you, that he will gird himself, and make them to sit down to table,
38 and will go round and serve them. And if he come in the second
39 or in the third watch, and find them so, happy are they. But know
this, that if the master of the house had known at what hour the
thief would come, he would not have allowed his house to be broken
40 into. So be ye too ready: for at an hour when ye do not expect it,
the Son of man will come.'

The oration of Jesus now takes an apocalyptic colour, and the parallels for this and the next section are found in later chapters of Matthew and in Mark xiii.

35–38. No close parallels to these verses are found in Matthew or Mark, but they are cognate with such passages as Mark xiii. 34–37. 'The passage,' says Bultmann, 'is a secondary composition; whether it stood already as a whole or partly in Q, and Matthew thought to replace it by his xxv. 1–13, cannot be known. 35 is a metaphoric exhortation to watchfulness, which may originally have been an independent saying, used by Luke as an introduction to what follows. 36 is an exhortation to watchfulness in the form of a simile (not a parable) which is repeated in 37 allegorically. It would seem that we have in 35–38 fragments of tradition. In form and content they are secondary; creations of the Christian community from a time when the continued delay of the Second Coming began to make itself felt' (p. 71). Streeter says of this section (*i.e.* 35–38): 'Matthew leaves it out; but immediately after the (Q) paragraph which follows in Luke (Luke xii. 39–46 = Matt. xxiv. 43–51) he inserts the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, which contains the same point as Luke xii. 35–38, but considerably amplified. Accordingly "substitution" rather than "omission" again seems the proper description of his procedure' (p. 279). (The 'amplified' version in Matthew would be from M.)

36. The wedding is nothing more than a banquet. It seems to symbolize the joys of heaven, for the Lord (*i.e.* the Messiah)

eturns, or comes down, from heaven. But the heavenly banquet r marriage feast seems really out of place here. The words (' to eturn,' or ' when he shall return, from the wedding ' or ' marriage east ') could be well omitted. For the main point is not the eavenly banquet, but the earthly one which he has prepared for is servants (37). The earthly banquet symbolizes the Messianic anquet, which itself is a symbol of the Kingdom. 37 does not ontinue the simile of 36. The treatment of the servants (contrast vii. 7) marks the different arrangements of the New Order. The st are first. *Cp.* xxii. 26, 27, Mark x. 45.

38. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 33–37. Some think that Luke or Q is here ore original than Mark in that he has three watches only—accord-ng to the Jewish reckoning.

39, 40. *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 43, 44.

41–48. The Wise and Foolish Steward

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 45–51)

Then Peter said unto him, ' Lord, speakest thou this parable nto us, or also to all ? ' And the Lord said, ' Who then is the aithful and wise steward, whom his lord will set over his household, o give them their measure of food in due season ? Happy is that ervant, whom his lord when he comes shall find so doing. Of a ruth I say unto you, that he will set him over all his possessions. But if that servant say in his heart, My lord delays his coming ; nd if he begin to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and o eat and drink and to be drunken ; the lord of that servant will ome on a day when he looks not for him, and at an hour which e does not know, and he will cut him in two, and will appoint his ortion with the unbelievers.

' And that servant, who knew his lord's will, and prepared not, r did not according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did what deserved stripes, shall be beaten ith few stripes. For unto whom much is given, of him shall be uch required : and to whom men have entrusted much, of him hey will ask the more.

The parable is introduced by a verse special to Luke. Peter sks whether the foregoing warnings had been meant for the disciples

generally, or specially for the apostles, including himself. The answer is given in the parable, which implies that the warning is all the more necessary for them, as their position is the more responsible and important. There can be a bad steward as well as a good steward: the good steward is never slack and careless, and is sure that he, at any rate, can never be caught napping; the punishment of the bad steward is terrible.

42. The servant in Matthew becomes 'a steward' in Luke in order to indicate the moral to Peter and the apostles [*i.e.* to Christian overseers and teachers] the more clearly.

46. The bad steward is driven out to the unbelievers, *i.e.* he is excluded for ever from the Kingdom of God, which belongs to the good Christians only.

47, 48. An addition found in Luke only. (From L, according to Streeter, p. 289.) The two verses connect badly with what has just preceded. A different offence seems referred to. Wellhausen holds that though Luke probably intends the verses merely to justify and explain the special punishment of the false Christian officer and teacher, they had originally a more general meaning. The contrast is either between Christians and non-Christians, or, more probably, between Jews and heathen. The Jews who reject Jesus are worse than the heathen who do so, for the Jews ought to know and recognize God's will. J. Weiss holds that the absolute opposition between him who knows and him who knows not is merely caused by the necessary 'gnomic antithesis'; the real point is only that the *degree* of punishment is proportioned to the *degree* of knowledge. The Christian overseers and teachers 'know' more and better; therefore their punishment must be greater. The chiefs have greater gifts than the simple believers: therefore more is asked of them, and if they fail, their fall is more serious. There is appended a general adage or statement. Of him to whom much is given or entrusted, much is demanded. The greater the trust or knowledge to which you are false, the greater is your sin, and the greater shall be your punishment. But the punishments are smaller here than in the verses which precede. To be beaten is a smaller punishment than to be cut in two. Are then the offences smaller too?

49–56. Signs of the End

(*Cp.* Matt. x. 34–36, xvi. 1–4)

49 'I have come to throw a fire upon the earth; and how I wish
50 it were already kindled. I have a baptism to be baptized with;

nd how am I distressed till it be accomplished ! Do ye think that have come to give peace on earth ? I tell you, Nay ; but rather issension. For from henceforth five in one house will be divided, hree against two, and two against three. Father will be divided gainst son, and son against father ; mother against daughter, nd daughter against mother ; mother in law against her daughter law, and daughter in law against her mother in law.'

And he said also to the people, ' When ye see a cloud rise in the est, straightway ye say, Rain comes, and so it happens. And hen the south wind blows, ye say, There will be heat ; and it omes to pass. Hypocrites, ye know how to discern the face of he sky [and of the earth] ; how then do ye not discern this time ?

49, 50. Luke only. The connection is uncertain both forwards nd backwards. Streeter considers that 47–50 are all from L, but hat is the connection between 48 and 49 ? The only connection ould be that in both there is reference to the ' End '. But is it he same End ? Is 49 authentic, and what is the Fire ? Perhaps uke took it to refer to the discords of 51. Originally it may ave referred to the Fire of the Judgment. So *e.g.* Cadman, p. 108. gain, the connection between 49 and 50 is not clear. What is the aptism of 50 ? It must be the suffering and death which Jesus has o undergo. Is the saying then a *vaticinium ex eventu* like Mark . 38 ? Another view of 49 is that the fire is a permanent condition, ot a preparation for the Kingdom, but the Christian community self. Only then, it is held, can ' how I wish it were already indled ' give good sense. So Wellhausen and Bultmann (p. 94). his does not seem very likely. For Loisy (*Luc*, p. 355) the fire is he discord introduced into the world by the preaching of the ospel. Harnack, with others, separates 49 and 50. For him he fire meant the purification and enkindling enthusiasm of men's inds. (' Eine Entzündung und läuternde Erregung der Geister der das Alte verzehrt und Neues entzündet wird.') This too eems very improbable. J. Weiss regards both 49 and 50 as perfectly uthentic. Jesus is to kindle the fire of discord, and in this fire, in he fight which it symbolizes, his own life will be demanded. Would hat all the horror were over ! ' The twin saying about fire and aptism, preserved only in Luke, is one of the most important of esus's utterances, because we can see from it better than from the rophecies of the Passion, which have been remodelled in accordance ith the actuality, how Jesus conceived of his end. The fire of iscord would not merely break out after his death, as we usually magine, but he himself is to kindle it, and Jesus wishes that this

last keen struggle were already going on, although it is to demand the sacrifice of his life. This speech gives us a glimpse into the soul of Jesus. He goes courageously to his suffering, and yet not with the obduracy and insensibility of the superhuman hero ; a heavy burden oppresses his soul. Would it were all over ! ' (Schriften *ad loc*). *Cp.* also what Weiss says in his article in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1913, on " Das Problem der Entstehung des Christentums," pp. 441, 459. xii. 49 must be taken in connection with xxii. 36. Why buy a sword except to fight ? The authenticity of the sword passage is guaranteed because it is so out of harmony with the ideas of a later period, which objected to the notion of resistance. Moreover, it gives a picture of what was to happen which was not fulfilled. ' Ihm freilich wird es anders gehen, das ergibt sich aus dem Doppelwort vom Feuer und der Taufe (Luke xii. 49f.). Das Wesentliche hierbei ist der Parallelismus. Jesu Tod steht im engsten Zusammenhange mit dem Aufruhr, den er entzünden wird. Wenn in Jerusalem der Kampf entbrannt ist, wird er fallen. Denn ein Prophet muss in Jerusalem sterben, das ist nun einmal die tragische Notwendigkeit (Luke xiii. 33). Und mit menschlichem Erschaudern sieht er dem entgegen, nicht mit der Leidensbereitschaft des Lammes Gottes. Diese Worte, die so gar nicht zu dem späteren Passionsevangelium passen, kann man nicht streichen.'

Nevertheless it is doubtful whether the fire is really meant to precede the baptism. Rather the fire and the divisions are all meant to take place subsequently to Jesus's death. And I cannot help feeling grave doubt whether we are in a position to judge properly as to the authenticity or even the meaning of obscure sayings such as these. Can we suppose that they were really accurately remembered and then written down ten, twenty, or thirty years after they were spoken ? We cannot pierce the haze of doubt and uncertainty which lies thick over the meaning and the origin of these sayings. Yet perhaps in 50 there lurks a historic utterance. For would the idealizing reporter or Evangelist have said that Jesus feared the anticipated death ? It seems too human a touch to have been invented. ' Jesus is represented as regarding with terror the death which awaits him. He thus finds himself torn by two feelings, the desire to see the speedy coming of the Kingdom prepared for and initiated by the preaching of the apostles, and the terror inspired in him by the dreadful ordeal through which he himself must pass before that paving of the way can begin ' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 356).

51–53. *Cp.* Matt. x. 34–36 ; Mark xiii. 12. To some Luke's changes from Matthew seem secondary. Streeter thinks otherwise. ' The rebellion of children against their parents appears Micah vii. 6. In Luke xii. 53 the emphasis is rather on divisions resulting from

some members of a family accepting, others rejecting, Christ. Matt. x. 34–36 looks like a conflation of Luke xii. 49–53 (*i.e.* Q) with the passage in Micah. Mark xiii. 12 f. reads like a parallel version of the Q saying, slightly modified by a recollection of the delation by the Christians first arrested of further victims and the accusation of *odium humani generis*, which Tacitus mentions, *Ann.* xv. 14' (p. 494, n. 1).

51. 'Give,' not 'cast' (βαλεῖν) as in Matt. x. 34, because the word βαλεῖν has been already used in 49.

54–56. Here the verses are in place which some MSS. have inserted into Matt. xvi. 1. The unbelieving Jews know how to interpret the signs of the coming weather; they wilfully refuse to interpret aright this present season. The time which they do not know how to judge or assess rightly is the time which is shortly to culminate and end in the last Judgment, the time which demands the repentance and the belief which will soon be possible no more. They are always looking for special signs. But there is to be no special sign. The sign of the time is the time itself; or it is Jesus himself and his preaching. These are the true signs of the near Judgment and of the Messianic Kingdom.

Streeter is most interesting about the relation of Matthew to Luke in this passage and in an insertion in Matthew in the MS. D after xx. 28. 'The point I wish to make is that these passages are not harmonistic insertions [into the text of Matthew] derived from the text of Luke. For if a later scribe, who had Luke before him, had desired to insert equivalent sayings in Matthew, he would have adhered far more closely to Luke's version. One has only to read them through side by side to see that the verbal agreements between the two versions are almost nil, and can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that the interpolations are drawn from a tradition independent of Luke. Probably they are excerpts from the primitive discourse document of the local Church in which the interpolator worked. The MS. evidence would favour the view that both readings originated in Rome. In that case they may well be fragments of the same document or catechetical tradition from which Clement quotes' (p. 241).

57–59. Use the Short Time that awaits you and repent

(*Cp.* Matt. v. 25, 26)

'And why can ye not of yourselves judge what is right? When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, while thou art

yet on the way, take pains to be freed from him; lest he drag thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and
59 the officer throw thee into prison. I tell thee, thou shalt surely not come out thence till thou hast paid the very last farthing.'

57. Verses from the Sermon on the Mount are used with a fresh introduction and a new meaning and moral. Of their own selves they could judge what is right, and what they ought to do, without delay or elaborate explanation. And this they should do, while yet there is time. As the debtor had better arrange matters with the creditor before things come into court, so the present era, with its signs of the nearing Judgment, should be adequate to make men eager to become reconciled with God by penitence, so that they may not fall victims to a pitiless condemnation.

58. The construction is awkward, and there is a sort of combination by undue compression of (*a*) the analogy and (*b*) the moral to be drawn from it. What is meant is this: 'As in an earthly quarrel it is well to be reconciled with your adversary (you being in the wrong) before you enter the court, so, as between you and God, repent before the Judgment comes.' But the analogy passes into the moral before it is complete: hence the imperative instead of a continuation in the present tense. The parallel in the Sermon on the Mount, where the whole point is limited to earthly reconciliation and harmony, has influenced the wording here, preventing its adequate modification and expansion for the new purposes for which it is now used.

But the source (Q) has perhaps been altered both by Matthew and Luke. (*Cp.* Bultmann, p. 57 *fin.* 58 *init.*)

CHAPTER XIII

1–9. The Slaughtered Galilæans and the Tower of Siloam: The Parable of the Barren Fig Tree

(Luke only)

1 At that time some came to tell him of the Galilæans, whose
2 blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. And Jesus answered
and said unto them, 'Do ye think that these Galilæans were
greater sinners than all the other Galilæans, because these things
3 befell them? I tell you, Nay: but, unless ye repent, ye shall all
4 perish likewise. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam
fell, and killed them, think ye that they were more guilty than all
5 the other inhabitants of Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but, unless
ye repent, ye shall all perish likewise.'
6 He spoke also this parable: 'A man had a fig tree planted in
his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found
7 none. Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these
three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none:
8 cut it down; why should it make the very ground useless? And
the vinedresser answered and said unto him, Lord, let it alone this
year also, till I shall have dug round it, and put manure on it.
9 Then, in the future, if it bear fruit, well; and if not, cut it down.'

1. The need of repentance, urged already in xii. 57–59, is here continued in xiii. 1–9. The story alluded to in verse 1 is not mentioned by Josephus. Holtzmann does not think that this omission speaks against its historical character. He says: 'At all events quite similar horrors are recorded by Josephus of Pilate' (*Antiquities*, XVIII. 3. 2 and *Wars*, II. 9. 4). W., on the other hand, does not think that such a scandalous deed could have been passed over by Josephus in silence. He, therefore, supposes that there is an error, and that the allusion is really to the murder of certain Samaritans upon Mount Garizim (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII. 4. 1).

This event led to Pilate's recall. Jesus could not have been crucified later than A.D. 35, for at Easter in 36 Pilate was no longer in office. If the murder took place after Easter 35, and this passage alludes to it, it could not have been spoken by Jesus. The crucifixion more probably took place not later than A.D. 30.

4. This accident is also not mentioned by Josephus, but as it is unpolitical, there is no reason why it should have been recorded.

The point of the passage is not that the men who suffered were not guilty, but that they were not *specially* guilty. Why these men should have been chosen out as example and warning, Jesus does not say. The difficulty did not occur to him. Jesus does not criticize or deny the prevailing doctrine of the time that suffering denoted guilt.

Luke xiii. is constantly used to prove that Jesus did not believe in the current Jewish doctrine that suffering implied sin; but *cp.* Wellhausen's note. 'The idea that sin must not be inferred from misfortune (John ix.) is not found in Luke. These sufferers deserve their fate; not more so, however, than others do, who might have been struck down with equal justification. The question why God should just have chosen *them* is not considered. To Jesus himself an attempt at a theodicy would probably have seemed entirely impious.' Loisy says much the same.

6–9. Those who are spared for a time should use the interval to good purpose, and repent. The interval will not be long. The Judgment upon a guilty people is not far off. The parable is quite in the spirit of the old prophets. It is on the same lines as Isaiah v. 1–4. There is no reason why it should not be authentic. The parable has many points of connection with the story of the barren fig tree, which Luke omits. Did the story grow up from the parable? If, in Luke's source, the parable was spoken during Jesus's stay at Jerusalem, this is all the more likely.

It is not probable that the 'three years' and the 'one year' should, or can, be interpreted. They are merely part of the parable.

10–17. The Woman healed on the Sabbath

(Luke only)

10 And as he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath,
11 behold, there was a woman who had a spirit of weakness eighteen
years, and she was crooked, and could not quite raise herself up.
12 And when Jesus saw her, he called her, and said unto her, 'Woman,

3 thou art released from thy weakness,' and he laid his hands upon
her. And immediately she was made straight, and glorified God·
4 But the ruler of the synagogue was indignant that Jesus had healed
on the sabbath, and said unto the people, 'There are six days in
which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed,
5 and not on the sabbath day.' But the Lord answered him, and
said, 'Ye hypocrites, does not each of you on the sabbath loose
his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away and water him?
6 And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom
Satan has bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this
7 chain on the sabbath day?' And when he had said these things,
all his adversaries were ashamed: but all the people rejoiced at all
the glorious things that were done by him.

Luke now inserts some stories and speeches not closely connected with each other. The Sabbath story of this section is peculiar to him. It probably bears the same relation to the Sabbath healing stories common to the three Synoptists as the story of the widow's son of Nain bears to the story of the daughter of Jairus. The miracle is supposed to have occurred on the journey to Jerusalem, but rather reflects Jesus's teaching in Capernaum (*cp.* Matt. xii. 9–14). The argument which Jesus employs is scarcely sound. The ox must be watered every day, or it would suffer greatly. Cruelty to animals was abhorrent to the Rabbis. But the woman, who had been rheumatic for eighteen years, could well have waited another day. Unsound arguments of this kind would have been speedily detected by the trained Rabbis.

The argument, which one cannot help thinking Jesus really felt, though he did not say it, is: to heal is not to work: acts of loving pity are not labour.

11. The ascription of the woman's infirmity to demonic possession is, B. Weiss thinks, an addition of Luke to his source. Luke misunderstood what is said in 16 when Jesus describes her malady as a fetter with which Satan had bound her, and so he puts it down to possession. But Jesus cures the woman by imposition of hands, for she suffers from an ordinary natural affliction.

15. *Cp.* Matt. xii. 11. These Sabbath stories are clearly variants. Nevertheless, Jesus may have done more than one healing on the Sabbath. For this story, and for Luke xiv. 1–6, *cp.* Bultmann, p. 5.

18–21. Parables of Mustard and Leaven

(*Cp.* Mark iv. 30–32 ; Matt. xiii. 31–33)

18 So he said, 'What is the kingdom of God like? and with
19 what shall I compare it? It is like a grain of mustard seed,
which a man took, and put into his garden; and it grew, and
became a tree; and the birds of the air lodged in its branches.
20 And again he said, 'Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God?
21 It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures
of meal, till the whole was leavened.'

Why these short parables are introduced here is not clear. The relations of Luke (Q) and Mark and Matt. (Q + Mark) to each other in 18, 19 are illuminatingly explained and set forth by Streeter, p. 247.

22–30. The Narrow Gate

(*Cp.* Matt. vii. 13, 14, xxv. 11, 12, vii. 21–23, viii. 11, 12)

22 And he passed through the cities and villages, teaching, on his
23 journey toward Jerusalem. Then said one unto him, 'Lord, are
24 those that are saved few?' And he said unto them, 'Strive to
enter through the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, will
25 seek to enter, and will not be able. When once the master of the
house has risen up, and has shut the door, and ye begin to stand
without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto
us; then he will answer and say unto you, I know you not whence
26 ye are. Then will ye begin to say, We ate and drank in thy
27 presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. But he will say,
I tell you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye
28 workers of iniquity. There will be weeping and gnashing of teeth,
when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the
prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves cast forth
29 without. And they shall come from the east, and from the west,
and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down to table
30 in the kingdom of God. And, behold, there are last who shall be
first, and there are first who shall be last.'

The subject of the End and the last Judgment and the Kingdom is now resumed and continued. Sentences are here brought to-

gether which in Matthew occur in other connections and separated from each other.

22. Where is Jesus supposed to be? Where are these towns and villages? In Perea? In the territory of Herod Antipas? *Cp.* verse 31. Perhaps we must not press the Evangelist too closely. The verse resumes the thread of the discourse in chapter xii.; Luke likes these verses of connection. The mention of Jerusalem points forward to verse 33. For the wording *cp.* Mark vi. 6 and x. 1.

23, 24. *Cp.* Matt. vii. 13, 14. In the preceding parable it is said that the Kingdom will become very big. Here, on the other hand, a warning is uttered that though it will be big, there will nevertheless be many who will be refused admittance. The speaker does not here go so far as to say (like Matt. vii. 14), that there will only be few who will enter it. But because the Kingdom is to be big (for it includes the heathen world within its range), let none suppose that it is easy to find admission. That needs all a man's strength and struggle. And many will try to enter too late: for the great majority of the people it will be too late—this is doubtless in Luke's mind (so Klostermann). And this, to us moderns, horrible idea was the customary opinion of the various contending parties and sects in that age, and, we might indeed almost add, till modern times. Canon Glazebrook said (*Modern Churchman*, Vol. xiv., 1924, p. 425): 'The Hebrew prophet who proclaimed Jehovah as "the high and holy one that inhabits eternity," knew nothing of mercy for the heathen, or even for the majority of his own people. Jesus taught,' etc., etc. The usual contrast. Let us examine it. As to the Hebrew prophet, when one recalls the rather emphatic words in Isaiah lvi. 15–19, the statement is a little severe. But how about Jesus? We recall the narrow gate which leads to life and the *few* who find it: the *many* who go the way which leads to destruction. We recall the goats who are dismissed to the fire. We remember that the apostles were only sent to the lost sheep in Israel. We remember the outbursts against the Pharisees. We recollect the vain knocking. These contrasts will not work, and should be abandoned. The truth is that there are many disagreeable things in the sacred books both of the Jews and of the Christians, and it is a mistake for either of us, living, as we both do, in houses of glass, to throw stones at each other. (This note was written before the death of my old and distinguished friend, Canon Glazebrook, but as what he said in the *Modern Churchman* is so commonly asserted, I let the note stand.) (Luke has pure Q; Matthew a conflation of Q and M. Streeter, p. 283.)

24. The narrow door is different from the door of 25, which is not necessarily narrow at all. The two metaphors are different. The narrow door is the door of repentance and faith, the door of right belief and right conduct; the door of 25 is the door of heaven, which is shut to those who have not 'repented' on earth. There is a redactional combination of separate sayings. (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 370.)

25. The parallel to this verse in Matthew is xxv. 11, 12 in the parable of the foolish virgins. It does not seem to fit in here very well. For, as has been said, the door which the master shuts is not the same door as that in 24, though it may be that the door of 24 has suggested the insertion of 25. The door of 24 is rather the gate: the door of 25 is the door of the banquet-hall or audience-chamber. The master rises from the table to shut it. Here the rejected are not the Jews who have not accepted Jesus, but men who are Christians in name, but not in deed. Even personal acquaintance with Jesus gives no prerogative of admission to the Kingdom.

26, 27. *Cp.* Matt. xxv. 41 and vii. 23. In Matt. vii. 23 it is the false teachers who are censured; here it is the Jews.

28, 29. *Cp.* Matt. viii. 11, 12. The last half of Matt. viii. 12 comes first in Luke, to the detriment of the sense, for ἐκεῖ, 'there,' a locative, loses its point and reference.

In Matthew the meaning of the verses is that many heathen will enter the Kingdom, while many Jews will be excluded. The passage fits in less well here, where the immediately preceding contrast has not been between Jew and heathen, but between good Christian and bad Christian. Nevertheless in 29 and 30 the Gentiles are almost certainly alluded to. Only few Jews will be saved; most go to Gehenna; the main number of the 'saved' are Gentiles.

Indeed Luke seems more absolute than Matthew. The Jews as a whole are lost: the Gentiles are saved. 'Last' and 'first' here refer to Gentiles and Jews.

30. *Cp.* Mark x. 31; Matt. xix. 30, xx. 16.

31–33. Departure from Galilee

(Luke only)

31 The same hour some of the Pharisees came to him, and said,
32 'Go forth and depart hence: for Herod wants to kill thee.' And

he said unto them, 'Go ye, and tell this fox, Behold I cast out demons and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected. Nevertheless, I must journey to-day, and to-morrow, and the next day: for a prophet must not perish outside Jerusalem.'

31. Jesus is supposed to be on the journey to Jerusalem. The geography seems confused. In ix. 52 he leaves Galilee. Here he is still in the territory of Herod Antipas. Did Luke think that from Samaria Jesus crossed the Jordan into Perea? For Perea, though Luke (iii. 1) does not mention it, was part of Herod's territory. Did the Pharisees act in complicity with Herod? Or have they been added by the redactor? 'Depart hence.' From where? From Galilee? From Capernaum?

32, 33. These verses give rise to great difficulties. Some think that τελειοῦμαι need not mean 'I am perfected' (by death and martyrdom), but can be rendered, 'I am finished,' *i.e.* 'I shall have finished what I have to do, my work on earth.' The three days they take to mean 'a short time.' Hence Jesus says: 'What I have to do I shall do. I have still a small amount of work to do here, but (πλήν) I then shall leave, and for a short period I shall journey from place to place, not in order to avoid Herod and his threats, but in order to fulfil my destiny, which is to die at Jerusalem.'

Can we conceive a more artificial sort of meaning, a more unnatural wording?

Yet how any good sense can be got out of the present text seems very doubtful. W. supposes interpolations: he omits in 32, 'And on the third day I am perfected,' and in 33, 'To-day and to-morrow and,' explaining thus: 'Jesus says: "I am not to be driven away by fear of Herod: I shall continue my existing life and activity for the present [*i.e.* to-day and to-morrow], nevertheless I shall shortly [*i.e.* on the following day] leave, not from fear of Herod, but because I must die in Jerusalem."' The meaning is then clear. But as the verses now stand, the words in 32, 'to-day and to-morrow I continue my work here,' contradict the words in 33, 'to-day and to-morrow and the following day I journey.' Hence the words 'to-day and to-morrow' in 33 must be interpolated. The question is only, why were they interpolated? The reason can only lie in the words of 32: 'on the third day I am perfected.' For one could not say after that: 'and on the following day I journey.' (To τελειοῦμαι W. gives its natural

sense here of perfection by death.) 'In order, therefore, to make τῇ ἐχομένῃ ("on the following day") possible after τῇ τρίτῃ ("on the third day")—the two terms really mean the same thing—"to-day and to-morrow" were again repeated.' [In that way the two periods of time were made identical, instead of the second being subsequent to the first.] Thus 'and on the third day I am perfected' is the first interpolation, and it drew after it the second interpolation, 'to-day and to-morrow.'

This seems ingenious and plausible. Could the words in their corrected and shortened form have been spoken by Jesus? It all depends on whether we suppose that he went up to the capital with the fixed conviction that he must die there. My feeling is that this problem can never be settled. One can make up a more or less convincing theory either way, but the documents do not allow of assurance. It still seems to me somewhat less likely that Jesus journeyed to Jerusalem with the full conviction that he would lay down his life there. M. Loisy's view is somewhat divergent. He too thinks that the days in 32 mean only a short time, and that τελειοῦμαι refers to a near future, namely to the full accomplishment of Jesus's mission and to his entry into glory by the coming of the Kingdom. It does not follow that the healings are all to be done on one spot, and thus 32 does not in that respect necessarily contradict 33. In fact the three 'days' of activity in 32 are identical with the three days of journeying in 33. But Loisy thinks 33 has been added to locate the anecdote in the voyage, and to prepare for the menacing prophecy in 34 and 35. An argument for this is the word πλήν with which 33 opens; it often characterizes 'redactional sutures' in Luke (*E. S.* II. pp. 126, 127). Loisy translates τελειοῦμαι, 'je suis à mon terme'; I am about to arrive at my end, namely, the full accomplishment of my mission by my entry into glory and by the advent of the Kingdom. My ministry is nearly over: the *dénouement* is at hand. The 'term' alluded to in τελειοῦμαι is not *necessarily* death. Ingenious suggestions in Bultmann, p. 18. *Cp.* also Cadman, pp. 29–36, who places the date of the incident earlier, at the close of the Galilæan ministry. The incident would be historic, but misplaced. In his commentary on Luke Loisy is disposed to regard 33 as no better than 32, so far as authenticity is concerned. The conception of the mission of Jesus in 32 is analogous with that in Acts ii. 22, x. 38. Would Jesus have defined his own mission merely as that of an 'exorciste guérisseur'? On what is 33 *b* founded? Is the idea only introduced here to make a connection with the denunciation of Jerusalem in 34?

34, 35. Lament over Jerusalem

(Matt. xxiii. 37–39)

'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often have I desired to gather thy children together, as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is deserted: I say unto you, Ye shall surely not see me until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed in the name of the Lord is he that comes.'

This short passage is added here by Luke rather mechanically, as it seems, because of the mention of Jerusalem in 33. But the words, if authentic, would have been less appropriately said in Galilee or on the journey than in Jerusalem, as in Matthew. Yet Streeter thinks that the context in Luke is far more original than that of Matthew. (p. 254).

35. The important word ἔρημος, 'desolate,' is omitted by Luke.

[xiii. 29. The view that 'the kingdom' in its fullness is always future, in all authentic utterances of Jesus, is ably defended by v. Gall. God was not yet revealed as King: 'noch war er im verborgenen König, der erst in der Zukunft, allerdings einer nahen, in die Erscheinung treten soll.' Thus the kingdom is 'niemals etwas Gegenwärtiges, sondern etwas Zukünftiges und zwar da es mit dem Weltende verbunden ist, etwas Eschatologisches' (p. 472).]

CHAPTER XIV

1–6. Healing the Man with Dropsy

(Luke only, but *cp.* Matt. xii. 9–13 and Luke xiii. 15, 16)

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the
rulers of the Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they
2 watched him. And, behold, there was a man before him who had
3 the dropsy. And Jesus spoke unto the teachers of the Law and
unto the Pharisees, saying, 'Is it permitted to heal on the sabbath
4 day or not?' But they held their peace. And he laid hold of
5 the man, and healed him, and let him go. And he spoke to them,
saying, 'Which of you, if his ass or his ox fall into a well, will not
6 straightway draw it out on the sabbath day?' And to these words
they could find no answer.

In spite of all Jesus's attacks upon the Pharisees, and the anger of the Pharisees with him, Jesus is invited to dinner on the Sabbath by a Pharisee, and accepts just as if nothing had happened. The occasion of the dinner suggests to Luke to bring together various passages connected with Banquets (7-24).

In Luke's version (vi. 6–11) of Matthew's story, xii. 9–13 (*cp.* Mark iii. 1–6), he had omitted Matthew's argument in 11, 12. He now uses that argument as the chief point of another similar Sabbath healing. (He had also used it in xiii. 15.) The setting for the story is very inappropriate. Is it taken from the paragraphs which follow? Or is the story with its setting made the prelude of what is to follow? It comes to the same thing. The various Sabbath healing stories may all go back to one or two authentic and historical incidents which actually occurred. Here the connection of the healing with a repast is probably artificial, but it is possible that the man with the dropsy may be historical.

For Streeter's views see notes on Matt. xii. 9–13. One story was variously told in Q, in Mark, in M, and in L. The present story may in Luke come from L, in Matthew from Mark and M (p. 260).

7–14. Banquet Rules

(Luke only)

And noticing how they chose out the chief seats, he spoke a parable to the guests, saying, 'When thou art invited by any one to a wedding, do not sit down in the chief seat, lest some one of higher rank than thou have been invited, and the host should come and say to thee, Give this man room; and thou shouldest then with shame have to take the last place. But when thou art invited, go and sit down in the last place, that when the host comes, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have honour in the sight of all who sit at table with thee. For whoever exalts himself shall be humbled; and he that humbles himself shall be exalted.'

Then said he also to him that had invited him, 'When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they too invite thee in return, and thou hast thy recompence. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be happy; for they cannot recompense thee: but thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.'

7. Jesus is supposed to have spoken this passage too, and the long parable about the Messianic banquet (Matt. xxii. 1–14) which follows, when dining with 'a ruler of the Pharisees' one Saturday on his journey to Jerusalem. It is clear that verse 7 is editorial, but whereas some think that Luke, on account of the subject-matter of 8–11, 12–14 and 15–24, has appended to his first banquet story (1–6) material which he found elsewhere, others hold that 8–11 and 12–14 did actually in Luke's source follow on 1–6 and were spoken at the Pharisee's table, but that Luke, misunderstanding the parabolic character of these sections, took them to be, and turned them into, direct exhortations to the guests and their host. Thus of verse 7 Luke added to his source all except the words ἔλεγεν δὲ παραβολήν, 'he spoke a parable.'

This seems a not improbable argumentation. In that case both 8–11 and 12–14 are real parables. The first section (8–11) would be intended to lead up to and illustrate the adage in 11. As if one should say: 'Just as at a banquet you ought to act in such and such a way, for if you act so, you will fare well, and if you act otherwise, you will fare ill, so generally be humble, for if

you are humble, you will be exalted (in the Kingdom), and if you are proud, you will be abased (*i.e.* you will be rejected from the Kingdom).'

Another view about 8–10 is that Jesus gave in these verses a real rule for proper behaviour at a banquet. In that case it is Luke who made a parable out of them, and added the moral in verse 11. He turned a rule of mundane behaviour into a parabolic illustration of a moral and religious maxim.

9. 'The displaced guest goes from top to bottom because the intermediate places have been filled' (Plummer).

10. For the whole passage, *cp.* Proverbs xxv. 6, 7.

The 'all too practical' advice, tending to one's own advantage in the end, is naturally offensive to such a theologian as J. Weiss. Why, this is advice which a Jew and a Pharisee might give! It looks like a means of obtaining advancement by humility. So Weiss thinks that the historic Jesus is not speaking here, but a certain section of the community, who could not do enough in renunciation and self-abasement.

11. The proverb seems to lift the subject on to a higher plane. Luke, at all events, is thinking of the heavenly banquet and of that final Judgment where the proud shall indeed be humbled. *Cp.* xviii. 14.

12–14. This section may contain a sort of parable, for its intention may be to illustrate from a concrete case the general principle that true kindness or true goodness looks for no return. The only recompense which does not interfere with the purity of love is a recompense beyond the grave. Others think that the original sense was meant quite literally. But Luke understood it allegorically, and probably has altered the language. He has in view the conditions of Christian propaganda among the Gentiles; he is thinking of the poor and infirm in the spiritual order. Recompense is not against the teaching of Jesus. Only, the recompense which men are to seek for is a recompense beyond the grave. This is Rabbinic doctrine as well. 'The resurrection of the righteous.' It is not implied that the wicked do not 'rise' also (to receive their punishment), but for the point made here it is only the resurrection of the righteous which need be considered. Some think that the exclusive resurrection of the righteous is taught here, and also in xx. 35. So Loisy. There were some Rabbis who shared this view. That the whole passage 12–14 is an extraordinary remark to make to your *host*, and not in the best of taste, is not noticed by the Evangelist.

15–24. The Messianic Banquet

(*Cp.* Matt. xxii. 1–10)

And hearing these words, one of those that sat at table with him said unto him, ' Happy is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.'

Then said he unto him, ' A man prepared a great banquet, and invited many guests. And at the hour of the banquet he sent his servant to say to them that were invited, Come ; for all is now ready. And they all with one accord began to excuse themselves. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of land, and I must go and see it : I pray thee hold me excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I am going to test them : I pray thee hold me excused. And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. So that servant came, and reported these words to his lord. Then the master of the house was angry, and said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the blind, and the lame. And the servant said, Lord, what thou hast commanded has been done, and there is still room. And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and urge them to come in, that my house may be filled. For I say unto you that none of these men who were invited shall taste of my banquet.'

15. The interjection of the guest is intended to make and mark the transition from the earthly to the heavenly banquet. Luke drew the parable of the Messianic banquet from another connection, if not from another source, and he joins it on to its present place by means of this editorial link. Whether or no Matthew's and Luke's versions of the parable are drawn from a single source (Q), may be left here undecided. God is the heavenly counterpart of the ideal host in 13, who asks, not the rich and the favoured, but the poor and the outcast, to his banquet. *Cp.* Streeter, p. 516. Luke's form is more original. Matthew's version in xxii. 6, 7 has been adapted to the fall of Jerusalem.

16. For Matthew's king, in this parable, Luke has ' a man.' In Matthew, Jesus is the son for whose sake the king makes the feast. In Luke, Jesus is the servant who summons the guests, whereas in Matthew it is the servants who do this, *i.e.* the apostles.

21. Luke tells more definitely who the new guests are to be. He has made the more general words (found in Matthew) more specific (*cp.* xiv. 13). The poor and the outcast have received Jesus's teaching: the 'upper classes' among the Jews have rejected it.

Luke's version of the parable is so markedly different from that of Matthew, that a separate source seems pretty certain.

23. The additional persons are the heathen.

The imperative *ἀνάγκασον* means literally 'constrain,' or even 'compel,' and thus translated and understood the verse has had terrible consequences indeed. But here probably the verb does not mean more than 'urge,' 'summon,' 'bid,' as in Mark vi. 45.

The house is to become full. Here again the idea is of the width and universality of the new Kingdom. It is when the difficulty of any individual entering it by his own moral exertions is alluded to that we hear of the many who will be called and of the few who will be chosen and will enter. But, nevertheless, all are to try to enter it. It is not merely a matter of grace or election. The element of human effort, power, and freedom also comes in.

24. *ὑμῖν*. Luke forgets that there is only one servant to whom the King (=God) is speaking. He has in his mind Jesus telling the parable to his auditors and applying it. Luke also forgets that these rejected people had excluded themselves.

25–35. True Discipleship and its Conditions: its Cost should be counted beforehand.

(*Cp.* Matt. x. 37, 38)

25 And great crowds journeyed with him: and he turned, and
26 said unto them, 'If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, yea,
27 and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whoever does not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.
28 'For which of you, intending to build a tower, sits not down first, and reckons the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish
29 it? Lest haply, having laid the foundation, and not being able to
30 finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man
31 began to build, and was not able to finish. Or what king, setting forth to make war against another king, sits not down first, and deliberates whether he be able with ten thousand to meet
32 him that comes against him with twenty thousand? And if not,

while the other is yet far off, he sends an embassy, and asks for conditions of peace. So then everyone of you that renounces not all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple.

Salt, then, is good: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is neither fit for the land, nor for the dunghill; men throw it away. Who has ears to hear, let him hear.'

The corrective or 'other side' to the conception and picture of the banquet with its many guests is here given. Though the invitation to the banquet is freely made to all, and though many partake of it, yet the number of true disciples can be but small. Are we to understand by this that within the future Kingdom there will be differences of worth? To enter it, it is not necessary to be a disciple in the fullest sense; for the complete discipleship involves martyrdom; yet one can enter the Kingdom without so absolute a test. But undoubtedly the idea of the extent of the Kingdom varies. As a contrast and warning to the proud unbelieving Pharisees, it is pointed out that, though the Kingdom will be wide enough to include the poor, the outcast and the heathen, it will exclude *them*. But on other occasions, and from other points of view, the Kingdom seems to contract as if it was only intended for the full and true disciples of the Christ.

25. The editorial link; Luke every now and then desires to remind the reader that Jesus is still conceived as journeying to Jerusalem. Here this editorial link provides an excellent and artistic setting for the words of Jesus which follow.

Many may pretend to be his followers and may applaud his teaching, but they will not have the strength to become and remain true disciples. Jesus, instead of encouraging the crowd who collect round him, proceeds to disappoint them. They expect, perchance, that he will lead them to triumph and victory. He, on the contrary, declares that his true followers and disciples must be prepared for renunciation and sacrifice and death. He knows his destined doom, and those who would keep near him must be ready for similar trials and a similar fate. He would wish at once to separate the true disciples from the false.

26, 27. Probably from Q. Streeter, p. 286, *cp.* Matt. x. 37, 38.

26. For 'hate,' *cp.* Matt. vi. 24. Absolute hate is not intended. What is meant is that family and even life itself must take a second place. Full discipleship means complete renunciation. Compare

the saying about Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 9 : ' He says to his father and to his mother, I have not seen them ; neither does he acknowledge his brethren or know his own children.' Has Matthew weakened the original wording, or has Luke accentuated it ? Probably Matthew has weakened the ' hate ' of Luke. So, too, Streeter, p. 286. On the other hand, Luke has added to the list of relations, and put in also ' and his own life.' ' " Cannot be my disciple " is probably more original than " is not worthy of me " ' (Bultmann, p. 97). Jesus, says Pfleiderer, was not the gentle apostle of peace, but the man of heroic resolves—the reformer, full of storm and stress, who determined to fight the existing powers of the world (xii. 49 *seq.*), and, confident of victory (xii. 32), demands from his disciples that complete breach with all social and family ties which he had himself achieved (Luke ix. 58 *seq.* ; Mark iii. 31).

Perhaps we must press the words ' cannot be my disciple.' It does not follow that an absolute surrender is necessary for the attainment of the Kingdom. Full discipleship is one thing ; entry into the Kingdom another. Loisy, on the other hand, thinks that no distinction of this kind is allowable or intended. ' It is not stated that one can gain admittance into the Kingdom without " following " Jesus fully. If Jesus insists on the necessity of voluntary abnegation, instead of holding to the point of view of the Beatitudes, and if he stresses his own person instead of talking about the Kingdom, the change is due to altered circumstances. The needed preparation of the Kingdom has become more severe now, and Jesus, in order to collect together into a distinctive band the children of the Kingdom, is compelled to emphasize his position as the Kingdom's head ' (*E. S.* i. p. 894).

With the words, ' and also his own soul (or life),' may be compared Matt. x. 39, a verse more fully reproduced by Luke in xvii. 33.

28–33. Luke only.

It is better not to attempt that which is beyond your power to complete. Better never to begin to try to become a full disciple than to put down the cross after once you have taken it up.

But these two parallels are odd in their present connection. The conjunction ' for ' hardly fits the parable on to the sayings. To account for them and justify them here we must, I think, again assume that Jesus makes a distinction between the full disciple and the ' good ' man who *can* enter the Kingdom, but cannot become a complete disciple. For, if not, is it reasonable that he should say, ' count the cost ' before attempting to enter the Kingdom ? You could not be worse off if you fail than if you had not made any attempt. Indeed to try and fail might be regarded as better than not trying at all. Therefore all should *attempt* to enter. On the

other hand, if you would be a *disciple* and fail, your failure may lose you the Kingdom, which, if you had not attempted what was too big for you, you might, nevertheless, have gained. No one should, therefore, attempt the life of complete renunciation unless prepared to go through with it to the very end. Nevertheless, Loisy holds that one would be wrong to deduce from this argument that there are two classes of disciples, and that absolute renouncement is not required from all who wish to enter the Kingdom, and that there are other ways of being saved than that of complete renunciation. I cannot help feeling that this is doubtful. Would Jesus have really thought that an ordinary pious householder would not enter the Kingdom at the Resurrection of the dead, even though he was not able to become a disciple, renouncing all ?

The two parables do not strictly fit the moral and deduction in 33 : ' *Thus*, whoever cannot and does not renounce all his possessions cannot be my disciple.' It has therefore been supposed by Jülicher that originally the parables rather urged than dissuaded. 'Who that has begun to build would not sell all he has rather than leave the building unfinished ? What king who would defend his independence would not rather risk his all so as to defeat the foe ? ' This, however, is doubtful. Yet the parables may have had quite an independent and different origin, and been used here by Luke rather inappropriately. One has to make the connection now by interpreting something like this. ' To be my disciple, you have to end by renouncing all. Therefore it is foolish to begin renouncing a little, unless you can keep it up and continue, even to the renouncing of all.' In his commentary on Luke, Loisy thinks that the Evangelist meant to imply that to become a Christian was to expose oneself to danger of persecution and distress. Therefore it is better not to become a Christian unless one is capable of every kind of sacrifice. ' The conclusion does not fit the parables well, and merely succeeds in bringing them into connection with the command of renunciation. The examples given would rather dissuade people from following Jesus. But the evangelist, who may very possibly have put them where they now are himself, wanted to say that it is better not to attempt what one cannot fully realize, better not to satisfy the passing desire of becoming a Christian, if one has not the courage for that complete self-sacrifice which Christianity demands. Thus, two examples, which in themselves are just lessons taken from proverbial or current wisdom, have been artificially adapted to the theme of Christian renunciation. It is a literary adaptation, whatever the source may be whence these examples were taken ' (p. 391).

34, 35. Matt. v. 13. Streeter says : ' The saying about salt, Luke xiv. 34-35, shows several agreements between Luke's version

and that in Matt. v. 13 against the version of Mark ix. 50, and also Matthew and Luke agree in omitting it in the context parallel to Mark's, which looks as if both had already extracted it from Q. It is separated in Luke from the saying about carrying the cross by the Tower Builder and its twin parable. But if, as it stood in Q, it followed immediately after Luke xiv. 27, its meaning would be quite clear. In that connection, " Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its savour . . ." would naturally mean, " Disciples are good, but if they have lost the power to carry the cross, they cease to be a leaven to the lump of humanity." It would seem to follow that the words " Salt is good," καλὸν τὸ ἅλα, stood in Q as well as in Mark ; but that Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount has altered them to, " Ye are the salt of the earth," in order to make the interpretation quite clear, the wording of the alteration being suggested to him by that of the M saying, " Ye are the light . . ." to which he has prefixed it ' (p. 286). The intercalated verses (28–33) are from L. The disciples are the salt. If they are in the fullest sense disciples—men who have renounced and will renounce all—they are the salt of the earth ; if not, they are valueless. ' Neither fit for the land nor for the dunghill ' is an odd sentence. Perles (*Z. N. W.*, 1919, p. 96) has shown that it is due to a mistranslation of the Aramaic original. The words should read : ' It is neither suitable for seasoning nor for manuring.'

There is a certain danger in double grades of morality or religion. Nevertheless, the facts of life show that there is always an inner ring, a small first class. A big second class may enter the Kingdom ; the fully religious, they who give up all for God and the Highest, can only, and always will, be few. The huge demand made in 33 has had great effects upon the world. Some it may have depressed. Those who could not be complete disciples of the heavenly may have become all the more disciples of the earthly. But to a few in every generation the demand has drawn out all the goodness and greatness that was in them, and put in still more.

Mr. Westermarck has some interesting observations which bear upon this subject. ' We must not,' he says, ' confound the moral law with the moral ideal. Duty is the minimum of morality, the supreme moral ideal of the best man is the maximum of it. Those who sum up the whole of morality in the word " ought," identify the minimum and the maximum, but I fail to see that morality is better for this. Rather it is worse. The recognition of a " super-obligatory " does not lower the moral ideal ; on the contrary it raises it, or, at any rate, makes it more possible to vindicate the moral law and to administer it justly. It is nowadays a recognized principle in legislation that a law loses part of its weight if it cannot be strictly enforced. If the realization of the highest moral ideal

is commanded by a moral law, such a law will always remain a dead letter, and morality will gain nothing. Far above the anxious effort to fulfil the commandments of duty stands the free and lofty aspiration to live up to an ideal, which, unattainable as it may be, threatens neither with blame nor remorse him who fails to reach its summits. Does not experience show that those whose thoughts are constantly occupied with the prescriptions of duty are apt to become hard and intolerant?' (*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, I. p. 153). One may not entirely agree with the writer, and his remarks may need qualification, but they seem to me to be eminently suggestive, and to constitute a fair, if unconscious, defence of the double morality—the duty for all and the ideal for a few—to which the words of Jesus have given rise.

Who can deny that the motive power of Christianity—the love of the Master and the resolve to obey his orders of giving up all for the sake of the Highest—has produced marvellous lives of amazing devotion and self-sacrifice? I quote the following, pretty well at random, as an example, from the *Evening Standard* of September 1st, 1924.

'The huge congregation at Westminster Cathedral was deeply moved last night by a reference made by Father Dunstan Sargent, of the Dominican Priory, London, N.W., to the work among lepers of a sister who has been thus engaged for thirty-five years.

'"The general public really know little about the noble work of women like the sister to whom I referred," said Father Sargent to an *Evening Standard* representative to-day.

'"I saw this nun when I visited the leper colony at Burma. There are others who have been there over twenty years. They go out from the convent of Franciscan Missionaries of Mary at Claverton Street, S.W.

'"Many of them are of high birth, and would be in affluent circumstances in civil life. Yet the nobility of their character is so great that at a comparatively early age they offer their whole life to the service of the lepers in the settlements founded by the St. Francis Leper Guild, Burma, South India, China, Japan, Abyssinia, the Fiji Islands, Ceylon, and North Borneo.

'"Reports from some of the leper asylums at these places are very affecting. For instance the priest at Shek-Lung, in China, where there are fourteen lepers, states that since June 1922 the Chinese Government has failed to give the small monthly grant it formerly allowed. When our cheque arrived, the cash-box at the settlement had been empty for a fortnight.

'"They had been flooded three times, the crops of the year had been lost, and one of their new buildings had been destroyed by lightning.

'"Very simply and touchingly the report states: 'The poor father was broken-hearted to see his dear lepers suffering from hunger. They often have to do without the real necessaries of life, and many have not a single change of clothes.'

'"Father Bourlet, who has seventy lepers at Thank Hoa, China, states that one day a few men arrived at the asylum carrying a bundle which they left at the door and disappeared. On opening it the doctor found a poor old woman in the last stages of leprosy.

'"And yet men and women continue to volunteer for this, perhaps the most heroic of all works.

'"The sister who has been there thirty-five years must have left London when she was about twenty-five. I happened to ask her if she ever thought of going back to the comforts of civilisation from which she has completely cut herself off. 'No,' she replied quite happily. 'I have given myself to God and to the lepers, and I shall die with them.'

'"Only the other day, after an appeal I had made for this work, two young ladies wrote to me asking if they could devote their lives to it in a lay capacity. One of them is only twenty-eight, and she holds a good professional position in one of the largest public institutions in the country."'

Can any one refuse to recognise the nobility of such lives, or to admit the motive power which has produced them? It may be that this particular type of nobility may have to pass away with the faith which prompts it, but that the type *was* noble will remain none the less true.

CHAPTER XV

1–10. God's Love of the Repentant Sinner: the Parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin

(*Cp.* Matt. xviii. 12–14)

And all the tax-collectors and sinners came near to him to hear him. And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, 'This man receives sinners, and eats with them.' And he spoke this parable unto them, saying, 'What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, does not leave the ninety and nine in the pasture, and go after the one which is lost, until he find it? And when he has found it, he lays it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he has come home, he calls together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that in the same way there will be greater joy in heaven over one sinner that repents, than over ninety and nine just persons, who have no need of repentance.

'Or what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, does not light a candle, and sweep the house, and search carefully until she find it? And when she has found it, she calls her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I lost. In like manner, I say unto you, is there joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repents.'

The introductory verses for the parables are taken and made up from Mark ii. 15, 16 (Luke v. 29, 30). The Evangelist arranges a situation to provide a background for the great parables which are to follow. We must not inquire how all the tax-collectors and sinners and Scribes and Pharisees appear together upon the scene. Did all these persons accompany Jesus in his journey to Jerusalem? Did they all entertain him at a meal? We must not ask these

questions. The verses are merely the *mise en scène* of an editor, who has to place his material somehow and somewhere. And now at last, after a long interval, we get again to some *great* material, peculiar to Luke, which we have not had since x. 37.

The three parables in this chapter all illustrate the interest which God (including therefore, in God's service, Jesus) takes in the sinner, and His constant desire that he should 'return' and be 'found.' Repentance, in this chapter, is looked at from a point of view somewhat different from that of the previous chapter. The theme is not, 'Repent while there is yet time,' but how good repentance is and how beloved of God. It is looked at, as W. says, 'from the gentle, not from the harsh side.' The doctrine is in full accordance with Ezekiel and the Rabbis, and is expressed with exquisite beauty, tenderness, and simplicity. Moreover, the moral which it draws for our own human action is novel and original. Because God is keen that the sinner should repent, and rejoices when he does so, therefore Jesus's action was justified. Because God loves the repentant, therefore we are to love the sinner, *i.e.* we are to seek his conversion by active goodness, helpful solicitude, and redeeming love. Jesus teaches a full individualism. In God's eyes every human soul has value, and God desires that none should be 'lost.' And yet the same Jesus could say, 'Few enter the gate,' and apparently predict the fate of the hostile Pharisees with complacency and satisfaction. The truth is that the heat of conflict, the intense conviction that he was in the right and his opponents in the wrong, made him unable to apply his own splendid teaching all round. The soul of the 'bad Pharisee' must be as dear to God as the soul of the 'outcast' and the 'sinner.' God must want to save one as much as the other.

But Jesus could not have seen it. He was too much an actor in the conflict. We lesser men, far removed from the conflict, can see it clearly.

1. This verse sums up one of the specific characteristics of Jesus and one of the new excellences of the gospel. 'The sinners drew near to hear him.' Surely this is a new note, something which we have not yet heard in the Old Testament or of *its* heroes, something which we do not hear in the Talmud or of *its* heroes. 'The sinners drew near to hear him': his teaching did not repel them. It did not palter with, or make light of sin, but yet it gave comfort to the sinner. The virtues of repentance are gloriously praised in the Rabbinical literature, but this direct search for, and appeal to, the sinner, are new and moving notes of high import and significance. The good shepherd who searches for the lost sheep, and reclaims it and rejoices over it, is a new figure, which has never

ceased to play its great part in the moral and religious development of the world. Yet one can also see in the greater joy over the repentant sinner than over the righteous who does not need to repent, over the returned prodigal than over his less interesting, but more virtuous brother, a note which might lead, and occasionally has led, to certain erroneous conclusions. For man, in his imperfection and inadequate unity, 'justice' must sometimes supply the corrective to 'love.' In God alone is the unity complete.

3. 'This parable.' But three parables follow. Perhaps we may assume that the words refer to the 'parabolic discourse' as a whole.

7. 'Ninety and nine just.' M. Loisy is very fair and also quite accurate when he says: 'The righteous who are spoken of are the true servants of God; it is no part of the object of the parable to inquire who they are; but, all theological considerations apart, it cannot be maintained that these righteous have a purely hypothetical existence, or that Jesus would not have spoken of the truly righteous, and would have mocked at the righteous according to the Law, because the latter, without suspecting it, are in need of conversion. The righteous must be as real as the sinners. When Jesus uttered this parable, he did not propose to formulate a theory of salvation, nor to suggest that adherence to himself personally was an absolute condition of righteousness; he supposes that many of his hearers, strict and rigidly moral Jews, may stand well with God; what he asserts is that sinners converted by his ministry procure for heaven a joy like that of the shepherd who finds his lost sheep' (*E. S.* II. p. 140).

According to Streeter, Luke's version of the parable is from Q; Matthew's from M. That the moral drawn from the two versions is different shows that the sources are different. The two versions were handed down in two different traditions (p. 244).

In some points Matthew, in others Luke, may have preserved the text of the original parable more accurately. I will not discuss the details here on which the authorities (as usual) are divided. Luke xv. 7, fine as it is, is probably a secondary enlargement. The parable ends suitably with 6. So in Matt. xviii., verse 14 is also secondary. (*Cp.* Bultmann, p. 105.) The judgment of 7 is not un-Rabbinic. The repentant, according to some Rabbis, stand higher than the just who have had no need to repent. Streeter argues that verse 7 must be a portion of the original parable, and not (as Harnack and others think) an editorial addition, because, for one thing, 'no saying attributed to Jesus can have struck those who first heard it as so utterly daring as this' (p. 244). But

those who are really familiar with the Rabbinic sayings and paradoxes about repentance will feel instinctively that Streeter is wrong. The saying is just such a paradox as many a Jewish Rabbi would have uttered. It is infinitely less daring than Mark vii. 15. *Cp.* the notes on Matthew xviii. 12-14, the substance of which I have ventured to repeat here.

8–10. Luke only. One of the homeliest, quaintest, and most telling parables in the Gospels.

10. The angels are God's court. Some think they are named here to avoid 'anthropopathic' expressions about God Himself. The original idea probably was that God Himself was more pleased and had more joy. In verse 7 this is more gently expressed by the phrase 'joy in heaven.' In 10 the angels are substituted for God.

11–32. The Prodigal Son

(Luke only)

11, 12 And he said, 'A man had two sons: and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of the property that
13 falls to me. And he divided unto them his possessions. And not many days after, the younger son collected together all that he had, and journeyed into a far country, and there wasted his
14 property in riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose
15 a severe famine in that land; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent
16 him into his fields to feed the swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the pods that the swine did eat: but no one gave
17 him any. Then he came to himself, and he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I
18 perish here with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before
19 thee, and am no longer worthy to be called thy son: make me as
20 one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But while he was yet a long way off, his father saw him, and was moved with pity, and he ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.
21 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no longer worthy to be called thy son.
22 But the father said to his servants, Bring out quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his

feet: and bring the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry: for this my son was dead, and has come to life again; he was lost, and has been found.

'And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant. And he said unto him, Thy brother has come; and thy father has killed the fatted calf, because he has received him back safe and sound. And he was angry, and would not go in: so his father came out, and sought to appease him. And he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I have never transgressed a commandment of thine; and yet to me thou hast never given even a kid, that I might make merry with my friends. But when this son of thine has come, who has devoured thy property with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf. And he said unto him, Son, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine. It was right that we should make merry and rejoice: for this thy brother was dead, and has come to life again; he was lost, and has been found.'

Was this parable, and was the parable of the lost coin, known to Matthew, but deliberately omitted by him? This seems very doubtful. The hypothesis is desired by those who would like to think that these parables stood in Q and are old and authentic. But there may have been another source, used by and known to Luke, which also contained old and authentic material. This is the source which Streeter has called L.

12. Are we to understand that the father divides his *entire* property between the two sons? If so, 19, 29 and 31 seem to conflict with such an arrangement. Or did only the younger son obtain his portion? In that case, the text of 12 has to be slightly altered, so that we should read: 'He allocated unto him (the younger son) the portion of the property which was his due.' There is some evidence that the oldest text did contain a reading of that kind.

15. 'To feed the swine.' A hard lot for a Jew and an indignity.

16. κεράτια. The fruit or pods of the carob tree. They are hard and indigestible, says Holtzmann, and only the very poor will eat them: like acorns with us, they are usually given to the

pigs. That somehow the very carob pods are withheld from him ' manque ', as Loisy says, ' de vraisemblance.'

17. ' He came to himself,' *i.e.* in a moral sense, he repented. Or, perhaps, he regained his judgment. *Cp.* Acts xii. 11.

18. ' Heaven ' in this sense as direct synonym for ' God ' only here in the Gospels.

19. Thus the father is still apparently the master of the property.

21. He does not add, ' make me your hireling ' (19) ; he is too ashamed to do more than just confess his sin.

22. ' Hand without ring is as servile as feet without shoes ' (Wellhausen).

24. ' My son was dead, and has come to life again ; he was lost, and has been found.' The son was dead and lost to the father ; he has now come, as it were, to life again and been found. Or both parts of the verse may be interpreted ethically. My son was morally dead and lost ; he is now morally alive again.

Here the first part of the parable ends. It teaches that whenever the sinner repents, God receives him gladly. Nothing, by the way, can be more Jewish and Rabbinic than this. The Rabbinic doctrine of repentance is one of the finest things in Rabbinic theology.

25. Is the second part of the parable a later addendum connected with the first by the last words of verse 24, ' And they began to be merry,' or did the parable from the first consist of both parts, in which the second has special reference to the ' murmuring ' of the Pharisees in verse 2 ?

Wellhausen and others suppose that the second half was added later to the first. It attempts to answer the question : Why was it right for the younger brother to receive a better treatment than the elder brother—the repentant prodigal than the righteous man ? The answer is given in 31, 32. W. thinks that the answer is unsatisfying. No reply is really made to the complaint in 29 ; no reference is made to the fact that the prodigal is received again into the farm. I am not sure that W. is right. For in the application of the parable we have to remember that there is not only a certain limited quantity of ' heavenly beatitude ' to be divided up. Though the repentant receives of it, the ' righteous who have not sinned ' can receive of it no less. This disposes of the difficulty that the prodigal is received back into the farm. As to the complaint

in 29, it is equivalent to the Rabbinic parallel: 'Some receive the Kingdom in an hour [*e.g.* by a death-bed repentance]; some hardly enter it after a lifetime's struggle.' The higher divine equity is beyond tit for tat. It is noticeable that it is no Jewish commentator but J. Weiss, the eager, though liberal, Lutheran theologian, who makes the following cogent remarks. Let me add that the Gospel which he says the parable proclaims is the purest Judaism. 'It is always to be noted afresh, that the Gospel of the grace of God is announced without any reference to the cross or the atoning work of Christ. There is no hint that the love of God must first be set free, so to speak, or that a mediator is needed. Jesus trusts in his heavenly Father that without more ado He will give His love to every sinner who comes to God in penitence and humble confidence.' Thus our parable is in fact a "gospel" in miniature, but not a gospel of Christ or of the cross, but the glad tidings of the love of the heavenly Father for His children.'

Loisy thinks that though the parable has two parts, it may, perhaps, nevertheless form a unity. He points out that if the elder brother had no part to play, he need not have been mentioned at all. One son would have sufficed. 'The arrangement of the narrative appears based on the different conduct of the two sons, and on the attitude of the father and the elder son towards the younger; the object is not merely to show the goodness of God towards sinners, but to make it clear that those who have not fallen would be wrong in blaming that goodness. God is the father of all men; He receives the penitent sinner as a lost son, who comes back to his father's house; his other children, who have remained faithful, ought not to complain of an indulgence which brings no harm to them, but rather rejoice because their brothers who had gone astray have returned to the right path, and that the family is complete. Thus the goodness of God would be explained by the first part of the parable, and defended by means of the second. The narrative would appear to possess a sufficient unity and to be dominated by a single idea, as it is of the same complexion from one end to the other' (*E. S.* II. p. 153). The second part of the parable specially justifies Jesus's eating and associating with 'publicans and sinners'—at least so far as they have repented of their sins. They should be feasted and fêted more than those who have never left the strait path of righteousness.

Pfleiderer rightly notices that Luke, having special sympathy for the poor, gave special prominence to those features in Jesus's character and teaching which were for this reason peculiarly sympathetic to him. In him Jesus is not, as in Mark, the heroic and tempestuous reformer, but the merciful Saviour of the sinners and the afflicted. And this, too, was without doubt *one* feature or

side of the *historic* Jesus. Doubtless, too, Jesus *had* a predilection for the poor as against the rich. A certain religious socialism was characteristic of him (*Urchristentum*, I. pp. 543, 544).

29. Clearly this verse implies that the property has not been divided between the two sons. The elder son is merely a labourer on his father's estate. This would seem an argument for the second part being an addendum. Yet *cp.* 19 where all the estate seems still to belong to the father.

30. How does the elder son know all this? But we must not ask a parable such questions.

31. The property belongs to the father, but eventually it will pass to the son; so, in a sense, all that the father has belongs also to the son.

The parable of the Prodigal Son will surely be always regarded as one of the gems of religious literature. Is it merely 'old'? Or, because it has the touch of genius (and not in the first part only), does it move a step forward? It would not be entirely easy to answer these questions. And, perhaps, we need not attempt to answer them. It is enough to possess the parable and to admire it.

CHAPTER XVI

1–9. The Parable of the Unjust Steward

(Luke only)

And he said also unto his disciples, ' There was a rich man, who had a steward ; and this steward was accused to him of wasting his property. And he called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee ? give an account of thy stewardship ; for thou canst not be steward any longer. Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do now that my lord takes away from me the stewardship ? I cannot dig ; to beg I am ashamed. I know what I will do, so that, when I am removed from the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord ? And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Here, take thy bond, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou ? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Here, take thy bond, and write eighty. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had acted prudently; for the children of this world are more prudent towards their own generation than are the children of the light. And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness ; that, when it fails, they may receive you into the everlasting tents.

Wealth, poverty, their values and uses, and the characters of rich and poor, seem to form the general subject for all the sections of this chapter. The first parable has often presented difficulties to commentators. It is, however, probable that, though it is clumsily constructed and not particularly edifying, its intended meaning is simple enough.

4. The subjects of ' they may receive ' are probably the debtors of 5.

6. The debtors are probably tenants or metayers who pay a certain proportion of the produce to their landlord. The 'bond' which tells the amount is to be secretly rewritten by the tenant and a smaller sum inscribed. Or the debtors may be merely people who bought various produce from the farm, but had not yet paid for them.

8. Here and in 9 the difficulties begin. Was verse 8 in the original parable or is it secondary? Has it been altered by Luke? And who is the κύριος (lord)? Is it Jesus or the rich man? If the man, how can he *praise* the steward? One has to assume that the lord, who had somehow found out the deceit of his steward, did not morally approve his conduct, did not any the less dismiss him from his stewardship, and even perhaps punished him all the more. He only 'praised' him in so far as he thought that his trick was very clever.

Clearly, because of the fresh opening and addendum in 9, Luke supposed that the lord was the rich man. Yet the second part of the verse, beginning with 'for the children,' may be the added reflection of Luke, though he places it in the mouth of the 'lord.' In the quality of cleverness the children of this age are superior to the children of light.

They are at pains to make a better use of money for their mundane ends than the others do for their heavenly ends. The words εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν are by no means easy. Plummer has: 'the spiritually minded ought to be equally ready in making one another promote heavenly objects.' But all that seems meant is that the 'children of light' do not use money for their heavenly interests as well as the others do for their mundane and lower interests. In that case the words 'in relation to their own generation' mean merely: 'in their dealings towards one another.' But what seems wanted is not 'in their dealings towards one another' (though these words suit the bad people, for they *do* act cleverly in their dealings towards one another, as the steward acted cleverly in his dealings with his fellow scamps, the debtors), but 'in their dealings with money.' 'The children of this world' is a phrase which seems to have a Pauline ring about it. The 'children of light' occurs in 1 Thess. v. 5; Eph. v. 8; John xii. 36. The technical and dualistic opposition resembles John, and seems out of place on the lips of the Jesus of the Synoptics.

It is, however, not at all improbable that in the source the lord in verse 8 was Jesus. *Cp.* xviii. 6. Jesus praised the steward simply for his cleverness, and the parable originally was not intended to show that one must use money well or 'cleverly,' but generally that even the disciples of Jesus were to be 'clever.' One must compare

Matt. x. 16, 'Be clever as serpents.' The same word *φρόνιμος* is used in both passages.

It is not clearly stated *in what ways* the children of light ought to show cleverness to the men of their own generation, to the environment in which they live. The way in which they are to show cleverness towards their environment in Matt. x. 16 is scarcely in point here. Still it is noticeable that Jesus, the idealist, lays stress on cleverness or prudence. He wanted his disciples to be alert, wide awake, and able to use their opportunities.

9. In this verse Luke supposes that Jesus gives *his* application of the parable. Luke therefore makes the parable refer not to cleverness generally, but to a wise use of money, which on the assumption that the lord in 8 was, in the source, meant to be Jesus, is not the original meaning of 8.

Here the famous phrase occurs: 'the mammon of unrighteousness.' What does this mean? Some say that what is meant is that money has always a taint about it. But if one does possess this unclean thing, the best one can do is to use it wisely, that is, by means of expending it on alms, to obtain from it a heavenly profit. Money, which is the source of sin and usually unrighteous, can yet be so used as to gain admission by it into the heavenly Kingdom.

It may be, however, that we have to suppose that Jesus is speaking, not to the disciples, as it says in xvi. 1, but to the tax-collectors and sinners of xv. 1. Hence the money here spoken of is money unrighteously acquired, not money in general. Jesus means to say: 'If you have obtained money wrongfully, you can, nevertheless, use it in such a way that it may serve you in good stead,' *i.e.* in the way of almsgiving. *Cp.* the story of Zacchæus, ix. 8. Merx advocates this interpretation strongly. 'Mammon of unrighteousness' according to him means strictly: 'wealth unrighteously acquired'—not any kind of wealth. The parable is spoken (xv. 1) to tax-collectors and sinners. If they cannot return their unjustly acquired money, let them use it to make themselves friends with it. He thinks that 'everlasting' in verse 9 is a later insertion, and thus 9 becomes strictly parallel with 4. But surely the resultant sense is tame and poor. 'Help others by your money, and so make for yourselves friends.'

J. Weiss adopts the former, more usual, interpretation. He says, however, 'whether this condemnation of money is according to the mind of Jesus is exceedingly doubtful, in spite of Mark x. 25.' He further supposes that the whole verse was added to diminish the effect of 8. How could there be anything to praise in the unjust steward? So a sort of counterweight was added. With

unrighteous money one can do nothing better than use it in alms as a passport to heaven. This view of mammon, that it is just good enough to secure heavenly bliss with, is in accord with Jewish and Jewish-Christian opinion ('ist ganz jüdisch-juden-christlich empfunden'), and is even to the present day a pillar of that calculating beneficence which we call 'catholicizing.' There seems a little prepossession here. One would like to hear a Catholic commentator 'in reply.'

Dr. Carpenter thinks that the whole lesson of the parable lies in 9: 'worldly wealth must be employed in alms, so as to secure entry into the dwelling-places of the coming age. The moral quality of the steward's proceedings does not come into view: he simply serves as an illustration of worldly wisdom. In its present form the story seems plainly to belong to that section of the Church which viewed wealth as unrighteous and found merit in poverty. This is closely connected with the conception that the suffering are entitled to compensation, which is seen in the story of the rich man and Lazarus' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 263).

If the parable be authentic, Jesus was not merely thinking of almsgiving. Luke would, however, clearly interpret it in that particular way. The mammon of unrighteousness characterizes wealth in its essential nature, without reference to the method of its acquisition. In the eyes of Jesus, still more in those of Luke, there can be no such a thing as the 'mammon of righteousness.' Nevertheless as the disciples are not rich, it is perhaps the Pharisees to whom the parable was originally addressed.

Wellhausen refuses to separate 9 from 8. He translates 8, 'And the Lord (Jesus) praised the unrighteous steward, saying, The children of this world, etc.' Then follows 9, of which the first words should really be rendered, 'And to you, too, I say.' 9 gives the full explanation of 8. How had he acted cleverly? By making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Money is always 'unrighteous.' It never really belongs to man. All mammon belongs only to God. If you have any, you must use it for alms, and so acquire treasure in heaven, and make God your friend. (That Luke meant all this is not improbable: it is doubtful whether the original parable did.)

'And I (Jesus) say unto you.' Use money, the source of so much evil, wisely, so that when you die (this is the meaning of 'when it [the money] fails'), you may be received, because of the alms you have given, into heaven. The 'tents' of 9 are parallel to the 'houses' of 4. Most commentators consider that the verse is a commentary upon 1–8 and was added on to it.

Loisy holds that in 8 κύριος (the 'lord') is still the 'master' of the parable, but in 8*b* (from ὅτι) we have already Jesus's com-

ment on the parable. The non-Christian knows how to deal with money for his low ends more wisely than the Christian (who does not give away in alms as much as he ought in order to acquire treasure in heaven). All the riches of this world are 'unjust': only in giving riches away in alms do they lose their unrighteous character. So, use riches well, in order that when they fail you (*i.e.* when you die), you may go to heaven. Loisy denies that there was any original parable used by Jesus with any different meaning from this.

10–13. The Right Use of Money is a Test of a Man's Fitness for the Kingdom

(Luke only)

'He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in that which is much: and he that is unjust in what is least is unjust also in what is much. If then ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will entrust you with the true? And if ye have not been faithful in that which does not really belong to you, who will give you that which is your own? No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will cleave to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

Luke brings together various sayings about money, partly perhaps to show that the last parable must not be misunderstood. The faithlessness of the steward is not commendable: on the contrary, the utmost scrupulosity in money matters is a primary duty.

10. *Cp.* Matt. xxv. 21; Luke xix. 17. Does this mean that he who is faithful in a poor, material thing like money, will be faithful in spiritual wealth as well? Then the thought as well as the phrasing would be akin to the parable of the talents.

Doubtless, 'least' and 'much' were originally meant quite literally.

11. If a man cannot even be trusted with money, how can God trust him with true wealth, that is with heavenly beatitude, the felicity of the kingdom!? The words πιστοί ('faithful') and πιστεύσει ('entrust') seem used in different senses. The verb (on the above interpretation) seems rather to mean 'bestow.' It is also suggested that money is not our own property, just as the money in the hands

of the steward, and misspent by him, was not really his. It is only lent us by God that we may make good use of it. *Cp.* the parable of the talents. The true wealth may be God's spiritual gifts, but this seems on the whole, and when 12 is also considered, perhaps a little less likely. The true wealth is probably not a man's spiritual endowment, but in spite of the inappropriateness of the verb (πιστεύσει), if strictly taken, the Messianic kingdom, or the 'wealth' of heaven.

'Unrighteous' mammon would seem to mean here not unrighteously acquired, but unrighteous in itself, unrighteous if regarded as man's own property. *Cp.* Wellhausen's interpretation of 8.

12. Money is 'unrighteous' because it is not really one's own. It is not one's own, because it is only lent by God. Or it is 'foreign' because it is not part of our true nature; it will no longer be ours in our eternal home. What is our own is that which is called true wealth in 11, *i.e.* the glories of the Messianic Kingdom. If men cannot use the wealth which is only lent to them for a season, they cannot expect that God will grant to them the wealth which is to be eternal, and which, therefore, if they deserve and obtain it, may be rightly described as permanently and truly theirs.

Perhaps, originally, verse 12 like verse 10 was meant quite literally. τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ meant 'that which belongs to another,' but in Luke's interpretation we must render it 'that which is not your own,' 'that which does not really belong to you.'

13. This verse, which is also found in Matt. vi. 24, seems merely mechanically connected with 12 by the word 'mammon.'

14–18. Pharisees and the Law

(*Cp.* Matt. xi. 12, 13, v. 18, 32)

14 And the Pharisees, who love money, heard all these words; and
15 they derided him. And he said unto them, 'Ye are they who justify yourselves before men; but God knows your hearts: for
16 that which is lofty among men is abomination before God. The Law and the Prophets were until John: since that time the tidings of the kingdom of God are being preached, and every man is forcing
17 his way into it. But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than
18 for one tittle of the Law to fail. Whoever divorces his wife, and marries another, commits adultery: and whoever marries her that is divorced from her husband commits adultery.

14, 15. Luke only.

The rich Pharisees regard their wealth as a sign of God's approval of their conduct. Their wealth makes them proud and self-righteous. They are regarded as the sort of people who serve Mammon and not God. They are brought in here by this editorial link in order that it may be clearly understood that much of the teaching in what preceded and in what is to follow is addressed to them. If 19 followed 15 all would be fairly clear. But what are we to make of 16–18? Why are these abrupt and disconnected verses, which occur in such widely separated places in Matthew, suddenly introduced here? Were they suggested by the mention of 'Moses and the Prophets' in 29 and 31? This does not seem very satisfactory. Streeter observes: 'The three sayings, Luke xvi. 16–18, are perhaps from Q. Q, so far as one can make out, was a collection of the "Wise Sayings" of Christ, comparable to a book like Proverbs or the *Pirque Aboth*, with very little attempt at arrangement. And what we have in the passage of Luke is three separate aphorisms (the Law and the Prophets until John, the passing of the Law, Divorce), the only connection between which is that they are epigrammatic rulings on disputed points connected with the Law. In Matthew they appear in a somewhat modified form and in three quite different contexts, worked into connected discourses. The Lucan version looks *on the whole* more primitive; but the modifications of it in Matthew do not go beyond what an editor, who, like Matthew, evidently felt that he was also to some extent an interpreter, might consider legitimate' (p. 286).

14. The Pharisees are said to be 'money-loving.' The charge, so far as we know, lacks historical foundation. It is only one more of the attacks by which the Evangelists seek to blacken their Jewish opponents. We observe, moreover, the constant antagonism of Luke to the rich. The standpoint of Luke and his community is like that of many Psalmists. The needy are the righteous. The rich are the wicked. Wealth is unrighteous in itself.

15. How do they seek to prove that they are righteous? By the very fact of their being rich, and therefore prosperous, and therefore righteous? Or by giving alms? *Cp.* Matt. vi. 2. If by the latter, then their alms are inadequate or given in a wrong spirit and manner.

16–18. For 16 *cp.* Matt. xi. 12, 13; for 17 *cp.* Matt. v. 18; for 18 *cp.* Matt. v. 32. Conybeare holds that Jesus must have been considerably younger than John, and that the verse 'from the days of John' (Matt. xi. 12) is a proof of it. From it we may infer

that 'sundry patriots, carried away by John's proclamation of the impending great event which was, among other things, to bring liberation from the Gentile yoke, had tried to hurry it on by active rebellion against the Roman Government. The lessons of their failure were not lost on Jesus, who, like Philo, believed that moral regeneration, repentance, non-resistance, justice, and mercy, and in general, a faithful observance of the laws of Jehovah, could alone bring it about' (*op. cit.* p. 142).

Why these verses about the Law stand here, or what their exact connection is with that which precedes and follows, is, as I have said above, not very clear. Various explanations have been given; none of them is satisfactory. It is perhaps unnecessary to consider the point further, as it is not very important. As an example of the various explanations suggested I will quote from Loisy: 'As the Law and the Prophets are in question at the end of the following parable where it is declared that the brothers of the rich man have them at their disposal if they wish to repent and amend, and that the resurrection of a dead man would not be more efficacious, it seems that it was wished to prepare for this conclusion by reflections on the duration and value of the Law, reflections which are led up to in some degree by what has just been said with regard to the righteousness of the Pharisees. From the time that the preaching of John gave place to that of the gospel, the end of the Law and the Prophets has come; nevertheless, it is true that the Law will endure to the end of time, but completed by the gospel of which it is the figure. The permanence of the Law must be understood in a typical sense, although, in the source, it was probably taken literally' (*E. S.* II. p. 166).

16. Matt. xi. 12, but with changes. '*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται* is a Lucan phrase—an attempt to explain an extremely obscure saying' (Streeter, p. 287, n. 1). Luke more decisively than Matthew declares that the era or rule of the Law and the Prophets only lasted till John. And yet Luke even more decisively than Matthew declares that the Law will never fail or fall. (*πίπτειν* is the Greek word, as in 1 Cor. xiii. 8, 'Love never fails.') 'Since that time (literally, from then) the tidings of the Kingdom of God are being preached'—that is, apparently, since the days of John the new Kingdom has been made known and is being realized. Here the Kingdom is not merely future. In one sense men can and do enter into it already. The last four words of the verse are variously interpreted. They may mean, 'Every one is driven or urged in,' as in xiv. 23; or, 'every one can and does, or can and should, force his way in.' Or they may mean, 'People try to get in who are not worthy'; or lastly, 'Every one uses violence

against it,' *i.e.* the disciples of the Kingdom (the Christians) are persecuted. In Matt. xi. 12 not 'every one', but the 'kingdom', is the subject of *βιάζεται* ('forced'), which is the harder, but therefore, probably, the more original reading.

Thus the breach between the old era and the new era is great. The first is the era of the Law; the second of the Kingdom. The first is the era of preparation; the second of fulfilment.

17. *Cp.* Matt. v. 18. Yet though this be so—though the difference between the days before John and after him be huge—yet the Law is not abolished. Every part of it remains. The gospel fulfils the Law, but it is not antinomian.

Perhaps Luke was thinking specially of the Ten Commandments and of other moral ordinances. Loisy thinks that both Luke and Matthew refer only to a spiritual and typological fulfilment (*Luc*, p. 413).

18. The object of putting a variant of Matt. v. 32 immediately after 17 (Matt. v. 18) seems to be to show that what is from one point of view a suspension or violation of the Law is really a fulfilment. Jesus has deepened the Law. What was permitted is now forbidden. The Law has not fallen to the ground; yet it is not the old Law which is to be kept, but a new and higher Law, which transcends the old. The collocation of 16, 17, and 18 seems to show that Luke himself feels no contradiction between the abrogation and the maintenance of the Law—each in its own sense. To him 18 really confirms 17. Or, perhaps, he *wanted* to feel no contradiction, and the best thing he could do was boldly to assert that abrogation and maintenance and fulfilment by abrogation were all and equally true. The second alternative seems to me somewhat more probable.

There was a constant attempt to achieve the impossible. The Law is eternal and yet temporary; the Law is maintained and yet subverted; the Law is abrogated and yet fulfilled.

The attempt was honest, for these oppositions which are not oppositions, these higher transcendings and reconciliations, have an invincible attraction for a certain order of minds. But in truth no reconciliation is really possible. The attempt was hopeless and is hopeless. If the Law is divine, as it says it is, then no Jesus could abolish it; no Jesus, be he never so good, could fulfil it by subverting it. It is no use to say: 'Jesus neither abolished the Law in one sense nor maintained it in another; yet in a third, and higher, sense he both abolished and maintained it.' It is no use to say the truth is neither A nor B, but it is C, which includes and transcends both A and B. Such reasoning may be valid when

A and B are complementary to each other, but here they are antagonistic. You cannot have it both ways. If the divine Law is to be maintained, Jews must continue to eat no rabbits; and if they eat rabbits, the divine Law is not maintained. If the divine Law be maintained, then it is not adultery to send away your wife (given certain conditions) and marry another woman; and if it is adultery to do so, then the divine Law is seriously modified. Jesus or the Evangelist attempted an impossible reconciliation of irreconcilable opposites.

As regards the character of the statement in 18, it is a combination of Mark x. 11 and Matt. v. 32. As Holtzmann says, it may be the original form. It is Q's form and Q's words according to Streeter. How it combines Mark and Matthew will be made clear thus: Let A and B stand for men, and X and Y for women. Then Matthew and Mark (according to the usual text of Mark) both specify two different cases.

Matthew says:

(1) If A divorce X : X is made an adulteress (if she marry again).
(2) If B thereupon marry X : B is an adulterer.

Mark says:

(1) If A divorce X and marry Y : A is an adulterer.
(2) If X divorce A and marry B : X is an adulteress.

Luke says:

(1) If A divorce X and marry Y : A is an adulterer.
(2) If B thereupon marry X : B is an adulterer.

(In Matt. xix. 9 the text is uncertain.) Thus Luke has the *first* case of Mark x. 11 and the *second* case of Matt. v. 32. The adultery of the woman who marries again is not considered.

And quite probably this is the oldest form of the teaching. Jesus was speaking to men, and dealing with the Jewish law, which limited the power of divorce to men.

19–31. The Story of the Rich and the Poor Man

(Luke only)

19 'There was a rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen,
20 and lived joyously and sumptuously every day: and there was a beggar named Lazarus, who lay at his gate, and was full of sores.
21 And he sought to satisfy his hunger with the bits which fell from the

rich man's table : yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom : the rich man also died, and was buried. And he lifted up his eyes in hell, being in torments, and he saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue ; for I am in anguish in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou didst receive thy good things in thy lifetime, and Lazarus similarly received evil things : now he is comforted here, and thou art in anguish. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed : so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot ; neither can they pass to us that would come from thence. So he said, Then I pray thee, father, that thou send him to my father's house—for I have five brothers—so that he may testify unto them, that they may not come also into this place of torment. But Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets ; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham : but if someone went to them from the dead, they would repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, they will not be persuaded, even though someone rose from the dead.'

The parable, at any rate the first part of it, up to verse 25, must originally have been intended to show that earthly conditions are often reversed after death and in the future life. The poor can take comfort from this ; the rich can be warned. And the poor have no cause to envy the rich. For though, at present, the poor man has sorrow and the rich man comfort and prosperity, in the next world these conditions shall be reversed. Then the poor shall be happy ; the rich shall be miserable. The point of view is the same as we have already met with in some of the special material of Luke. The rich are the oppressors ; the poor are the oppressed. Neither 'deserve' their present lot : in the world to come this lot will be permanently changed, for those now poor shall then enjoy the highest good, while those now rich shall be in the sorest distress.

Perhaps Luke used it to illustrate the results of the wrong use of money. There is no definite statement in 19–25 that the rich man had been *specially* wicked or unrepentant, or that the poor man had been specially virtuous ; nevertheless, we may perhaps assume that the rich man must have known of the poor man at his gate, and that he deliberately showed to him no pity and gave him no alms. His arrival in hell is therefore at least partly due to his

heartlessness and cruelty. Yet, originally, the main point may have been the reversal after death of earthly conditions; the moral merits were not to the fore.

20. The poor man is given a name. Why is this? The name may have been added by Luke. Or the name may have been added to the story in Luke from John (xi. 1). Or the story in John may partly depend upon the parable in Luke. Or is the identity of names a mere coincidence? Is the name merely given to suit the situation: Lazarus = Eleazar = God is his (only) help? There seems no reason why Jesus should not occasionally have given a proper name to one of the *dramatis personæ* of his parables.

21. What fell from the table were the big bits of bread which were used to clean or dry the hands after the eaters had dipped them, for example, in a dish full of bits of meat and gravy. Napkins were not used for the hands. The guests wiped their hands on bits of bread, and then threw the pieces under the table. They were then thrown outside the gate or door. That the dogs lick his sores adds to the wretchedness of his situation. He is too weak to prevent them or drive them away.

22. What was 'borne' by the angels? His soul? And yet a corporeal sort of soul if it had fingers (24). For Abraham's bosom see S.-B. *ad loc.* The meaning is that the poor man was privileged to be in close proximity to the very patriarchs themselves: so high was his place in heaven.

23. The words 'and was buried' need not be a mere detail of no importance. See S.-B. or Gressmann (below). Also Abrahams, *Studies*, II. p. 203. The Greek word Hades in this verse is equivalent to hell or Gehenna. Abraham is in heaven or Paradise, and close by him is Lazarus. His place is a distinction. From hell one can see Paradise, and the distance is apparently not too great for conversation. But really there is a 'great gulf' between the two. And if from hell one can see Paradise, and if an inmate of the one can make himself heard by a denizen of the other, this is only, as Loisy says, 'because the laws of the other world are not the same as ours.' The story follows the second main strand of popular belief in the hereafter. Instead of waiting, all alike, in Hades or Sheol, till the Resurrection and the last Judgment, the good and bad are judged at once. Straightway after death, the good go to heaven, the bad to hell.

24. Hell is painted very materially: there are physical flames.

25. Abraham's argument is simple. He who fares well in this world must fare ill in the next and *vice versa*. You cannot have a good time in both worlds, so you have nothing to complain of. It is not said, though it is implied, that the rich man was bad or that Lazarus was good; the question, what should happen to a good rich man or to a bad poor one is ignored; nor is the inequality of temporal happiness being balanced by eternal misery thought of. The story takes up the point of view of Luke vi. 21, 24. 'Happy are the poor; woe to the rich.' That the rich man recognizes Lazarus proves, however, that he knew him on earth. Thus we may assume that the narrator wishes us to believe that he had been cruel and heartless to Lazarus, and for this cruelty and heartlessness he is duly punished. It is hardly legitimate to say that we must not assume that the rich man was specially cruel, for the fact that Lazarus lay at the rich man's door shows that he occasionally got something, otherwise he would have taken up his quarters elsewhere. Nevertheless, the main antithesis is between 'rich' and 'poor' and the point of view is that of vi. 21. 'The poor in a lump' are good; the rich in a lump are bad.

The eschatology and the details of the word-painting seem unlike those habitual to Jesus. If he ever spoke the parable, it has been altered since he spoke it. 'Jesus,' as Loisy says, 'does not seem to have taken delight in elaborate descriptions of the Hereafter. He announced the arrival of the kingdom of God on earth, not the translation of the poor into the bosom of Abraham' (*E. S.* II. p. 174).

26. There is no passing from hell to heaven. He who is once in hell will always remain there. A truly horrible doctrine, yet there is no reason to believe that Jesus, like other good men of his age, did not hold it. No less horrible to my mind is another principle which, as Mr. Ragg truly says, is clearly enunciated in the parable, namely, 'Man's use of *this* life fixes irrevocably his lot "there"—on one or other side of an impassable chasm.'

27–31. The second part of the parable seems a later addition. The first part reconciles the poor man to his lot on earth by teaching the reversal of earthly conditions beyond the grave; the second part appears to teach that Moses and the Prophets reveal God's will sufficiently, and that one must not ask from God such a miracle as the resurrection upon earth of a dead man for the authentification of the divine message (Bultmann, pp. 111, 123).

27. Lazarus is to tell the brothers of what awaits them if they do not repent and act differently from their brother. The point of view is not quite the same as in part one. There is a stronger

assumption that the rich man had been very wicked. On the other hand, there is no intention to show that because the rich man thinks of his brothers and would like to save them, therefore he is morally improving. In any case, repentance after death—such is the general doctrine of the time—is of no avail. The object of the rich man's request is merely to lead up to 29 and 31.

28. 'Testify,' *i.e.* bear witness to his miserable lot and to the reality of hell; or 'testify' may mean merely 'warn.'

29. Moses and the Prophets could have told them (*a*) how to avoid the pains of hell, or (*b*) that there are rewards and punishments beyond the grave, or both.

31. Originally this part of the parable may have meant no more than it says. But to Luke the meaning was much more definite. Had the Jews hearkened to Moses and the Prophets, they would not have rejected Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus cannot convert them. They must be left to their unbelief and its consequences. The words of 31 do not mean that the resurrection of Jesus was needless. They describe the awful unbelief of the Jews. They will refuse to hearken, though this great miracle has actually occurred. Or we may say: Lazarus typifies the Christians; the rich man typifies the unbelieving Jews. The Jews are unconverted and hopeless; they refuse to recognize Christ, who is foretold in the Law and in the Prophets (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 419). The resurrection of Jesus may be alluded to, but it is, I suppose, not suggested that he is to go himself back to earth in order to convert the Jews.

Gressmann, in a learned and interesting essay, *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus*, 1918, has pointed out curious parallels to the parable in Rabbinic and Egyptian literature. He supposes that the Egyptian story had passed over to Palestine and was known there in the age of Jesus, who used and altered it. He is urgent that the parable is authentic in both parts: that they cohere, and must not be separated. But his arguments are unsatisfactory, and his interpretation of the second part improbable. *Cp.* Bultmann, pp. 123, n. 1, 127, 128. For those who read Dutch, H. Windisch's article in *Nieuw Theologisch Tydschrift*, 1925, pp. 343–360 is also worth reading. Windisch is inclined to regard the entire parable as authentic, and in its fundamental conceptions not unworthy of Jesus, and not inconsistent 'with the deepest contents of his conception of God.' The article is a very curious mixture of large learning, new freedom, and old prepossessions, illustrative of Windisch's whole theological position. He is always well worth reading.

CHAPTER XVII

1, 2. On Stumbling-blocks

(*Cp.* Mark ix. 42 ; Matt. xviii. 6, 7)

And he said unto the disciples, ' It is impossible that stumbling-blocks should not come : but woe unto him, through whom they come ! It would profit him more that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.

A variety of sayings are brought together in this chapter, some of which Matthew has in other connections, and some of which are not in Matthew at all. Streeter says : ' A comparison of Mark ix. 42 with both Matt. xviii. 6–7 and Luke xvii. 1–2 makes it fairly certain that both Mark and Q must have contained the saying about offending little ones,' but that Q contained it with the addition which appears in Luke xvii. 1 = Matt. xviii. 7. But Luke, and therefore probably Q, connected the saying on Offences with that on Forgiveness ' (p. 265).

1. The Pharisees are now dismissed ; the teaching returns to the disciples. The order of 1 and 2 reverses that in Matthew. These little ones ' *i.e.* the disciples, or the lesser ones among them. Luke has ' little ones ' without the additions of Mark and Matthew. Perhaps this is more original ? See notes on Mark.

3, 4. On Forgiveness

(*Cp.* Matt. xviii. 15, 21, 22)

' Take heed to yourselves. If thy brother have sinned, rebuke him ; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him.'

3. Luke gives the saying a more direct reference to forgiveness than it has in Matthew, and thus connects it with the later saying in Matthew about forgiveness, in which he also has some verbal differences from Matthew. See notes on Matthew.

5, 6. On Faith

(*Cp.* Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21 ; Mark xi. 22, 23)

5, 6 And the apostles said unto the Lord, 'Increase our faith.' And the Lord said, 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say unto this mulberry tree, Be uprooted, and planted in the sea ; and it would obey you.

Luke gives the saying as he found it in Q ; Matthew conflates Q and Mark. So Streeter, p. 284. But why 'in the sea'? Meyer argues that the unsuitable 'sea' shows that Q is based on Mark, for in Mark (xi. 23) 'the sea' (*i.e.* the lake) is not so inappropriate. (I. p. 229).

7–10. The Slave and his Reward

(Luke only)

7 'But which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding
cattle, will say unto him on his return from the field, Come and
8 straightway sit down to table? Will he not rather say unto him,
Get ready my supper, and gird thyself, and serve me, while I eat
and drink ; and afterwards thou canst eat and drink thyself?
9 Does he thank that servant because he did what he was ordered?
10 So too ye, when ye have done all that which ye have been ordered
to do, say, We are [useless] servants : we have merely done that
which it was our duty to do.'

A highly noble, notable, and important passage. Its connection with what precedes it is not apparent. The illustration is taken from ordinary life, not the ideal life of the Kingdom (*cp.* xii. 37), but yet not the life of bad people. Its essence lies in 9. The application and moral in 10 are much improved if with the S.S. we omit the adjective 'useless.' For the stress lies on the *noun* 'servants' or 'slaves' ; not on the quality of the slaves. The religious relation between man and God is directly and emphatically stated to be that of master and slave. We are no better than servants. We have

responsibility and duties, but no right to, or claim upon, reward. Whatever good a man does, he cannot do more than he owes to God. For to him he owes all that he is capable of doing. He cannot acquire a right to thanks.

In the first place it is most important to notice that Jesus is not afraid to speak of our relation to God as that of master and slave. What grand use would have been made of this passage by the German Protestant theologians had it stood in the Talmud! How it would have proved the servile, cringing, frightened character of Rabbinic religion! Jesus taught that God was man's Father; the Rabbis that man was God's servant or slave! As a matter of fact both Jesus and the Rabbis, from different points of view and in different moods, taught both one and the other. Neither is false.

In the second place it is most notable that man can claim no reward from God. That was not quite original teaching, but it was so relatively. The tilt against exaggerations and perversions of the doctrine of tit for tat is a prominent and characteristic feature of the teaching of Jesus. What we receive from God is grace and goodness, and not reward. There is no doubt that the *excessive* emphasis and elaboration of the doctrine of retribution was one of the weak spots in Rabbinic Judaism.

7. It is a pity that Mr. Ragg depends so greatly on, and trusts so implicitly in, Edersheim. Schechter should have shown scholars by this time how prejudiced and untrustworthy Edersheim often is in his statements about the Pharisees and the Rabbis. It was *not* 'a fundamental idea of Pharisaism' that the acquisition of merit can *claim* a reward. It may *obtain* a reward, but that is a different thing. What did the Jew from a very early Rabbinic period say every day? 'Not because of our righteous acts do we lay our supplications before Thee, but because of thine abundant mercies.' For the 'merits,' as well as for some of the weaknesses, of Rabbinic Judaism the liturgy is a safer guide than this or that utterance of this or that Rabbi.

9. Instead of 'does he thank that servant,' Merx shows that there is good reason to suppose that the original reading was: 'Has he (the servant) any favour (*i.e.* in the sight of his master) because he did what he was told?' Does he acquire any special favour or merit? The sense is improved by this reading. For this use of χάριν ἔχειν Acts ii. 47 supplies a parallel.

10. If ἀχρεῖοι be kept, we can translate 'poor,' 'of no account.' It is a term of humility. *Cp.* the use of ἀχρεῖος in 2 Sam. vi. 22. I should have pointed out that the Rabbis too were

well aware, and not infrequently taught, that man can *claim* no reward from God: reward is rather grace than requital. *Cp.* the familiar saying of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai, 'If thou hast learnt much Torah, ascribe not any merit to thyself, for thereunto thou wast created.'

11–19. The Story of the Ten Lepers

(Luke only)

11 And it came to pass, as he journeyed to Jerusalem, that he
12 passed between Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, who stood
13 afar off, and lifted up their voices, and said, 'Jesus, Master, have
14 pity upon us.' And when he saw them, he said unto them, 'Go show yourselves unto the priests.' And it came to pass, that, as
15 they went, they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified
16 God. And he fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks.
17 Now he was a Samaritan. And Jesus said, 'Were not the ten
18 cleansed? where are the nine? Were none found to return and
19 give glory to God except this foreigner?' And he said unto him, 'Arise, go thy way: thy faith has saved thee.'

The story is a late variant to the healing of the leper in Luke v. 12–16; Mark i. 40–45; Matt. viii. 1–4. It is told with a marked universalist or anti-Jewish tendency. The connection with what has preceded is obscure.

11. The situation—the journey to Jerusalem—is once more recalled. Jesus was proceeding on his journey, being on the frontiers of Samaria and Galilee. This seems the meaning of the odd Greek. Apparently he passes along the border of Samaria, going from west to east towards the Jordan. From its place in the narrative one would rather suppose that Jesus was nearing Jerusalem.

14. Jesus heals them from afar, as Elisha heals Naaman. Whether this is done so that Jesus may not heal a leprous Samaritan by actual contact, inasmuch as he did not historically preach the gospel to Samaritans and Gentiles, seems to me doubtful. But doubtless the healing of the Samaritan typifies and represents the conversion of the Gentiles, while the nine ungrateful Jews represent unbelieving Judaism.

15. Are we to assume that the *Samaritan*, like the nine, had to present himself in Jerusalem to a *Jewish* priest and make an offering ?

17. Usually Jesus is not anxious to receive thanks : here he must be made to wish for them, so that the Samaritan may excel. The 'nine others' represent the ungrateful Jews who saw the miracles and benefited by them, and were yet impassive to the teaching and appeal of Jesus.

19. *Cp.* vii. 50, viii. 48. But were not the nine others also healed ? Was their faith less or the same ? There must be a confusion in the narrative. One good MS. omits the second half of the verse. Or we may suppose that the nine others are forgotten. The tenth typifies the conversion and salvation of the Gentiles. Only he, therefore, is of importance to the Evangelist. For the secondary character of the story *cp.* Bultmann, p. 17.

20–37. The When and Where of the Parousia

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 26, 27, 37–39, x. 39, xxiv. 40, 41, 28)

And being questioned by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God would come, he answered them and said, 'The kingdom of God comes not with observation : neither shall they say, Lo here ! or, lo there ! for, behold, the kingdom of God is among you.'

And he said unto the disciples, 'The days will come, when ye will desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it. And they shall say to you, Lo there, lo here : go not after them, nor follow them. For as the lightning, flashing from one side under the heaven, shines unto the other side, so shall the Son of man be in his day. But first he must suffer much, and be rejected by this generation. And as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They kept on eating, drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise as it was in the days of Lot ; they kept on eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, and building ; but on the day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be on the day when the Son of man is revealed. In that day, he who shall be upon the roof, and his goods in the house, let him not come

down to take them away: and so too let not him that is in the
32, 33 field, turn back. Remember Lot's wife. Whoever seeks to save
his life shall lose it; and whoever shall lose his life shall preserve
34 it. I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed;
35 the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. Two women
shall be grinding at the same mill; the one shall be taken, and the
37 other left.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Where, Lord?'
And he said unto them, 'Where the corpse is, there too will the
vultures be gathered together.'

Much of this section contains parallels to Matt. xxiv. The same subject is treated of again (xxi.) with parallels to Mark xiii. Matthew has combined what Luke has here with Mark's apocalyptic oration (xiii.), though, as Loisy says, the 'eschatological perspective' is very different. For, in Mark, the question as to the time when the coming will take place is more or less replied to: here the time is stated to be unforeseeable. The section comes from a source (Q) common to Matthew and Luke.

It is divided into two unequal parts. In the first (20, 21), which has no parallels in Matthew and Mark, Jesus speaks to the Pharisees; in the second, to the disciples. Yet what he says to the Pharisees would seem more suited for the disciples, and some would hold that the Pharisees are due to a less intelligent editor.

20, 21. Luke only. These verses are very famous. For our purpose, and for Jewish readers, their importance is comparatively small, but if we could know (which we never can) whether Jesus really said 21, and, if so, what he meant by it, it would be intensely interesting.

20. Jesus answers, first of all, that the Kingdom does not come 'with observation' (*μετὰ παρατηρήσεως*). Apparently this means that the Advent will elude all reckoning. It is no good to observe signs and make calculations. The saying appears to rebuke those apocalyptic predictions to which some of the Rabbis also greatly objected. The arrival of the Kingdom will not be preceded by signs by the observation of which one could predict its coming.

21. With the first part of the verse *cp.* Mark xiii. 21. In Mark the words are: *ἴδε ὧδε ὁ χριστός, ἴδε ἐκεῖ*. In Luke the words are merely *ἴδε ὧδε, ἴδε ἐκεῖ*. They may mean that one cannot tell in advance whether the Kingdom will be manifested in this place or that. The words are more suitable to the Messiah than to the Kingdom, and are applied to him in verse 23. They may,

however, refer to the signs. 'Behold here is a sign; behold there is a sign; so now the Advent may soon be expected.'

The second part of the verse is very peculiar and interesting, and also very familiar and famous. There are three main interpretations:

(1) The first is to translate: 'the Kingdom of God is within you,' by which is meant that the Kingdom is not something outward or material or local, but a spiritual principle, which works unseen, and regenerates, in the hearts of men. W. adopts this interpretation, and he compares the Kingdom as here described with the view of it taken in xiii. 21 as the leaven within the meal.

It is natural that the modern commentator who likes to pare off from Jesus's teaching as much of the miraculous, or 'Jewish,' or political, or 'material' element as he can, and to read into or out of it as much spiritual, universalist, and permanent teaching as possible, is often keen to adopt and justify this interpretation.

How infinite must be the number of occasions on which it has been cited in modern times. It suits modern spiritual teaching so well. And how constantly we are told that here is the essence of the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom! It is also said that the most likely, natural, and proper translation of the Greek preposition is 'within' and not 'among.'

But the interpretation has great difficulties:

(*a*) The saying is specially directed to the Pharisees, and not to the disciples.

(*b*) It has no clear parallels elsewhere.

(*c*) It does not account for the future tense in ἐροῦσιν.

(*d*) Its meaning is not only obscure (for in what sense can the Kingdom be said to be 'in' a man?), but, as J. Weiss so well and strongly urges, it misconceives the significance of the term to Jesus and his contemporaries. To them the Kingdom was something objective, epoch-making, world-embracing, implying the downfall of the present world-order, and the judgment and rule of God.

(*e*) It is oddly opposed to the whole environment of the passage, and would have been unintelligible to the questioners.

To avoid (*a*) and (*c*) Holtzmann suggests that parts of 20 and 21 are due to an editor: the original saying ran: 'Being questioned when the Kingdom of God would come, he replied, The Kingdom does not come by watching: for it is within you.'

Pfleiderer pleads for 'within you,' but he holds that 22 *seq.* are so completely opposed to 21 that the only explanation is to assume that 20 and 21 are due to Luke himself (*cp.* Romans xiv. 17), and were prefixed to the following speech to damp apocalyptic impatience: the dangers of eschatological enthusiasm (against which

a warning is given in 23) seemed only to be quite warded off by substituting for apocalyptic catastrophes the inner spiritual presence of the divine Kingdom. Thus 20 and 21 show a transition to the theory of Immanence as we find it in the Fourth Gospel; a similar transition may be noted in Matt. xxviii. 20 and xviii. 20.

(2) The second main interpretation is to take 'within you' as equivalent to 'among you,' as if the expression were *ἐν μέσῳ*. The Kingdom, according to this interpretation, is present in the same sense as in xi. 20: it is already 'here,' though not yet perfected. To this view the chief objections are:

(*a*) That the phrase used is *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν* and not *ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν*—'within' and not 'among you.'

(*b*) If the meaning is that the Kingdom is already in your midst—that it has already begun—though ye know it not, why is the future used (*ἐροῦσιν*)? Why are the words, 'Neither shall they say' ('they' is impersonal), instead of, 'it cannot be said'?

J. Weiss, who is such an energetic defender of the 'eschatological' and 'objective' interpretation of the Kingdom, is naturally keen to translate *ἐντός* by 'among.' In what sense the Kingdom is already among you is another matter. It does not necessarily mean that the disciples represent the Kingdom. 'Our logion does not let us discern what the beginnings or signs are that Jesus is thinking about; it is arbitrary to assume something definite here.' J. Weiss supposes that Jesus desires to rebuke any apocalyptic attempts to fix the exact coming and date of the Kingdom. One cannot say: 'lo here or there' as proofs or signs of its advent. On the contrary: unknown to those who seek to watch and observe (as you might observe the signs of a storm or an eclipse), the beginnings of the Kingdom are already among them. The kingdom of Satan, as Jesus had already said, is falling or has fallen. Therefore the Kingdom of God has already begun. One *will* not be able to say 'It is there,' for without such observations and vaticinations and reckonings, behold, it has already begun in your midst.

'Jesus refers to those beginnings of the Kingdom of God that he mentions in the Beelzebub speech (Matt. xii. 28; Luke xi. 20), viz. the victory over Satan and his adherents. Perhaps he is also thinking of other matters that are certain to him even if they are hid to the eyes of others—facts and experiences which give him the firm conviction that the new world-era is already starting. Here, therefore, we are dealing with a bold, prophetic saying that arises out of his victorious faith. Naturally, the Pharisees could not comprehend the words of a prophet who sees further than other people.' This quotation is taken from J. Weiss's commentary on the passage. The previous quotation was taken from some other writing of his to which I have mislaid the reference.

Yet elsewhere Jesus seems to think that men ought at all events to be able to estimate the signs of the times aright, *e.g.* xii. 56.

(3) The third, most commonplace, but, on the whole, most probable interpretation is to suppose that ἐντός does mean 'among' as in (2), but that the meaning is: 'It is idle for men to say, Lo here is a sign, or lo there is a sign; it is needless to calculate, and to peer for, signs; for the Kingdom will arrive among you with the utmost suddenness. As the flash of lightning, behold it is there!' Moreover, it will not be possible to say 'it is here' (but not yet there); it will be everywhere all at once. 'Il sera chez vous comme ailleurs, et nulle part avant' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 430). Here, while ἐροῦσιν can be, perhaps, more satisfactorily accounted for than in (1) and (2), there is some difficulty about ἔστιν. But ἔστιν may be used dramatically for ἔσται. 'The Kingdom is among you' means 'Suddenly the Kingdom will arrive and be there.' Verse 21 corresponds with 24. 'No one will be able to say, Lo here or lo there; there will be no premonitory signs; but suddenly will the Kingdom appear and be among you.' This is Loisy's explanation. 'The abstract idea of a wholly spiritual and moral presence of the Kingdom in the hearts of men is, moreover, foreign to the Gospel, and it may be said to the whole Bible.' And as for the second explanation, the phrase so interpreted 'would lack naturalness and clearness' (*E. S.* II. pp. 403, 404). I conclude that Streeter would accept something like the ordinary (modern, spiritual) interpretation. He thinks that xvii. 20, 21 (with Luke ix. 51–56) are the two passages where notable sayings in Q were omitted by Matthew. For 'both of these stand at the head of a block of Q material (in Luke) and both are passages which Matthew would have had good reason to omit. The one involves a rebuke to the Apostles, and Matthew elsewhere tends to tone down or omit such. The other suggested a view of the Kingdom which Matthew, who more than any other Evangelist emphasizes the objective, catastrophic side of the Apocalyptic hope, believed to be incorrect' (p. 290). Apparently Loisy now thinks that a fourth explanation is possible in which βασιλεία must be strictly interpreted as the reign or dominion of God. And this reign will be 'the salvation brought by Christ and realized in the Church; it will be the Christian community. Then the saying would only be apparently in accordance with its context, and with the discourse which follows it; but perhaps that is all the author of the saying intended. The distinction between the reign and the Advent would thus become a reality, but *this* reign, that is to say, the Christian Church, and the retarded Advent are, really, later concepts of the Christian tradition' (*Luc*, p. 431).

22. Luke only. Here the speech to the disciples begins. A fresh commencement seems almost logically necessary, because 22–37 does, after all, give signs and indications for the Advent, whereas 20, 21 deny their possibility. Apparently verse 22 seems to imply that there has been a long and vain waiting for the Advent. To see the first day of it, and then to die, would be a comfort, and a proof of the truth of their religion, to the Christians, but they must not hope for this, and must nevertheless be firm in their faith. Contrast Matt. xxiv. 22. 'One of the days of the Son of man' is an odd phrase. 'As it stands it probably means "to see again the time when Jesus was on earth," but the context—the description of the signs leading up to the coming of the Son of man—suggests that in the source it was not "one of the days" but "the day of the Son of man"' (*Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I. p. 381, n. 1). Streeter holds that 22–37 is all from Q and is *his* Apocalypse. 'In view of the absorbing interest of the Early Church in the subject of the Parousia, we should naturally expect to discover a quantity of Apocalyptic matter at the end of any primitive Gospel' (p. 287).

23–24. *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 26, 27.
The coming of the Messiah from heaven will be a sudden event, known to, and realized by, all the world at once.

25. Luke only. *Cp.* ix. 22. The verse does not belong to the old apocalyptic material. Note how, on the contrary, in 24 and 30, Jesus seems to distinguish himself from the Son of man, and seems to employ current apocalyptic conceptions and terms. Even though 'Son of man' may sometimes be an error for 'man,' on other occasions it looks as if the term referred to the apocalyptic figure known as 'The Man'—*i.e.* the heavenly, or superhuman Man. Verse 25 seems interpolated; it breaks the connection, and is out of place.

26, 27. *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 37–39.

28–30. Luke only. Unprepared and careless were the men of Noah's generation, unprepared and careless were the men of Sodom and Gomorrah.

30. The Son of man is 'revealed' from heaven.

31. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 15, 16; Matt. xxiv. 17, 18; Luke xxi. 21. The flight is in place in Mark xiii. 15, 16 (and parallels); here it is not. One cannot flee from the Messiah. He comes too quickly, unexpectedly, suddenly. The verses must be half allegorically

interpreted of a present flight from everything which is material; the ready abandonment of all earthly property, a full renouncement. There must be no looking back to it longingly, as Lot's wife looked back.

33. *Cp.* ix. 24; Mark viii. 35; Matt. x. 39. Even life itself may have to be readily abandoned in order to receive the heavenly life of the perfected Kingdom. This apparently must be the meaning of this verse as here placed. But it seems misplaced. The moment of the Parousia is not a time in which life can be saved or won. The opportunity for choice has passed.

34. 'That night' is odd after 'that day' in 30. Are the two people in one bed really husband and wife? *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 40. 'Taken,' *i.e.* saved. 'Left,' *i.e.* abandoned to the Judgment.

35–37 (36 is wanting in the best MSS.). *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 41, 48.

37. *Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 28. In this connection the words apparently mean that where there are people to punish, there the Advent and the Judgment will be. So interpreted, the verse is not necessarily inconsistent with 24, as those think who take it to mean a restriction of the Advent to one particular spot, which will make itself as apparent as vultures make known the locality of corpses. Perhaps Luke has put the verse in the wrong place to end up the chapter. Its meaning to him may be the same as the meaning in Matthew.

[The rendering of ἐντὸς ὑμῶν by 'among you,' and its reference to the future, are ably defended by v. Gall, p. 474.]

CHAPTER XVIII

1–8. The Parable of the Unjust Judge

(Luke only)

1 And he spoke a parable unto them to show that they ought
2 always to pray, and not to lose heart: 'There was in a certain
3 city a judge, who neither feared God nor regarded man: and
there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying,
4 Avenge me upon mine adversary. And for a time he would not do
so; but afterwards he said to himself, Even though I fear not
5 God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubles me, I will
avenge her, lest at last she should come and hit me in the face.'
6,7 And the Lord said, 'Hear what the unjust judge says. And shall
not God avenge his own elect, who cry day and night unto him,
8 while he is longsuffering to their enemies? I tell you that he will
avenge them speedily.

'Nevertheless when the Son of man comes, will he find faith on the earth?'

There are two views about this section. The first is that the original parable ended at 5, and that 6–8 is an addendum. The parable merely illustrates the injunction to be tireless in prayer, and is a parallel to xi. 5–8 (the importunate friend). The reference to the Judgment and the End was added later. So, for instance, Bultmann, p. 108. The second is that verse 1 is the composition of Luke, and is meant to give an (erroneously) general application to a specifically intended parable. 6–8*a* belong to 1–5 and cohere with it. The parable was not meant to teach the general duty of prayer. It was intended to show that, in answer to the continued prayers of true believers, God would not delay to carry out the Messianic Judgment. The enemies of the community shall surely be punished. There seems to be a pretty certain borrowing from Sirach xxxv. 15–19—a passage which also speaks of the judgment and the punishment of enemies. The order to pray constantly for

revenge seemed un-Christian and was changed into a general injunction of constant prayer.

The enemies whom God through the Messiah at his Advent will punish are the Jews. W. makes the following remark: 'By demanding to be revenged on them the Christians, indeed, are themselves still immersed in Judaism.'

How far is this just or unjust? It implies that Christianity is a religion of forgiveness, Judaism of revenge.

Is this accurate? The true answer is, I think, that it is inaccurate.

As regards the private foes of the individual, the Old Testament and the Talmud counsel forgiveness and reconciliation as much as the New Testament.

As regards the foes of the community and of the religion, we have to distinguish. It is, I think, true that the Old Testament and Rabbinic Judaism do regularly ask God to punish the enemies of the Jewish race and of the Jewish religion. It is also true that in Matt. v. 44 we have the noble words, 'Pray for those that persecute you: love your enemies,' to which we have to add the parallel Luke vi. 27, 28, the grand sentences in Acts vii. 60, Luke xxiii. 34, and the great sayings in Romans xii. 14, 19–21, 1 Peter ii. 23, iii. 9.

It would therefore be, I think, true to say that the highest teaching of the New Testament does in this respect go somewhat beyond the Old Testament and the Talmud. It would be true to say that there are a few passages in the New Testament which enjoin that the enemies of the Christian community and of the Christian religion are to be loved and well treated and prayed for.

But as these few injunctions have been almost a dead letter throughout the ages, and as in the New Testament itself there are other passages which threaten the enemies of the Christian community and of the Christian religion with endless and awful divine punishment, and call them many bad and uncharitable names, it seems exaggerated to call Christianity a religion of forgiveness and Judaism a religion of revenge.

In practice, Christians have rarely, if ever, shown love and forgiveness to heretics or to the supposed enemies of their religion, nor have they said: 'We know our religion teaches us to forgive and be kind. We know we ought to be loving, but human nature is too strong for us.' On the contrary, they have regarded themselves as good Christians even amid their cruelty, as we may see in all anti-Semitism to-day. The claim that Christianity, therefore, is so much superior to Judaism as regards public enemies can hardly be sustained, while as regards private enemies their teaching is identical. I fully admit that the New Testament does contain these few noble

and original passages about the enemies of the new community and of the new religion, but they are counterbalanced by other passages, and they have always remained a dead letter. A religion must be judged by its fruits. As Christians have shown hatred and cruelty in the most conspicuous degree to those who differ from them in matters of religious dogma, it is almost absurd to call Christianity a religion of forgiveness as contrasted with Judaism described as a religion of revenge. Therefore it seems to me, W.'s antithesis sounds well, but is inaccurate.

3. *Cp.* Sirach xxxv. 15. Here is the origin of the parable.

5. *ὑπωπιάζῃ.* Literally, the word means 'to strike under the eye,' 'give a black eye'; it may be here only used metaphorically = 'pester.'

6. The curious way in which a parable can be constructed is markedly illustrated by this instance. It throws light upon the parable of the unjust steward. For the judge is God. The parable is merely used for its incidental point: incessant prayer produces a result. That in all other respects the judge is, in character and action, quite unfit to be God's human parallel does not matter. Note the special call to attention in the opening of this verse. Or the fresh opening marks the addendum. The 'lord' is Jesus. *Cp.* xvi. 8, 9.

7. The parallel is not exact, for it is not *merely because* of the prayers of the elect that God will punish their foes. But this inexactness is overlooked. Though God might and would act independently of human prayer, man is nevertheless to pray. *καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. Cp.* Sirach xxxv. 18. It means either: 'And will He delay (His vengeance) for them?' [indefinitely] ('them' being the elect), or 'will He still be longsuffering to them (*i.e.* to the wicked)?'

8. God is the judge. Yet in the last part of this verse He seems to act through the Messiah. Perhaps this is meant throughout. Or, if not, then 8*b* (from 'nevertheless') may be a later addition. It seems to be a warning. 'It is all very well for you to desire and pray for the Advent, but how is it with *yourselves*? Will the Christ find right faith among *you* when he comes? Will *you* be able to endure his day?' The words seem a sort of damper upon the jubilant expectancy of the rest of the passage. *Cp.* Malachi iii. 2. Otherwise we must suppose that the Evangelist wishes to imply that the cause for the delay of the Parousia is the

lack of faith among Christians and of that joyousness and constancy in prayer which spring from it. The whole section seems to reflect a time of persecution, and to be therefore later than Jesus.

τὴν πίστιν, literally, 'the faith.' This too is a strange phrase and sounds late. 'Faith' is not elsewhere so used in the Synoptics. It seems almost to mean 'orthodox Christianity.' *Cp.* Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed. (1921), p. 6, n. 1. Loisy, *Luc*, p. 440.

9–14. The Tax-collector and the Pharisee

(Luke only)

And he spoke this parable to some who were self confident that they were righteous, and despised others: 'Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a tax-collector. The Pharisee stood by himself and prayed thus: God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or also like this tax-collector. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I acquire. But the tax-collector stood at a distance, and would not even lift up his eyes unto heaven, but kept smiting his breast, saying, God be gracious to me the sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalts himself shall be abased; and he that abases himself shall be exalted.'

The connection seems to be (if there is one): either, when you pray, pray like the tax-collector rather than the Pharisee; or, think of your own sins, and not only of the badness and punishment of others. We have here a type of story (hardly a parable) like xvi. 19–31. Apart from its context, it had clearly a more general meaning. Not self-righteous pride, but repentant humility, is acceptable in the eyes of God.

9. Who are the persons alluded to? Doubtless Pharisees, but perhaps they are not named, because a Pharisee is a figure in the story. The verse is, we may presume, the Evangelist's own introduction to a story which he found in one of his sources.

11. The text is uncertain. If we accept *σταθεὶς καθ' ἑαυτόν*, the meaning seems to be that he stood in a prominent or conspicuous place, well to himself. 'Other men.' On the one side are the Pharisee and his like. On the other side are all other men. And these others are all bad. The Pharisee honestly rejoices in his

integrity and piety. The ordinary reading is *σταθεὶς ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσεύχετο*, and R.V. renders, 'The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself.'

12. He does even more than the Law requires both as to fasting and tithing. His piety is supereminent, and he is proud of it.

13. 'At a distance.' He stands in the background, far from the altar, or far from the other worshippers. He does not venture to look heavenwards : he assumes the attitude of a suppliant worthy of punishment.

14. *δεδικαιωμένος*. In what sense is this word used ? Either : (1) in a Pauline sense, meaning justified by God's grace which is obtained by repentant humility, or (2) the word simply means 'in the right,' and answers the question : which man had prayed in the right way ? God decides that the right prayer had been prayed by the tax-collector. It is a sort of unconscious lawsuit. God decides in favour of the tax-collector. His humility and repentance are accepted, the pride and self-righteousness of the Pharisee are rejected. Such 'thanks' as the Pharisee renders in 11 are in themselves evil. The last half of the verse is out of place, for neither party is either 'humiliated' or 'exalted.' But the meaning is that in the world to come it will be shown that the tax-collector is 'justified,' for he will be exalted and in heaven, while the Pharisee will be in hell. The moral of the story is simply that humility is always more pleasing to God than confidence in one's own merits. The contrite tax-collector is nearer to God than the self-satisfied Pharisee.

No parable in the Gospels is more characteristic than this. None reflects better an essential feature of the teaching of Jesus. A legal religion has its dangers. However unjust Paul was to its merits, it has the defects of its qualities. A 'faith' one-sidedness has its dangers ; a 'works' one-sidedness has its dangers too. And what they are is inimitably hit off in this admirable story. But this is not to say that the Pharisee of the story is the usual or characteristic product of the Rabbinic religion. He is the characteristic caricature or perversion of that religion. And that is where the German Protestant theologians usually go wrong. They mix up and confuse characteristic product with characteristic caricature. The Christian commentators all quote as a perfect parallel to the prayer of the Pharisee and as a perfect justification for Jesus's story and saying, the passage in Berachot (28 *b*) which recounts what a certain Rabbi used to say on leaving the House of Study. It runs thus : 'I give thanks before thee, O Lord my

God, that Thou hast set my portion with those who sit in the House of Study and not with those who sit at street corners; for I and they rise early—I to words of Torah, but they to vain matters; I and they labour, but I labour and receive a reward, whereas they labour and receive no reward; I and they hasten—I to the life of the world to come, but they to the pit of destruction.' (For 'those who sit at street corners' the Jerusalem Talmud reads 'those who frequent theatres and circuses.') There is a certain pride, doubtless, in this saying, and yet, if one holds that the greatest privilege and joy which God can bestow upon man is the study of the Law, may one not thank Him for having granted to one this inestimable boon? However this may be, and admitting that it would be better if the Rabbi had said about the circus-goer or the idler, 'There but for the grace of God go I,' yet, in fairness, the commentators might quote another passage a stone's-throw from this one in Berachot. 'It was a favourite saying of the Rabbis of Jabneh: I am a creature [of God] and my neighbour is also His creature; my work is in the city and his in the field; I rise early to my work and he rises early to his. As he cannot excel in my work, so I cannot excel in his work. But perhaps thou sayest, "I do great things and he small things!" We have learnt that it matters not whether] a man does much or little, if only he direct his heart to Heaven.' Although this passage does not contrast a righteous Rabbi with a sinner, it does show humility and a due sense of proportion. And perhaps one may add that the first is the saying of one Rabbi, the second of a number.

A further reflection strikes me which is this. The Pharisee is made to appear odious in the parable. But is the consciousness of not desiring to commit sins, even the consciousness of freedom from sin, necessarily odious and abominable? Could one not conceive a saintly person who was frankly sure that he (or she) could not rightly be described as sinful, and who was glad of it and who thanked God for it? In that striking novel, *Shepherd Easton's Daughter*, the following conversation occurs between the saintly Dorcas and the good clergyman, Mr. Ambrose. The 'foolish priest,' Mr. Charters, has given her a book. 'What is its name?' asks Ambrose. 'I can't mind it, Sir. But 'tis all along o' confessin' your sins. The Reverend,' added Dorcas, 'were downright shocked, 'cause I told'n I didn' never *do* no sins.' 'Bless me, what did he say?' '"'Aven' 'ee got no sense of sin, no—no contortion?" he says. And I told'n No, Sir ('cause I had to say truth, hadn' I?), never had, as I can mind on; 'cause I don't never *want* to do no wrong. I 'oudn' like doin' of it. 'Twould be downright unkind, then. And 't'ould hurt myself too. He said 'twere shocking and I'd got to pray. But what's the good o' prayin', Sir, when the

Lord do like for I to be that way ? ' Here we have the consciousness of rectitude drawn in an attractive way. Here it consorts with saintliness ; it is not contemptible and disagreeable. But yet this joy in obeying the will of God, this conviction that God's will has been obeyed, and that God is pleased, are fundamentally the same in the ' odious Pharisee ' and in the sweet Christian saint. Circumstances alter cases : the same religious characteristic can consort with pride and self-righteousness, on the one hand, and with charity and humility, on the other. They are not necessarily in themselves one or the other, but can be drawn either way as the painter may wish, and as may suit his sermon.

14. The tag at the end does not belong to the parable. ' As a sort of second conclusion the evangelist again brings in (he has already used it in xiv. 11) a saying which does not correspond with the object of the parable. According to the parable, a contrite tax-collector is nearer to God than a self-righteous Pharisee, just as a charitable Samaritan is worth more than a selfish priest. In the tag the tax-collector appears as a type of the chosen, the Pharisee as a type of the damned. The reason is that the tax-collector, like the Samaritan in the earlier parable, represents to our author the heathen converted to the faith of Christ, and the Pharisee, like the priest and the Levite in the same parable, represents the unbelieving Jews ' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 444).

15–17. Jesus and the Children

(*Cp.* Mark x. 13–16 : Matt. xix. 13–15)

15 And they brought unto him also some young children, so that he might touch them : but when his disciples saw it, they rebuked them.
16 But Jesus called the young children unto him, and said, ' Let
the little children come unto me, and prevent them not : for of
17 such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall surely not enter therein.'

After his big insertion of over eight chapters (351 verses) Luke now at last returns to Mark. His last section from Mark had been ix. 46–50 = Mark ix. 33–40. He omits Mark x. 1–12, the essence of which he has already given in the single verse xvi. 18.

15. For *παιδία*, ' children,' Luke has *βρέφη*, ' infants,' ' young children.'

18–30. The Danger of Riches

(*Cp.* Mark x. 17–31 ; Matt. xix. 16–30)

And a certain ruler asked him, saying, 'Good Master, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Why callest thou me good? none is good, except God alone. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not murder, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother.' And he said, 'All these have I observed from my youth up.' And Jesus heard, and said unto him, 'Yet one thing thou lackest: sell all that thou hast, and distribute it into the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.' And when he heard that, he was very sorrowful: for he was very rich.

And when Jesus saw him, he said, 'How hard it is for them that have riches to enter into the kingdom of God! For it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.' And they that heard him said, 'Who then can be saved?' And he said, 'What is impossible for men is possible for God.' Then Peter said, 'Lo, *we* have abandoned our possessions and followed thee.' And he said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, There is no man that has abandoned house, or wife, or brothers, or parents, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive back many times more in this age, and in the world to come life everlasting.'

18. The questioner, in Matthew a young man, is in Luke a ruler.

19. It is to be noted that Luke, unlike Matthew, faithfully transcribes Mark x. 18.

29. The addition of the 'wife' in Luke is to be noted. See Mark x. 29. Professor Lake has said: 'I think Jesus clearly taught that riches ought to be rejected and given to the poor. He not only said so quite definitely to the rich man who asked his advice, but he denied the possibility (apart from the special act of God) that rich men can enter the Kingdom of Heaven. I have not the smallest doubt but that Jesus said this and meant it. I do not believe that he meant it as exceptional teaching. Poverty was his rule of life, yet I do not think it is the right rule of life, or that it

is practicable if civilization is to continue' (*The Religion of Yesterday and To-morrow* (1925), p. 155).

30. D has 'seven times more,' which is probably the tru reading (Streeter, p. 318).

31–34. Renewed Prediction of Suffering and Death and Resurrection

(*Cp.* Mark x. 32–34; Matt. xx. 17–19)

31 Then he took the Twelve aside, and said unto them, 'Behold
we go up to Jerusalem, and all that has been written by th
32 prophets about the Son of man shall be accomplished. For h
will be given up to the heathen, and will be mocked, and ill treated
33 and spat upon; and they will scourge him, and put him to death
34 and on the third day he will rise again.' And they understoo
none of these words; and this saying was hid from them, neithe
knew they what was said.

Verse 34 is a close parallel to ix. 45. The prediction of th Passion is the fourth in Luke. *Cp.* ix. 22, 44, xvii. 25. There ar peculiarities in 31*b* and in 34 which do not appear in the parallel in Mark and Matthew. The ascription of non-comprehension t the disciples is the more peculiar in view of the repetition of th announcement for the fourth time. It is, however, repeated fron ix. 45, where it depends on Mark ix. 32.

Noticeable too is the omission of the allusion to the 'high priest and scribes' (Mark ix. 33; Matt. xx. 18).

35–43. Healing of a Blind Man

(*Cp.* Mark x. 46–52; Matt. xx. 29–34, ix. 27–31)

35 And it came to pass, that as he drew near to Jericho, a blin
36 man sat by the way side begging: and hearing a crowd passin
37 by, he asked what this might be. And they told him that Jesu
38 of Nazareth was coming by. And he cried out, saying, 'Jesus
39 son of David, have pity upon me.' And they who were in fron
rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he kept o
40 crying all the louder, 'Son of David, have pity upon me.' An
Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be brought unto him

and when he had come near, he asked him, 'What wouldst thou that I should do unto thee?' And he said, 'Lord, I would that I might see again.' And Jesus said unto him, 'See again: thy faith has saved thee.' And immediately he saw again, and he followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

The healing of the blind man, who in Mark is called Bartimæus, is in Luke placed before the entry into Jericho, whereas in Mark and Matthew it happens on the way out. The object of the transposition may be to explain the presence of the crowd in Jericho and to make the entry into the city more imposing (*E. S.* II. p. 248). As for 43*b* it is made up on the lines of vii. 16, ix. 43.

[xviii. 31. In the light of v. Gall's recent book, the Son of Man passages may need fresh investigation. Is it true that 'Jesus hat den Messiastitel nicht nur nicht für sich gebraucht, er hat ihn auch, wie die Evangelienüberlieferung noch zeigt, stets abgelehnt. An Stelle des Messiasglaubens seiner Zeit hat er den Menschensohnglauben gestellt, und auch in Worten verfochten, wie das Streitgespräch, Mk. xii. 35–37 (Lk. xx. 41–44) zeigt'? If this sharp distinction and severance between Messiah and Son of man, so far as the old Jewish theology and Jesus himself are concerned, were true, and if it were only the early Christian community which identified the two, such statements as the note on xxi. 27 would need much revision. But I doubt whether v. Gall's hypothesis will hold the field.]

CHAPTER XIX

1–10. Zacchæus the Tax-collector

(Luke only)

1, 2 And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho. And, behold
there was a man named Zacchæus, who was the chief tax-collecto
3 and rich. And he sought to see which Jesus was; and he could no
4 because of the crowd, for he was little of stature. And he ran in
front, and climbed up on to a sycomore tree to see him: for h
5 was about to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place
he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, 'Zacchæus, mak
6 haste to come down; for to-day I must stay at thy house.' And
7 he made haste to come down, and received him joyfully. And
when they saw it, they all murmured, saying 'He has gone in t
8 lodge with a sinner.' And Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord
'Behold, Lord, the half of my possessions I give to the poor; and
if I have wrongfully exacted ought from any man, I restore it t
9 him fourfold.' And Jesus said unto him, 'This day has salvation
10 come to this house, seeing that he also is a son of Abraham. For
the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.'

The story appears to be a sort of variant or double of the cal
of Levi (v. 27–32). According to Streeter it is a part of Proto-Luk
(pp. 205, 214, 215, 222).

4. Was the tree inside the city? Perhaps we may suppose
tree in the courtyard or garden of a house.

5. Jesus perceives that a moral cure is here achievable by hi
own special methods. Zacchæus, by the interest he has shown i
Jesus and by his anxiety to see him, will be susceptible to hi
influence. Instead of denouncing the sinner, Jesus asks his service
and the desired result is achieved. We need not suppose tha

Jesus knows his name by divine intuition. We may assume that Jesus has been told who the little man in the tree is, that he is a rich tax-collector, perhaps noted for his oppression and his spoils. Others think that we are to understand that Jesus knew the name and character of Zacchæus by divine inspiration.

8. 'I give,' *i.e.* I will give. He promises to give away half his possessions to the poor and to restore fourfold for past oppressions. He regards his wealth as the product of theft, and applies the law of Exodus xxii. 1.

9. If πρὸς αὐτόν means 'to him' it is odd that Jesus speaks of him in the third person. Bultmann thinks that 8 has been added: if we omit πρὸς αὐτόν with some authorities, 9 connects well with 7 (p. 17). Or can πρὸς αὐτόν mean 'towards him,' 'about him'?

Jesus means: 'If my entrance into Zacchæus's house has been the means of "saving" him, bear in mind that though he was a sinner, yet he is none the less a Jew, a son of Abraham, and so he is a fitting object for my care. I was sent to the sinners in Israel to save them.'

'To this house' has salvation come. Does this imply that his 'conversion' was accompanied by the 'conversion' of his family, or is it merely an alternative for Zacchæus as head and representative of his household? Probably the latter.

The good convert, once in 'the Church,' shows his zeal by giving half his property to the poor. For that reason perhaps it is not said, or thought necessary, that he should abandon all and follow Jesus.

Loisy (*Luc*, pp. 453–458) has to ignore, or doubt, or regard as unimportant, Zacchæus being a Jew, in order to drag in his symbolism. For he believes that the entry of Jesus into Zacchæus's house typifies the salvation of the Gentiles, who are the true children of Abraham. *Cp.* xiii. 16.

10. The noble utterance is based upon Ezekiel xxxiv. 16. *Cp.* the note on ix. 55.

11–27. The Parable of the Talents

(*Cp.* Matt. xxv. 14–30)

And as they hearkened to these words, he went on and spoke a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they

thought that the kingdom of God would appear at once. So he said: 'A certain noble journeyed to a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and then to return. And he called his ten servants, and gave to them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade therewith till I return. But his fellow citizens hated him, and sent an embassy after him, saying, We do not wish this man to reign over us. And it came to pass, that when he had returned, having received the kingdom, he bade those servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much each man had gained by trading. Then came the first, saying, Lord, thy pound has gained ten pounds more. And he said unto him, Excellent, thou good servant: because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound has made five pounds. And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities. And another came, saying; Lord, behold thy pound, which I have kept laid away in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou art an hard man: thou takest what thou hast not deposited, and reapest what thou hast not sown. And he said unto him, Out of thine own mouth I condemn thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an hard man, taking what I have not deposited, and reaping what I have not sown: why then didst thou not put my money into the bank, that at my return I might have got it back with interest? And he said unto them that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it to him that has the ten pounds. (And they said unto him, He has ten pounds already.) For I say unto you, Unto every one who has shall be given; but from him that has not shall be taken away even that which he has. But as for those mine enemies, who did not wish me to reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me.'

Luke inserts the tale of Zacchæus and the parable of the talents between Mark x. 52 and xi. 1. He has either recast the parable to give it, as it were, two applications and morals instead of only one, or he has combined with the main parable of the talents fragments of another parable with a different purport. For Streeter's view, see notes on Matthew.

The parable of the talents, as arranged by Matthew, was intended to press upon the disciples the duty of using the interval before the Advent to the best purpose. For the Kingdom is not to come at once, as was erroneously supposed when Jesus entered

Jerusalem. (In other words, many years have elapsed since the death of Jesus, and there is still no prospect of the desired coming.) And in Luke, too, a main purpose of the parable is to combat the idea alluded to in 11 (peculiar to Luke) that the Kingdom was at once to be established in Jerusalem. Much lies between the arrival in Jerusalem, and the coming of the Kingdom. The old historic tradition, still recognizable in Mark, though corrected even there, that Jesus came to Jerusalem to establish the Kingdom, had to be 'contradicted and effaced by Luke to satisfy the exigencies of faith' (Loisy). Jerusalem has fallen: the Jews have been punished: but the End was not yet. But the framework of the parable, or the fragment of the other parable, has a different purpose. Jesus has gone to heaven, where he will be invested with the Kingdom by God. The Jews do not want to recognize the Risen One as their king. Therefore, when he returns as king to inaugurate his kingdom, he will slay them all. This part of the parable is one of the most glaring of the New Testament contrasts to Matt. v. 44.

11. Luke only. Have we not travelled far since the day when Jesus said *ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία*, 'the Kingdom has come nigh'? To whom is Jesus speaking? 'The real audience is composed of the readers of the evangelist' (*Luc*, p. 459). The object of the parable to Luke is to refute or explain a difficulty of the first Christian generations.

12. The 'man' of Matthew has become a prince, who goes to seek the gift, or its confirmation, from the hands of the superior power, of a satrapy or kingdom. Thus did Archelaus and Antipas with many others journey to Rome (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVII. II. 1–4; XVIII. 5. 1). Some critics hold that Josephus was known to Luke, and that this gives us a hint as to his date. The prince in Luke is Jesus, high-born indeed, son of David and son of God, who by his death went to heaven to receive the investiture of the Messianic Kingdom.

13. Luke makes them all receive the same sum, and that a smaller one. It would have been more in keeping with the 'prince' if Luke had changed the minæ into talents, as Matthew has done. 'Ten' servants; the larger number is more in keeping for a king, but the other seven are not mentioned later on.

'Till I return': that is, till the Parousia. 'Christ's manifestation in glory remains the true *coming*; it is not a mere returning' (Loisy).

14. The citizens protest, just as the Jews did in the case of

Archelaus, but in vain. The meaning is that the Jews disbelieved in Jesus and resisted him.

17. The reward is proportionate to the increase made by each, as well as to the position of the giver, who, as a king, has cities to dispose of. The meaning may perhaps be that the specially good Christian will be associated with Jesus in his royal rule. He will govern a province of the new Israel in the Kingdom of God. But the 'cities' are perhaps not a portion of the original parable, and may even conceivably rest upon a mistranslation of the original Aramaic. It was not much honour or reward for a man who has received ten cities to be given a mina (not ten shillings) in addition. (24).

25. This verse seems an unnecessary and interrupting interpolation. It is wanting in the S.S. It is supposed to be spoken by the servants of the king. It is probably a late interpolation, intended to prepare the way for 26.

26. The verse is also in Matthew, but it does not fit in very well, as Bultmann ingeniously observes, 'as in the parable it is not really a question of possession but of attitude' (p. 109).

27. This verse, like Matt. xxiv. 30, stands outside, and is superadded to, the parable. The fall of Jerusalem is alluded to and its accompanying slaughter of the Jews. To Luke, however, 27, the ruin and massacre of the Jews, is not the least important part of the whole story. The parable for him explains what has happened: the Christian church has been formed; the Gentiles have been summoned, and those who have listened and believed have been saved; the Jews have been punished for their unbelief.

28–40. The Entry into Jerusalem

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 1–11; Matt. xxi. 1–11)

28 And when he had thus spoken, he journeyed forward, on his
29 way up to Jerusalem. And it came to pass, when he had come
nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the so-called mount of Olives,
30 he sent two of his disciples, saying, 'Go to the village before you;
in which, as ye enter it, ye will find an ass's colt tied, whereon no
31 man has yet sat: loose it, and bring it hither. And if any man
ask you, Why do ye loose it? thus shall ye say, The Lord has
need of it.'

And they that were sent went their way, and found even as he had said unto them. And as they were loosing the colt, its owners said unto them, ' Why loose ye the colt ? ' And they said, ' The Lord has need of it.'

And they brought it to Jesus : and they threw their garments upon the colt, and they mounted Jesus upon it. And as he went, they spread their clothes upon the way. And when he had come near to the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole band of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the miracles that they had seen, saying, ' Blessed in the name of the Lord be the king that comes : peace in heaven, and glory in the heights.'

And some of the Pharisees from among the crowd said unto him, ' Master, rebuke thy disciples.' And he answered and said unto them, ' I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out.'

28. The verse depends on Mark x. 32, but Luke does not make Jesus walk in front of his disciples.

37. Only Luke mentions that the enthusiasm of the crowd (who with him are turned into the mass, πλῆθος, of the disciples) was caused by Jesus's miracles. Streeter holds that 37–44 were in Proto-Luke (p. 215). So too Taylor (pp. 94, 95, 170, 171, 236, 237). The implication in Taylor's discussion of the passage is that Luke's version is more historic than Mark's, and, in spite of the ' King ' in 38, less ' Messianic,' less ' triumphal.' Loisy's explanation of the differences between Luke and Mark is of course wholly different. I wish that Dr. Streeter and Taylor had discussed Loisy's theories, and that Loisy would discuss theirs. Each would, I think, dismiss the theories of the other with some abruptness. For my part I do not think that either should be thus treated. Loisy holds that the differences between Luke and Mark need not be explained by a special source ; the long retardation of the Kingdom is the true key to the differences ; *cp.* xix. 11 fin. (*Luc*, p. 419.)

38. The readings of the various MSS. vary slightly. The king is Jesus. *Cp.* ii. 14. ' Peace in heaven and glory in the heights.' ' Glory in the heights ' perhaps means ' may God be honoured and glorified in heaven (by the angels),' or ' God is glorified in heaven (by the angels) because he has sent the Messianic king upon earth.' ' Peace in heaven ' goes back to Job xxv. 2. It is not easy to give to it any precise meaning. Some take it to mean that salvation in

heaven was given to all believers by Jesus the Messiah, or that salvation was prepared in heaven for all true believers. Another reading is: 'Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord! Blessed be the King! Peace in heaven, and glory in the heights.'

39, 40. Luke only. The S.S. omits 'of the Pharisees': a sensible omission. 'The stones would cry out.' Jesus means that the expressions of the crowd are wholly true and providentially ordained. Silence was impossible. 'If the disciples were to be silent about my Messiahship, the stones would proclaim it.' Some think that 39 and 40 are an adaptation and transposition of Matt. xxi. 15, 16, which is, in its turn, the creation of the first Evangelist. In that case, the verses would be a later addition to the Gospel. Or both Matthew and Luke may depend on some traditional story which each manipulates in a different way.

If Jesus did not want to be regarded as king in the ordinary Jewish sense of the word as applied to the Messiah, if he wanted merely to be a spiritual king, or the servant of Isaiah xlii. and liii. it must be admitted that he positively courted misunderstanding. If the story we have just heard is based upon fact, he allows the crowd to call him king, and he enters Jerusalem in a manner which seems almost deliberately intended to fulfil an ordinary 'political,' Messianic prophecy. If Luke xix. 28–40 be based upon fact, we must, it would seem, believe that, in some fairly realistic sense, Jesus did believe himself to be the Messianic king, who was about to set up his permanent Messianic kingdom.

41–44. Prediction of the Fall of Jerusalem

(Luke only)

41 And as he came near, he beheld the city, and wept over it
42 saying, 'If thou too, yea even on this day, hadst known what
would lead to thy peace—but now it has been hid from thine
43 eyes. For days will come upon thee, when thine enemies will
throw up an entrenchment against thee, and surround thee, and
44 hem thee in on every side, and they will raze thee to the ground
and thy children within thee; and they will not leave in thee one
stone upon another; because they knewest not the time of thy
visitation.'

A *post eventum* prophecy. The contrast between the cry for vengeance in xviii. 7 *seq.* and xix. 27 and the sincere grief over

the city's fall is striking. It may be connected with differences of date. The vengeance cry reflects the situation before the fall; the lament, the situation after it. Some think that the passage has been substituted by Luke for the story of the fig tree. The words (note also the 'tears') bear the personal mark of Luke; in tone they resemble what Jesus says to the women in Jerusalem as he goes to be crucified. They are based on Biblical reminiscences. *Cp.* 2 Kings viii. 11, 12; Isaiah xxix. 3, 4.

42. 'The day' is the day on which he enters the city. Even then repentance would not have been too late. The sentence is incomplete and broken off. One must understand, 'hadst thou realized, it would have been well with thee.' The tenses would seem to show that the verse was written after the doom had fallen.

43. There is a zeugma. The verb ἐδαφιοῦσιν, 'cast to the ground,' can be used of a city, of a wall and houses, but not of people. *Cp.* for interesting parallels in the language Ezekiel iv. 2, xxvi. 8; Isaiah xxix. 3 (lxx.). *Cp.* also Burney, p. 69, n. 1.

44. 'The time of thy visitation': visitation is here used in a neutral sense. God visits or tests Jerusalem in sending it the Messiah to see whether it will accept him or no. 'This little sentimental piece (42–44) was conceived many years later by a man well versed in the Scriptures and in the sayings which were already then attributed to Jesus, and this pious romancer felt no need to measure his borrowings too carefully. Reminiscences came to him which corresponded with the situation given by earlier narratives or imagined by himself. He needed no researches in order to construct the grand scene of the preaching at Nazareth or the "call" of the disciples through the marvellous fishing. The hypothesis of a relatively ancient and even Aramaic source seems unnecessary, and it could only recommend itself to those who would hold that our evangelist is incapable of composing four lines out of his own head' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 472). For a very different view see Taylor, p. 123. Both here and in xxiii. 27–31 it is needless to 'presuppose the events of A.D. 68–70. After all, was it difficult for any one familiar with the social and political situation as it existed in our Lord's day to foresee the peril of the city; and can we seriously think it impossible that Jesus should have spoken of the fate of Jerusalem? We may think, if we will, that the precise terms of such a prophecy as xix. 43 f. have been influenced by the knowledge of the actual facts, but this is the utmost that need be conceded' (p. 123).

45–48. The Cleansing of the Temple

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 15–19; Matt. xxi. 12, 13)

45 And he went into the temple, and began to drive out them that
46 sold therein, saying unto them, 'It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of thieves.'
47 And he taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the chiefs of the people sought to destroy him.
48 And they could not find out what they should do: for the people all hung upon his lips.

The cleansing story is curiously contracted in Luke. 'Luke makes much less of the cleansing of the temple than Mark or even Matthew; it does not excite the authorities to immediate action, and their interference is not only separated from it by a vague interval, but motived by his teaching rather than his actions. This is another of the approximations to the standpoint of the Fourth Gospel, where the cleansing is removed entirely from the last days at Jerusalem. The same softening of the revolutionary traits in Jesus reappears in the remarkable addition of xxii. 51 to the synoptic account of Peter's attack on the servant of the high priest' (Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 274). As in Matthew, Jesus proceeds from the Mount of Olives direct to the Temple. There he teaches daily, and apparently continues to do so for some time. *Cp.* xxii. 53.

46. I have ignored critical niceties, which are, nevertheless, of interest. For example: Mark has the full quotation, including 'for all peoples,' *πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Both Matthew and Luke omit these three words. Does this show that they know and use another version of the story as well as that of Mark, or are the words in Mark a mere scribal late addition to complete the quotation? (McNeile.)

48. 'All the people hung upon his lips.' R.V. renders: 'The people all hung upon him, listening.' Others render: 'All the people were eager to hear him.'

CHAPTER XX

1–8. The Authority of Jesus and of John

(*Cp.* Mark xi. 27–33 ; Matt. xxi. 23–27)

And it came to pass one day as he was teaching the people in
e temple, and proclaiming the good tidings, that the chief priests
d the scribes came up to him with the elders, and spoke unto
n, saying, 'Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things ?
who is it that gave thee this authority ?' And he answered
d said unto them, 'I will also ask you one question ; and
swer me : the baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from
en ?' And they reasoned with themselves, saying, 'If we say,
om heaven ; he will say, Why then did ye not believe him ?
t if we say, From men ; all the people will stone us : for they
e convinced that John was a prophet.' And they answered that
ey knew not whence it was. And Jesus said unto them, 'Neither
ll I you by what authority I do these things.'

1. In Mark there is only a day's interval between the purifi-
tion of the Temple and this scene. Here the interval is longer.
The things thou doest' in Mark refers to the purification. Here,
ther awkwardly, it must rather refer to the teaching of Jesus,
his declaration of the good tidings (*εὐαγγελιζομένου*). For
e rest Luke follows Mark closely.

9–19. The Parable of the Vineyard

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 1–12 ; Matt. xxi. 33–46)

Then began he to speak to the people this parable ; 'A man
anted a vineyard, and let it to husbandmen, and went abroad
r a long time. And at the due season he sent a servant to the
usbandmen, that they should give him of the fruit of the

vineyard: but the husbandmen beat him, and sent him aw
11 empty. And again he sent another servant: and they beat h
12 also, and abused him, and sent him away empty. And again
13 sent a third: and they wounded him also, and cast him out. Th
said the lord of the vineyard, What shall I do? I will send
14 beloved son: perhaps they will have respect for him. But wh
the husbandmen saw him, they considered among themselv
saying, This is the heir: come, let us kill him, that the inheritan
15 may be ours. So they cast him out of the vineyard, and kill
him. What, then, will the lord of the vineyard do unto them
16 He will come and destroy these husbandmen, and give t
vineyard to others.'

17 And when they heard it, they said, 'God forbid.' And
looked at them, and said, 'What, then, is this which is writte
The stone which the builders rejected is become the corner ston
18 Whoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken in pieces; a
on whomsoever it shall fall, it will crush him to dust.'

19 And the chief priests and the scribes sought that very hour
lay hands on him; but they feared the people: for they realiz
that he had spoken this parable against them.

9. *χρόνους ἱκανούς*, 'a long time.' *Cp.* viii. 27, xxiii. 8.

12. The three servants represent the prophets.

15. Luke aptly reserves the death treatment for the son. H
is killed outside the vineyard, *i.e.* outside Jerusalem.

16. 'God forbid.' This means either that the audience a
supposed to say: May what you suggest never happen. May t
heir never be killed. To that 17*b* would be a good reply: Ho
then, can you explain that Scripture speaks of a rejection of t
stone? (It is implied that the 'stone' is the 'heir.') Or 'G
forbid' refers to the punishment of the husbandmen. The Scrib
realize the meaning of the parable, and express the hope that G
will never kill the Jews, and give their city or temple and the
religious privileges to others. We have here one more examp
how the teaching of Jesus as to the treatment of his enemies
God is not unfrequently represented to us.

18. This verse seems to be a quotation from an unknow
source. It may, however, be made up of biblical reminiscences su
as Isaiah viii. 14, 15, xxviii. 13; Daniel ii. 35.

20–26. 'Give unto Cæsar'

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 13–17 ; Matt. xxii. 15–22)

So they watched, and sent forth spies, who feigned to be
ghteous men, that they might catch him by a word, so as to
ive him up to the rule and authority of the governor. And they
sked him, saying, 'Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest
raightforwardly, neither dost thou respect the person of anyone,
ut thou teachest the way of God truly : Is it lawful for us to
ive tribute unto the Emperor, or no ?' But he perceived their
raftiness, and said unto them, 'Why tempt ye me ? Shew me
silver coin. Whose image and superscription has it ?' They
nswered and said, 'The Emperor's.' And he said unto them,
Pay then to the Emperor what is the Emperor's and to God
hat is God's.' And they could not catch him by a word before
ie people : and they marvelled at his answer, and held their
eace.

20. The spies had to pretend to be such eager observers of the aw that the tribute question caused them conscientious scruples.

25. The now over-sceptical Loisy says : 'It is not at all certain iat Jesus and his first adherents looked upon the authority of the imperor in such a favourable light, but the necessity for such a onciliatory attitude was soon perceived, although there are exceptons, witness the apocalypse of John' (*Luc*, p. 483).

27–40. The Life of the Resurrection

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 18–27 ; Matt. xxii. 23–33)

Then came to him some of the Sadducees, who deny that there
a resurrection ; and they asked him, saying, 'Master, Moses
rote for us, If a man die, having a wife, but no child, his brother
iust marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now
here were seven brothers : and the first took a wife, and died
ithout children. And the second and the third took her to wife,
nd so too all the seven : and they left no children, and died.
ast of all the woman died also. So, in the resurrection, whose
ife of them is she ? for the seven had her to wife.'

34 And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'The children of t
35 world marry, and are given in marriage: but they who have be
accounted worthy to obtain *that* world and the resurrection of t
36 dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage. For they cann
die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are t
37 sons of God, being the sons of the resurrection. Now that t
dead are raised, Moses also has indicated in the story of t
Bush, when he calls the Lord the God of Abraham and the G
38 of Isaac and the God of Jacob. But he is not a God of the dea
39 but of the living: for all live unto him.' Then some of the scrib
40 answered and said, 'Master, thou hast spoken excellently.' F
they no longer dared to ask him any other question.

34. The verse is peculiar to Luke. In this world men mar to continue the race and supply the place of the dead. In t next world there is no death; so there is no need of marriag The S.S. reads: 'do not bear or beget,' which Merx thinks is mo original.

35. Luke or his source seems here to limit the resurrection the righteous. This is noteworthy (*cp.* xiv. 14).

36. 'Equal unto the angels' is equivalent to being 'sons God'; the Syriac omits 'sons of God' (*cp.* Wisdom of Solomon, v. 5

38. 'All live to him.' A phrase not easy to interpret. 'Unite with God and sharing His felicity,' say some; or does it mere mean: 'It is through God that they are alive? Their life depend on His life. More probably: they are already with God in Paradis *Cp.* the interesting verses in 4 Maccabees (vii. 19, xvi. 25): 'In th belief that, like our patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, they d not die to God, but live to God.' 'Knowing, moreover, this, tha they who die for God's sake, live to God, like Abraham, Isaac, an Jacob and all the patriarchs,' which may be the source of our phras in Luke.

39. *Cp.* Mark xii. 28, 32. The praise of the Scribes as here use (otherwise than in, though the words are taken from, Mark) is eithe meant to be hypocrisy or resignation. They can think of nothin more to ask. In 40 Luke uses Mark xii. 34.

41–44. Is the Messiah David's Son?

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 35–37; Matt. xxii. 41–46)

And he said unto them, 'How say they that the Messiah is David's son? And David himself says in the book of Psalms, The Lord said unto my lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. So David calls him lord, how is he then his son?'

Luke's version is shorter than that of Mark or Matthew. It is noticeable that there is no subject for 'they say.' (In Mark it is 'the Scribes.') Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether any deductions can be based upon the omission, such as that Luke wishes to indicate that the Davidic descent of the Messiah was maintained by others besides the Scribes. The omission may be due to the fact that the Scribes are named in 29, and that the question is addressed directly to them.

45–47. An Attack on the Scribes

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 38–40)

Then in the hearing of all the people he said unto his disciples, Beware of the scribes, who like to walk in long robes, and love salutations in the market-places, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the chief places at feasts; who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive all the heavier punishment.'

46. Mark xii. 38, 39. The substance had been already given by Luke in xi. 43.

47. Mark xii. 40.

CHAPTER XXI

1–4. The Widow's Mite

(*Cp.* Mark xii. 41–44)

1 And he looked up, and saw some rich men throwing their gif
2 into the treasury. And he saw also a certain poor widow throwin
3 in thither two farthings. And he said, ' Of a truth I say unto yo
4 that this poor widow has thrown in more than they all: for a
these threw in from their superfluity unto the offerings: but sh
from her poverty has thrown in all the living that she had.'

Mark's version is closely followed with some few simplificatio
and contractions.

5–38. The Parousia, the End and its Signs

(*Cp.* Mark xiii.; Matt. xxiv.)

5 And as some spoke of the temple, how it was adorned wit
6 beautiful stones and gifts, he said, ' As for these things which y
behold, days will come, in which there shall not be left one ston
upon another, that shall not be thrown down.'
7 And they asked him, saying, ' Master, when, then, shall thes
things be? and what is the sign when these things are about t
8 be fulfilled? ' And he said, ' Take heed that ye be not led astray
for many will come in my name, saying, It is I, and the time ha
9 drawn near: go ye not after them. But when ye shall hear o
wars and tumults, be not terrified: for these things must firs
happen, but the End is not at once.'
10 Then said he unto them, ' Nation will rise against nation, an
11 kingdom against kingdom: and there will be great earthquake
and famines, and pestilences in divers places; and fearful sight
12 and great signs will there be from heaven. But before all these

hings, they will lay their hands on you, and persecute you, giving
rou up to the synagogues and prisons, and bringing you before
ings and rulers for my name's sake. And it will be to you an
pportunity for bearing witness. So resolve in your hearts not to
ractise beforehand what ye shall answer: for I will give you a
nouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to
vithstand or gainsay. And ye will be given up even by parents,
nd brothers, and kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you they will
ut to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name's sake.
But not an hair of your head shall perish. Through your endurance
e shall acquire your lives.

'But when ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know
hat the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them who are in
udæa flee to the mountains; and let them who are in the midst
f the city go forth; and let them that are in the country enter
ot in. For these are days of vengeance, that all which has been
vritten may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child,
nd to them that give suck, in those days; for there will be great
listress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they will fall
y the edge of the sword, and be led away captive unto all the
ations: and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the nations, until
he times of the nations be fulfilled.

'And there will be signs in the sun and the moon and the
tars; and upon the earth panic of nations in their perplexity at
he roaring of the sea and the tossing of its waves; men dying
rom fear and anxious expectation of the things which are coming
pon the earth: for the heavenly powers will be shaken. And
hen they will see the Son of man coming on a cloud with power
nd great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass,
hen take heart and raise your heads; for your redemption
raws nigh.'

And he spoke to them a parable; 'Behold the fig tree, and all
he trees. When they shoot forth, ye see and know of yourselves
hat summer is now near. So too, when ye see these things come
o pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is near.

'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away
ill all shall have taken place. Heaven and earth shall pass away:
ut my words shall not pass away.

'And take heed to yourselves, that your hearts be not made

heavy by debauchery and drunkenness, and worldly cares, and
35 that day come not upon you suddenly as a snare. For come it will
36 upon all that dwell on the face of the whole earth. Watch then
and pray always, that ye may have power to escape all these things
that are about to come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.'
37 And in the day time he used to teach in the temple; and at
night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called the Mount
38 of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in
the temple to listen to him.

Luke mainly follows Mark, but he makes many changes and additions of his own, to suit his modified point of view and later date. He had used the material of Q, which Matthew (in his chapter xxiv.) combines with Mark, by itself in chapter xvii.

Some think that his differences from Mark are not merely due to his own changes, but also to his having used another source as well. This is especially the case as regards 20–36, where Dr. Vincent Taylor has sought to show that at least this passage appears to come from, and belong to, a non-Marcan source, and that into it certain Marcan quotations have been inserted, namely 21*a*, 23*a*, 26*b*, 27, 29–33. If one removes these insertions, a connected passage is left with a character of its own, which Dr. Taylor describes, as he also explains why the Marcan insertions were added (*J. T. S.*, 1925, Vol. XXVI. pp. 136–144).

In his book Taylor elaborates his arguments more fully (pp. 109–117). It is quite possible that Luke did draw in this passage from another source. But even if it be the case that xxi. 20, 21*b*, 22, 23*b*–26*a*, 28, 34–36, by themselves, form 'no patchwork or mosaic, but a well-articulated whole,' it is much more doubtful whether he is correct in saying that 'in the absence, in this non-Markan source, of any reference to a dramatic, spectacular intervention, such as characterizes popular apocalyptic thought and appears in Mark xiii., we can only look upon the coming contemplated as *a coming in history*, as the wrath of the Son of man in the destruction of the Jewish State, the death of the old and the birth of the new' (p. 120, *cp.* p. 122). A verse such as 25 hardly suggests that this source, whatever it may have been, was much less apocalyptic than Mark.

5–7. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 1–4. The change of place in Mark xiii. 3 is omitted. The scene remains the same: within the Temple boundary. 'These things' can only refer literally to the destruction of the Temple; nevertheless, the reply shows that Luke had the other question, the time of the End, also in his mind.

7. Who are 'they'? It is curious that the indeterminate subject seems intentional. The disciples usually call Jesus 'Lord' or 'Master.' Yet the speech of Jesus is clearly intended for the disciples. Was the change made because in xvii. the disciples have already had an apocalyptic oration delivered to them? (See Wellhausen and Loisy *ad loc.*)

8–11. Mark xiii. 5–8. Predictions, partly, doubtless, suggested by events which had recently happened.

8. 'In my name.' One has apparently to assume that some persons would claim to be the Christ reappearing on earth for the Judgment and the Kingdom. They will say: 'It is I,' *i.e.* 'I am the man you are expecting.' Note that in Luke's day, to say, 'the End is near' is a mark of deception. Yet that is what Jesus said all his ministry. This is a marked difference of perspective from the primitive Gospel (Loisy).

9. Note 'first' and 'not at once.' The End has not come, though the wars are over. It was not intended by God that the End should come 'at once' after the wars.
'Tumults' or 'revolutions.' Perhaps events between Nero's death and Vespasian's accession may be alluded to (Loisy).

12–19. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 9–13.

12. 'Before all these things'; Luke only. Thus Luke clearly indicates that what Jesus here predicts had already happened or was happening.

13. *Cp.* Matt. x. 18. 'It will be to you an opportunity for bearing witness.' Or we may translate: 'it will turn out unto you for a testimony,' that is, apparently—'it will be an opportunity for you to proclaim and testify to the truth of the gospel.'

15. A good deal altered from Mark xiii. 11. *Cp.* Luke xii. 11, 12; Exodus iv. 11–16. Is Luke thinking of Stephen and of Paul?

18. Luke only. *Cp.* Acts xxvii. 34; Matt. x. 30 (Luke xii. 7), and the Biblical phrases 1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 Kings i. 52. This verse, together with 16 and 19, seems odd. We must assume (1) that in 16 Luke is thinking of certain definite martyrs, in 18 of the community of his own time, of whom he predicts that they will come through their trials unharmed; or (2) that in 18 he is

thinking of eternal salvation and destruction after death. Taylor holds that 12–15, 18, 19 are drawn from another source than Mark and that Luke has inserted into this piece verse 16 from Mark. He draws out the differences (not merely linguistic) between Mark xiii. 9–13 and Luke xxi. 12–15, 18, 19 very cleverly (p. 106).

19. Here again either eternal life is meant, or that they shall not be killed. Those who have died are the exception. The majority shall, through their fidelity, survive uninjured and be saved by the coming of the Messiah in glory.

20–24. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 14–20 ; Matt. xxiv. 15–22.

20. Considerable modification from Mark. The 'abomination of desolation' disappears : the destruction of the city is substituted. A *post eventum* prediction. I cannot enter into Bacon's views about Luke's version of the apocalyptic predictions any more than I can into his complicated theory of Luke's Special Source and of its relation to Mark. I may just quote the following : In verse 20 Luke 'is not using his own words, but those of a source (the so-called Special Source of Luke) scarcely employed outside this Gospel. Of this Special Source it is a distinctive and characteristic feature to introduce systematically on appropriate occasions in the discourse of Jesus clear predictions of the fate of Jerusalem in consequence of its disregard of the warning to repent.' The Special Source is later than the Fall of Jerusalem : in its references to that event it reflects 'the sorrow of one whose heart has been wrung by the actual experience of the siege' (*Gospel of Mark*, pp. 118, 119).

21. 'Let them who are in the midst of the city flee forth.' Luke only. The Christians did do this actually, and so their conduct is here justified by a special order from their Lord.

22. Luke only. 'Days of vengeance.' Is this a Christian sentiment ?

23. The second half of the verse is peculiar in its wording to Luke. 'Wrath' comes upon the Jews because they rejected the Messiah.

24. Luke only. The calamities of the Jews are described in detail by one who witnessed them. The 'times of the nations' means either the allotted period for their rule (the rule of Rome), or till they are converted to Christianity : *cp.* Mark xiii. 10, a verse which Luke omits. 'Luke partly solves the problem' (of the End

not having taken place in spite of the fall of Jerusalem) ' by getting rid of the Anti-Christ prophecy (Mark xiii. 14) altogether, interpreting the Abomination of Desolation as a synonym for the Desolation of Jerusalem by the Roman armies ; the return of Christ he still thinks near, but it is postponed until the Times of the Gentiles are fulfilled ' (Streeter, p. 518). Harnack makes a most learned and gallant effort to prove that the fall of Jerusalem is still to come, and that Luke was compiled and written before A.D. 70. It does not seem to me that his arguments are very cogent. (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das neue Testament. IV. Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien*, 1911, pp. 81–87.)

25–28. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 24–27 ; Matt. xxiv. 19–31.

Luke now turns to the real future. The Messiah's coming will be long after the fall of Jerusalem. The Jews have been punished and slain already ; the ' distress of the nations ' implies a punishment of the heathen, and effects the deliverance of the Christians. Their redemption is wrought not by the death of Jesus, but by his reappearance (the Parousia).

25*b* and 26*a* are only in Luke ; fine and picturesque descriptions of fear and horror. What do ' the roaring of the sea and the tossing of its waves ' refer to ? A new flood ?

27. The Christian Messiah is a divine being. The doctrine of the Messiah among the Jews, in certain circles and coteries, tended towards the Christian era to become more mysterious ; the figure became less earthly and more heavenly ; less human and more divine. In the Fourth Book of Ezra and elsewhere the Messiah is far removed from the king of Isaiah xi. Christian theology fastens upon these conceptions and expands them, whereas Jewish theology drops them, and returns to the simpler and older conception in Isaiah xi. Thus, on the one side, the Messiah becomes God ; on the other side, he becomes again a mere man.

28. Luke only. ἀπολύτρωσις : only here in the Synoptics. *Cp.* Colossians i. 14 ; Romans iii. 24. But it may be here used in the simple sense of deliverance.

29–31. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 28, 29 ; Matt. xxiv. 32, 33.

32, 33. *Cp.* Mark xiii. 30–32 ; Matt. xxiv. 34–36. Luke omits that only the Father knows the hour.

32. Though Luke repeats this assertion from Mark, he probably

meant by 'all' the destruction of Jerusalem and the punishment of the Jews, not the End and the Parousia. Or, the very fact that he reproduces the apocalyptic discourse shows that he too clung to the vain idea that the End was nigh. If one believed that the End would not come for, say, 500 years, what would be the good of the whole discourse?

34–36. Luke only (yet *cp.* Mark xiii. 33–37). According to Streeter, 34–36 (as also 18) come from Proto-Luke (p. 215).

34. Another punctuation is: 'and that day come not suddenly upon you, for as a snare will it come upon all that dwell upon the face of the earth.' The 'snare' and 'drunkenness' come from Isaiah xxiv. 17, 20.

37, 38. Luke resumes, and connects with xix. 47. *Cp.* Mark xi. 19; Matt. xxi. 17. Whereas, in Mark, Jesus sleeps at Bethany, in Luke, he sleeps on the Mount of Olives. Note that it is implied that he taught in the Temple for many days. This seems to follow another tradition. *Cp.* Taylor, pp. 124, 125. As Taylor has to admit the comparative lateness of xxi. 20–26, he is not disposed to regard it as belonging to Proto-Luke. Thus the whole theory becomes somewhat more complicated. And as regards 37, 38 he is also a little doubtful. 'The suggestion,' he says, 'that the editorial passage is entirely non-Markan cannot be accepted with confidence. It certainly contains non-Markan elements, but, in the reference to the nightly departure from Jerusalem, it appears to be dependent upon Mark. If so, Luke xxi. 37 f. would seem to be an editorial passage belonging to later stages in the compiling of Luke, and in this case, and especially in view of its late date, Luke xxi. 20–36 is best explained as a non-Markan passage which, like the Birth Stories of Luke i. 11, is separate and distinct from other non-Markan material in the Third Gospel. We may so far anticipate later discussion as to say that, if criticism is successful in positing a Proto-Luke document, the claim of Luke xxi. 20–36 (less the Markan additions) to be part of that source is doubtful' (p. 125).

CHAPTER XXII

1, 2. The Decision of the Authorities

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 1, 2 ; Matt. xxvi. 1–5)

Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover. And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him ; for they feared the people.

1. Luke confuses together the opening ' Paschal ' ceremony of the Lamb with the festival of the Unleavened Bread, much as modern Jews to-day use the term ' Passover ' to include the two. He omits the special date : ' after two days.' And he omits : ' Not on the festival lest there be a disturbance.' The latter sentence he perhaps omitted because, according to the tradition which he followed, Jesus was killed on the festival, and therefore the contradiction seemed to him too apparent and awkward.

' In the passion-narrative the resemblances with Acts 22–24 are very marked : both Jesus and Paul, according to Luke, were struck on the mouth before the Sanhedrin ; both were given up by the Jews to the Roman authorities ; both were accused of treason by the Sadducean priesthood, and both were three times pronounced innocent ' (Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 264).

3–6. The Betrayal

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 10, 11 ; Matt. xxvi. 14–16)

And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, and was of the number of the Twelve. And he went, and conferred with the chief priests and officers as to how he might deliver him up unto them. And they were glad, and agreed to give him money. And he promised, and kept seeking an opportunity to deliver him up unto them, when the crowd should be absent.

3. As Mark xiv. 3–9 (from whatever cause) is omitted, Luke

now comes to Mark xiv. 10. Judas's act is regarded as only explicable through the direct instigation of the devil (*cp.* John xiii. 2–27, xiv. 30).

4. Luke adds the *στρατηγοί*. They are the captains of the Temple guard.

6. The 'favourable opportunity' is explained to be one when no 'crowd' should be with him.

7–13. The Preparation for the Passover Meal

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 12–16; Matt. xxvi. 17–19)

7 Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover
8 had to be killed. And he sent Peter and John, saying, 'Go and
9 prepare for us the passover, that we may eat it.' And they said
10 unto him, 'Where wouldst thou that we prepare it?' And he said unto them, 'Behold, when ye have entered into the city, a man will meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into
11 the house in which he enters. And ye shall say unto the owner of the house, The Master says unto thee, Where is the chamber,
12 where I may eat the passover with my disciples?' And he will show you a large upper room furnished with couches; there prepare
13 it.' And they departed, and found as he had said unto them: and they prepared the passover.

Mark is here followed pretty closely. Instead of the disciples asking Jesus as to where he proposes to eat the Passover meal, he himself orders its preparation. And the two disciples of Mark xiv. 13 are named: they were Peter and John.

14–20. The Last Supper

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 22–25; Matt. xxvi. 26–29)

14 And when the hour had come, he sat down to table, and the
15 twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, 'I earnestly
16 desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I shall not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.'
17 And he took a cup, and spoke the blessing, and said, 'Take this,
18 and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, From hence-

forth I shall surely not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall have come.'

And he took bread, and spoke the blessing, and broke it, and gave it unto them, saying, 'This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.' Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you.'

According to Streeter all from xxii. 14 to the end of the book comes from Proto-Luke, 'except for the verses derived from Mark the identification of which is very problematical' (p. 122). 'The disentanglement of the elements derived from Mark and from Proto-Luke respectively in the section xxii. 14 to the end of the Gospel is in points of detail highly speculative' (p. 216). Streeter thinks that 'the following are probably from Mark; xxii. 18, 22, 42, 46 f., 52–62, 71; xxiii. 3, 22, 25 f., 33–34*b*, 38, 44–46, 52 f.; xxiv. 6. The following may be derived from Mark, or represent Proto-Luke partially assimilated to the Marcan parallel; xxii. 69; xxiii. 35, 49, 51; xxiv. 1–3, 9 f.' But 'xxii. 62 is probably not genuine, being an assimilation to Matthew, om. Old Lat. Similarly xxiv. 6*a*, and the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου* xxiv. 9, are omitted by D Old Lat. It is notable that all three omissions reduce the extent of Luke's debt to Mark' (p. 222, n. 1). Streeter inclines to think that Luke's non-Marcan source did not contain an account of Peter's Denial or the incident of Simon of Cyrene carrying the Cross. 'Its account of the actual Crucifixion, and probably also of the Entombment, seems to have been quite brief—possibly little more than a bare statement of the facts—so that from xxiii. 33 to xxiv. 10*a* Luke reverses his ordinary procedure and makes Mark his main source' (p. 217).

The account of the Last Supper in Luke has many peculiarities. In Mark and Matthew the prediction of the betrayal precedes the celebration or institution of the special Last Supper rite; in Luke the prediction follows it, but without any separate introduction or pause. Various reasons which I do not mention, have been given for this change. Luke seems to emphasize the view that the supper was the Paschal meal; hence verse 15, which is peculiar to him.

A highly ingenious view of verse 15 has been put forward by Mr. Brooke and Prof. Burkitt (*Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1908, pp. 569–571). According to this view the meaning of 15 is, 'I have intensely desired to eat this approaching Passover with you, but I realize and am convinced that I shall not be able to do so. My next Passover will be the Messianic feast.' The words in that case were not spoken on the first night of the festival; they were

uttered a little while before the festival; they may be authentic, and yet the Last Supper need not be the Passover meal. As the words stand, they seem to imply that 'this Passover' is the Passover which Jesus was about to celebrate and partake of. It is obvious that the redactor, whether of the source or of Luke, so understood them. Yet it is conceivable that they are an echo of a saying of Jesus in which he said something to the effect that he was eager to partake of the approaching Passover with his disciples, but that he felt he would not be able to do so. But such a hypothesis is purely conjectural. It is more or less adopted by Streeter. 'The words in Luke suggest, though they do not quite compel, the view that *in his source* the Last Supper was conceived as taking place on the day before the Passover' (p. 423).

In an article in the *J. T. S.*, 1916, Vol. xvi. p. 295, Prof. Burkitt recurs to his interpretation of Luke xxii. 15 and 16, and sets it forth again thus: the words 'imply that Jesus had much wished to eat the Passover of that year with the Disciples, but after all would *not* be able to do so. From other recorded sayings of that eventful evening, it appears that He already anticipated that He would be arrested and His followers scattered that very night, before cock-crow. The catastrophe would come in any case before the time for eating Passover. Events had moved rapidly: the triumph of the adversaries might not have seemed inevitable on Palm Sunday or on the Monday or Tuesday, but by the time of the meal with Simon the Leper, Jesus already anticipates immediate death. Why had He so earnestly desired to eat that Passover with His Disciples? Perhaps He was convinced that it was a date which would mark a second Deliverance, comparable to that of Israel from Egypt. What a Feast that would be, when those who had persevered with Him in His trials ate at His table in the Kingdom of God! If on the coming Friday He and they would be parted, they could not eat that Passover together. But though they could not eat Passover together there was yet time for a farewell supper—and Jesus and the Disciples were actually in possession of an appropriate room, where they had planned to hold the Passover. They could have a Last Supper on Thursday evening.'

It is to be noted that the best MSS. have no οὐκέτι in this verse. The right translation would therefore appear to be as in R.V., and not as in A.V. and in Moffatt. This translation certainly consorts with Burkitt's interpretation. *Cp.* too Taylor, p. 37. 'The meaning of the words can hardly be other than that Jesus does not expect to be alive by the Passover evening.' On the other hand, the omission of οὐκέτι is hardly enough to make one believe that the verse is not dependent on Mark xiv. 25. Even without οὐκέτι the Greek words could, I suppose, mean 'eat it again'. I observe

that Lietzmann, in his new book, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, which I have been unable to make proper use of in the preparation of these notes (as it reached me too late), observes: 'der Wortlaut der ganzen Umgebung spricht gegen diese Deutung', *i.e.* against Burkitt's hypothesis.

'Before I suffer.' Even Dalmann, who accepts almost every saying of Jesus, as if a trained stenographer had been ever by his side, realizes that 'suffer' used thus absolutely, is strange. In Aramaic it would sound, he says, still stranger. 'One can hardly believe that to Jesus "suffering" had become a fixed expression, immediately intelligible to his disciples.' Dalmann therefore assumes that Jesus must 'at least' have said something like, 'before I suffer according to all that is written concerning me.' 'In the primitive Greek-speaking community "the suffering of the Christ" probably became a fixed expression, and from this source the expression found its way back into the saying of Jesus' (*Jesus-Jeschua*, 1922, p. 117). It would not quite suit Schmidt's views if 15 were authentic, assuming that the verse means that Jesus *did* eat the Passover. Therefore 15 'is probably a remark assigned to Jesus, so that in this way the succession of events may be more clearly marked' (p. 308).

In what sense is it meant that the Passover meal will have its fulfilment in the Kingdom of God? The simplest interpretation is that followed by Klostermann. Jesus will not again partake of a Jewish Passover, the festival which commemorates the redemption of Israel from Egypt: but he will take part in a corresponding festival, which shall celebrate the completed redemption of Israel (and the world?) in the Kingdom of God. Thus the redemption from Egypt is regarded as a type of the complete spiritual redemption which is to come with the Kingdom of God. Others suppose (*e.g.* Plummer) 'that the Passover of which Christ will partake, after having fulfilled the type, is the Christian Eucharist, in which He joins with the faithful in the Kingdom of God upon earth.' Holtzmann says that just as Jesus 'fulfils' the Law as a whole, so is the law of the Passover rite to be 'fulfilled' in the Kingdom by the transformation of the transitory type into a permanent form ('durch Verwandlung des vergänglichen Typus in dauernden Gehalt'). The MS. D has *βρωθῇ* for *πληρωθῇ*, which W. prefers. The last Passover meal is thus the 'preliminary to the meal in the Kingdom of God.' Other commentators give other varying explanations, upon which, for the special purpose of this book, it is unnecessary to enter.

There are many views about Luke's narrative of the Last Supper of which I will mention three or four. The divergences rest partly upon the fact that the MS. D and some of the MSS. of the old

Latin translation omit verse 20 and all the words in verse 19 *after* ' This is my body.'

(1) The first view accepts the longer text as it stands as the right text of Luke. In this view Luke sharply separates between the celebration of the old Passover rite and the celebration or institution of the new communion. 15–18 speak of the former; 19, 20 of the latter. Thus, in 15 and 16 Jesus tells of his desire to eat this final Passover with his disciples. He eats the unleavened bread. This is implied in 16. He drinks the Passover wine. This is implied in 17. Verses 15 and 16, as regards the eating, correspond exactly with 17 and 18 as regards the drinking.

In 17 we are still in the midst of the Passover celebration. To make the parallelism between the eating and drinking complete, Luke transposes Mark xiv. 25 to this place. Jesus will neither eat nor drink *of the Passover* again until the Kingdom has come.

The old rites are thus concluded. Now follows (in 19) the new rite, and Luke largely adopts the wording of Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. The Paschal meal is over. To show this more definitely, Luke adds the words in 20, ' After the meal.'

In 19, in addition to ' This is my body,' which we find in Mark, we have here the extra words ' which is given for you,' an adoption and expansion from Paul, who has ' which is for you.' The rite symbolizes the atoning sacrifice of Jesus through his death for the benefit of those who believe in him.

In 20, the wording includes all that Paul has—with the addition of ' which is poured out for you '—taken over from Mark, with ' you ' substituted for ' many.' The grammar is at fault if the additional clause is made to qualify ' blood,' the sense if it is made to qualify ' cup.' Thus the total verse shows itself made up from Paul's words and Mark's.

Moreover by including in 19 Paul's words, ' This do in memory of me,' Luke clearly turns the special communion of the Last Supper into a liturgical and commemorative rite. Whether Jesus himself is supposed to have partaken of this special bread and cup is open to argument. Those who accept Luke's version, as we now have it in the ordinary text, can well argue that Jesus ate and drank no more after the Passover rites recorded in 16–18.

' The new covenant in my blood ' means that through his death Jesus forms a new covenant between himself and all who believe or shall believe in him. The new covenant (Jeremiah xxxi. 31) like the old covenant (Exodus xxiv. 8) is sealed and effected by blood. The cup with its wine is the symbol of the new covenant wrought by the self-sacrifice of Jesus.

If this longer text had been original, why should it have been curtailed ? There are also other difficulties which I do not mention.

(2) A second view (like the third) follows the reading of D. That is, it rejects all that part of verse 19 which comes after 'This is my body,' and the whole of 20. Into the evidence confirming this view outside the New Testament I cannot enter here.

The special rite or institution of the Last Supper is, according to this view, begun with 17. Verse 16 is merely introductory and general. There is no sharp separation between the Passover rites and the special Last Supper rites as in the first view.

Instead of the 'cup' following the 'bread,' the bread (19) follows the cup (*cp.* 1 Cor. x. 16). Moreover, the bread becomes the more important part of the whole function, and that in truth it was so there are several traces in the earliest nomenclature and traditions of the ceremony.

The cup is not combined with any reference to the blood of Jesus. The death of Jesus is alluded to, but not his sacrificial or atoning death. The shorter form of 19, according to D, assimilates it to Mark xiv. 22. Here we have the more important part—the salient part—of the rite. And perhaps Jesus said as regards the bread, 'This is my body,' but not as regards the wine, 'This is my blood.' The symbolism intended by Jesus—'Behold my body'—was limited by him to the bread, and did not extend to the wine. It was intended to express the communion between Jesus and his disciples. They were knit to each other and to him, forming a mystic whole with him, themselves a part of him, by the communion rite, by eating, together with him, the bread which was to symbolize himself.

The objection to this view appears to be that 15, 16 and 17, 18 seem closely parallel. If 15, 16 refers to the Passover celebration, 17, 18 does also.

Loisy's view (in *Luc*) is peculiar. He thinks that the evangelist has mixed up the Passover celebration with the institution of the Eucharist. If Jesus says in 17, 'Take this cup of wine and divide it among you,' it is because 'the gesture is typical of the Eucharistic institution, and the author is thinking of the communion cup.' But 'the invitation only makes sense if it is brought into relation with the remembrance and commemoration which are eventually to be observed by the disciples. It is on account of this uncertain perspective that Jesus, just before so anxious to eat the Passover meal, would now seem not to wish to drink the wine which serves for the Passover repast. The wine which he actually presents is that which will be drunk after his death.' And the 'for' in 18 is inexact. Luke's words make Jesus say: 'Drink now because *I* shall not drink again.' Luke has the Christian Eucharist in his mind, and the meaning of the words is 'the commemoration of the Christ while waiting for his return.' Mark xiv. 25 is not a complete

parallel : for ' it is not the feast of the chosen which he (Luke) had in view ' (p. 509).

' As in the other gospels, so also in the third, the essential character of the Last Supper is its mystical connection with the Christian Communion of which it is the prototype. In the narratives in the Synoptic Gospels, however, two different conceptions cross each other, which have been harmonized or fused in the Fourth Gospel. It was at first believed that in this last meal, which had no special connection with the Passover, Jesus, having pronounced the usual words over the bread and the wine, declared to his disciples that they would only be reunited with him at the feast of the Kingdom of God. Such, perhaps, was the impression of the meal which remained with the first disciples. But they may also have conceived of the Supper as a type of the Communion understood as anticipating the communion of the elect with the risen Christ, a conception which only implies the commemoration of his death and his resurrection, and which was foreshadowed in the multiplication of the loaves. On this conception, which one has every reason for regarding as primitive, Mark (xiv. 22–24) has grafted the idea which Paul has given in his vision of the Last Supper, where the meal is the direct commemoration of the redeeming death, the bread representing the body, and the wine the blood, of Jesus. It seems that Paul's conception has found its way into our gospel in the passage which refers to the Passover, but it is only expressed in the formula : This is my body ' (p. 510).

(3) A third view also follows the reading of D, but assumes that 17, 18 refers like 15, 16 to the Passover. Jesus partakes of the Passover bread and of the Passover wine. In 19 he establishes the new rite, and establishes it with bread only, without any wine.

(4) According to this fourth view the whole of 19 (as well as 20) must be rejected, and not merely the second half of it.

Luke's account of the supper identifies it with the Passover, and makes it purely historical. The liturgical *rite* was added on with words borrowed from Paul. The original version of Luke said nothing about the giving of the body, or ' this is my body,' any more than about the shedding of the blood. It said nothing about a new covenant. The last Passover supper is the prelude to the New Meal in the realized Kingdom of God. This view seems to suffer from the improbability that Jesus did indeed do nothing special and distinctive at this last meal, whether it was the Passover meal or not ; that he neither said, ' This is my body,' nor ' this is my blood.' Moreover, neither this view nor the third view takes into account the fact that the wording of 17 does not look like any mere Passover celebration. The drink of 17 and the bread of 19 seem special : they are divided among the disciples. Jesus may

not have instituted a commemorative rite, a rite to be repeated, but he would seem to have asked the disciples to regard the bread which he distributed among them, and the wine which he made them drink, as forming a covenant which joined them together and united them with him. They were now in a special sense his disciples. And it would be an almost necessary *sequitur* to this view that he too drank of the wine and ate of the bread.

On the fourth view we might conceivably argue that the Passover rites were all that happened between Jesus and his disciples, but that the Passover bread and wine were special bread and wine because they were the last which the Master and his disciples were to eat and drink together, and were thus to bind the disciples to one another and to him with a special tie. Then all might be over with 18, and the *whole* of 19 and 20 may be additions. But, later, a liturgical and sacramental and commemorative rite grew up, and this rite, which was to be constantly repeated after the death of Jesus, must, it was thought, have obviously been instituted by the Master himself. Hence 19 and 20 were added to 18, in the words of Paul. 19, as D has it, ' is a very unsatisfactory end ; it is rather a troublesome addition (*ein lästiger Überhang*). It is really only the beginning of the new clause (19, 20) ; it seemed indispensable, because without it there would have been no mention of the bread, for in 15–18 the bread has not been mentioned. But this beginning, like its continuation, comes from 1 Cor. xi. 24.' ' If, therefore, one wants to be consistent, one must look upon the whole of the second section (19, 20) as added from Paul, and remove it from Luke. Blass had the sense and the courage to do this, and, indeed, it is the only proper procedure ' (Wellhausen).

Since these notes on Luke were revised, Bacon's *Gospel of Mark* has come into my hands. I cannot discuss his views of Luke xxii. 15–19*a* and 28–34, which are most interesting. He regards Luke's version of the ' Supper ' in its shorter, ' western ' form as older and more historical than Mark's. He bids us note both what it does not say as well as what it does. He thinks that Jesus, while distributing the wine and the bread to the disciples, himself declines to ' share in either, because he must suffer before the coming Passover, and will eat of it with them again only in its more glorious counterpart, the Redemption feast of the Kingdom. He will not even share in the cup of " the fruit of the vine " because he looks to an immediate fulfilment of the promise of redemption ' (p. 178).

Professor Kennett in his interesting little booklet, *The Last Supper* (1921), strongly advocates the view that the meal was held the night before the Passover, *i.e.* that the dating of the Fourth Gospel is correct. He is also a strong advocate for the view that verse 15 means, ' I intensely wanted to eat this Passover with you,

but I knew that it could not be: I knew that I should be put to death before; and therefore I have arranged this earlier meal instead.' He thinks that the Greek words (a translation of a familiar Hebrew and Aramaic idiom) mean merely 'I greatly desired' (not 'have desired' as R.V. and A.V.). 'The emphasis on the word "desired" suggests that in the present case the desire is contrasted with its non-fulfilment; in other words, that the desire cannot be carried out.' And as to the meaning of the strange words 'This is my body' and 'This is my blood' (of which the evidence is too great for us to regard them as not authentic), Professor Kennett explains them by the following ingenious paraphrase. 'Convinced as I have long been that My mission can only end in My death, and knowing that My fate may involve you, and that in any case your faith will be sorely tried, I desired to celebrate this coming passover with you. I desired for you and for Myself the spiritual tonic of the commemoration of that which God did for our fathers in Egypt, when the blood of the passover lamb brought to the household where it was sprinkled deliverance from death by the sword of the destroying angel, and when in the strength of their meal on the flesh of the lamb the Israelites went on the long march which terminated in freedom on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. But it is not to be. The blow which I have long anticipated will fall sooner than I expected. I shall not be able to eat the passover with you to-morrow; for I tell you plainly, I shall not eat it again in this life, although I know that the victory which it symbolizes will be celebrated in the kingdom of God. But in spite of all this, the desire which I came up to Jerusalem to gratify need not be disappointed. That for which the passover stands is not true only on one night of the year; for those who trust God know that He is with them always, and that at all times He can deliver them from the sting of death, and can give them strength for that through which He leads them. And therefore by faith we may have the same blessing at this our last supper together, ordinary meal though it is, as if it were actually the passover feast. We may indeed make it our passover. There is not magical efficacy either in the passover blood sprinkled on the altar or in the flesh of the passover lamb eaten at home. It is the thing symbolized, not the mere symbol, which edifies, and if that be apprehended, the precise character of the symbol itself is of small account. This bread will serve as well for our spiritual strengthening as the actual flesh of the passover lamb. This wine, "the blood of the grape," will represent to us the passover blood. In eating the one and in drinking the other we may by faith obtain a blessing in no wise less than would be ours if we ate the actual flesh of the passover lamb, and if its blood were sprinkled on the lintel and posts of the

door of our house, as at the first passover, or upon the altar in the Temple. But if that which is symbolized by the passover is life and strength, what is the true source of such a blessing? Is it not God? Those who trust Him are assured that death cannot overwhelm them, and that He will give them strength to endure that which He requires them to undergo. Those who trust God therefore do truly keep the passover feast; and accordingly the means whereby they attain to this life-giving energizing trust does for them what the flesh and blood of the passover lamb, in the story of the Exodus, did for the fathers. And since I have come to help you, by the teaching of My life and by the example of My death, to have this saving trust in God, you may regard Me as your Passover Lamb. We have agreed that this bread shall represent to us the passover flesh, and this wine the passover blood—that is, if I am the true Passover Lamb, My Flesh and My Blood. Take, eat, therefore; this is My Body; drink ye all of this cup; this is My Blood. And as the passover in Egypt was the beginning of a new relation between the Lord and Israel, or, in Hebrew language, a "covenant," which was afterwards ratified by sacrificial blood, this wine will also be to you a symbol of that new and better relation with God which will be theirs who come with faith through the crisis of My death. I am indeed your Passover Lamb slain for you. Henceforth when you eat bread and drink wine, remember what I have said and done this night, and do it in remembrance of Me' (pp. 35–38). It is exceedingly ingenious, but hardly more than one fresh hypothesis to add to the many others which I have already mentioned. But it deserves quotation because it attempts to give an explanation of the puzzling words which *just conceivably*—one cannot say more—might have been spoken by a Jew to Jews in the special circumstances of that particular case.

21–23. Prediction of the Betrayal

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 18–21; Matt. xxvi. 21–25)

'But, behold, the hand of him that is betraying me is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goes, as it has been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed!' And they began to argue among themselves, which of them it might be who was about to do this.

The prediction follows the Last Supper rites. It is shorter than the version in Mark, and perhaps may come, at least as regards 21 and 23, from another source. The prediction is purely general. There is no hint or mention of Judas.

21. πλήν. This particle is variously translated. Many commentators render it by 'But.' Others by 'Moreover.' The connection of 21 with 20 or 19 is in any case poor and artificial, and there is reason in what Loisy says: Luke uses the word πλήν in his editorial combinations because he cannot think of a better transition' (*E. S.* II. p. 516, n. 6).

The words, 'The hand of him that is betraying me is with me on the table,' mean that 'one of those who are eating with me will betray me.'

22. ὅτι must here be rendered 'For.' This verse, whatever may be the case with 21 and 23, seems to depend on Mark xiv. 21. For 'as is written,' Luke has 'as it has been determined.' The change is perhaps due to the fact that Luke could not find a particular passage in Scripture to which reference could be made.

23. The disciples discuss among themselves who the man alluded to by Jesus could possibly be. The wording of this verse is certainly markedly different from Mark xiv. 19.

24–30. Who is the Greatest?

(*Cp.* Mark x. 42–45; Matt. xx. 25–28, xix. 28)

24 And a contention arose among them, which of them should be
25 accounted as greatest. And he said unto them, 'The kings of the nations lord it over them; and they that exercise authority over
26 them are called benefactors. But with you it shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the youngest; and
27 the leader as the servant. For which is greater, he that sits at table, or he that serves? is it not he that sits at table? but I
28 am among you as one that serves. Yet ye are they who have
29 stood fast with me in my temptations. And I appoint to you kingship, even as my Father appointed it unto me, namely, that
30 ye are to eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and to sit on thrones ruling the twelve tribes of Israel.'

At this point Luke quite departs from the order of the narrative of Mark. He first inserts a short paragraph (24–27), which may be compared with Mark x. 35–45; Matt. xx. 20–28. These sections he had omitted in their original place, and what he now inserts is from another source than Mark. It corresponds especially with Mark x. 42–45; Matt. xx. 25–28. Verses 25–30 may all come from

Q, but they are made up of two distinct portions which were only joined together by the redactor (25–27, 28–30). To Streeter the whole section is from L (p. 288).

In Mark and Matthew the special request of the sons of Zebedee introduces the words of Jesus on ranks and service. In Luke this introduction is omitted, and the irritation of the other disciples is changed into a general dispute or contention. One cannot help feeling that on this occasion, after the Last Supper and the prediction of the betrayal, such a contention (*φιλονεικία*) is quite out of place. The transition is perhaps made a little easier by what Luke has in 23. For the discussion (*συζήτησις*) as to who among them could be evil enough to betray the Master leads on to the contention (*φιλονεικία*) as to who, on the contrary, was the best and greatest of them.

24. 'Which of them is accounted to be greatest?' So R.V. But the meaning is not absolutely clear. Is it: 'Who would be the greatest in the coming Kingdom?' Or is it: 'Who is now the greatest?'

The frequent discussion of this problem in the Gospels, and the constant insistence upon humility and service, show that very soon after Jesus's death urgent need arose to recall the Master's teaching upon this subject.

25. Much as Mark x. 42. Luke's variant, 'Those who lord it over them are called "benefactors,"' may be ironical; all the more so, as several Hellenistic kings had been given, or given themselves, the title of *εὐεργέτης* ('benefactor').

26. Jesus does not deal with the question raised in 24 directly. In Luke's version he seems to assume that there are already among them those who have greater authority and those who have less. Does he therefore assume, in other words, the existence of the young Christian Church? He who has a greater office and more exalted place in the community is only to use this place and office for more effective service.

This verse corresponds with Mark x. 43, but the wording is peculiar to Luke. Acts v. 6, 10, shows that the word *ὁ νεώτερος* was used in the community in a semi-technical sense.

27. Mark illustrated his word *διάκονος* ('servant') by the life, and specially by the death, of Jesus: 'He came, not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.' In Luke the illustration is apparently taken from what Jesus has done at the supper. He serves his disciples there by giving them food and

drink. In John xiii. he even washes their feet. But the allusion to the supper, and, still more, the making Jesus's service consist in giving the disciples food and drink, seem rather strained. J. Weiss ably discusses this verse in that remarkable commentary of his, which, in spite of certain prejudices or prepossessions, is so full of suggestive thought, and throws so much light upon the Gospel narrative. 'What is the meaning of "serving" here? In this connection it seems as if it could only mean that Jesus in some way serves, or waits upon, his disciples at the meal; *i.e.* it seems an allusion to the washing of their feet recorded only in John xiii. (For giving them their bread or wine was no "service," but *Hausvatertätigkeit*.) But is this conceivable? Did Luke know the story of the washing? or does our recension of Luke imply a knowledge of John xiii.? Perhaps, however, these sayings only suggest these puzzles because they are fitted into the setting of the Last Supper. If we look at them by themselves, apart from their setting, we realize that "sitting at table" and "waiting" are mere metaphors. In actual life he who sits at table is "greater" than the "servant": but Jesus was among them as one who rendered them "services," and yet there could be no question who was the greater. So regarded the saying (27) is fairly parallel to Mark x. 45, only that in Luke, with far greater cogency, the whole life's work of Jesus, and not merely his death, is considered as a service to his disciples. The MS. D has a curious variant reading in verse 26 (after the word "youngest"): "And let the leader be rather like the servant than like him that sits at table. For I came among you, not as he who sits at table, but as the servant, and ye have grown in (or through) my service." In this reading no one could have thought of the washing of the feet, and this speaks for its authenticity.'

We may also note that D in 26*a* reads μικρότερος instead of νεώτερος, and the S.S. reads μικρός. One of these may be the older reading. In fact there are reasons which cause some scholars to believe that Luke's version, instead of being the youngest and latest version (*cp.* 26), is really the oldest. Loisy, *e.g.*, holds that the reading νεώτερος can be defended, and that, even as it now stands, Luke's version of the section 25–27 is more authentic than Mark's. 'The youngest,' he says, 'is opposed to the oldest, and is the equivalent of the servant, because according to Jewish custom, afterwards followed by the Christian community, the honours of presiding and precedence were reserved for the elders, while the duty of service was imposed upon the younger members of a banquet or a society. But the gospel only knows of service. Jesus teaches this by reminding his disciples that he had always borne himself towards them and among them as their servant. His words contain no allusion to the Passover meal or to the washing of the feet, which

we may rather suppose that John has conceived on the basis of this passage. Nor do they directly refer to his mission (and still less to his death) considered as a service of redemption, or signify that true grandeur consists in such a service, although Mark may have desired to understand them in that sense. The form of the words in Luke has a primitive stamp of simple moral truth, and makes the speculative and theological character of the interpretation which Mark put upon them stand out the more clearly' (*E. S.* II. p. 243).

In the conception of Service lies one of the most distinctive and most original elements of the teaching of Jesus. Meanwhile, nothing is more remarkable than the apparently deliberate suppression or omission by Luke of any allusion to Jesus having died 'for our sins' or 'for the sins of many' (Mark x. 45, xiv. 24). Why does Luke avoid any allusion to the atoning efficacy of the death? J. Weiss says: 'This line taken by Luke is one of the most puzzling appearances in our sources.' (I agree, though I am not sure that his explanation is very probable.) The idea of the atoning death need not, however, necessarily be due to Paul. He seems to postulate it as traditional. Yet it may be due to early Hellenistic influences (*Urchristentum*, pp. 75–85). Bousset holds that in Luke xxii. 26 we have the *nidus*, the original saying, out of which Mark x. 45 was built up. (*Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed. p. 8, n. 1.)

28–30. Now follows a promise of special honour to the Twelve. Though true greatness is service, yet there is such a thing, even in the perfected Kingdom, as special posts and places of honour. But the connection of 28–30 with 24–27 seems very loose and rather awkward. The passage itself has its parallel in Matt. xix. 28.

28. 'Ye are they who have stood fast, or held out, with me in my temptations.' What temptations are these? 'Outward persecutions and sufferings,' says W., 'which it is assumed that Jesus has already experienced.' 'Heavy sufferings' ('*Schwere Leiden*'), says Harnack. 'Only the Twelve have held out with Jesus, and therefore they are selected for special honour. According to Mark they are not entitled to this praise, and it is somewhat restricted in Luke in the following verses 31–34.' Some think, just because there is scarcely any allusion in the Gospel narrative to these persecutions and trials, that we have here a genuine saying of Jesus. Others suppose that the reference to persecutions shows that *the verse must be later than Jesus*. So, *e.g.*, Loisy. 'The allusion to the temptations of Christ conform rather to the speculations of primitive Christianity than to an historical tradition.' He regards the verse as an editorial link. So Bultmann, p. 96.

29. Some make *βασιλείαν* the object of *διατίθεμαι*, as well as of *διέθετο*. Hence they translate: 'I appoint, or assign, to you dominion, even as my Father appointed it to me.' Jesus, who is about to die, makes his will: he bequeaths, or appoints to, his disciples the dominion to which his Father had appointed him. As Jesus has been appointed by God to have dominion in the new Kingdom, so it is in his hand to appoint whom he will to take part in rule or dominion in this Kingdom.

'Kingdom' is therefore used in a slightly different sense in 29 and in 30. In 29 without the article it means 'dominion,' 'rule'; in 30 with the article it means 'the Kingdom.' I have used Kingship in 29, Kingdom in 30. The verb *διατίθεμαι* means 'appoint,' 'bequeath.' W. thinks that it is chosen in conscious reference to Mark xiv. 24. The *διαθήκη* is not interpreted as 'covenant,' but as 'will' or 'testament.'

Some make the object of 'I appoint' or 'bequeath' what follows in the next verse. 'Even as my Father appointed dominion to me, so do I appoint to you that you should eat,' etc. It is argued as an objection to the first rendering that to eat and drink at a royal table is not a mark of *rule*, inasmuch as others besides the rulers eat at the royal table. Perhaps the clause about the eating and drinking is a later insertion. (So Klostermann.) It is wanting in Matt. xix. 28.

The metaphor in *διατίθεμαι* seems less appropriate for God than for Jesus. But *cp.* Gal. iii. 15–17 and the Greek version of 2 Chron. vii. 18. Some render 'assign' or 'appoint' without any implication of a will. So Moffatt. 'Even as my Father has assigned me royal power, so I assign you the right of eating and drinking in my realm and of sitting on thrones to rule the twelve tribes of Israel.' Bultmann considers the verse to be a creation of the primitive community, 'For in it first were the Twelve regarded as the rulers of Israel in the New Aeon' (the last Age, the Endzeit).

30. See Matt. xix. 28. The main point in the promise to the disciples is contained in the second half of the verse. They are not only to share in the joys of the perfected Kingdom, to partake of the Messianic meal; but they are to occupy a post or place of honour, and to rule over the regenerated Israel. It is noteworthy that S.S. has 'eat and drink *with me*.' Merx supposes that the extra words were deleted in our existing Greek MSS., because the idea that Jesus would eat and drink with the disciples became impossible or difficult for the later Christology. An especial reference to the last Judgment is probably not intended, at least not in the original saying. The wording of both Matt. xix. 28 and Luke xxii. 30 is open to suspicion. '*My* Kingdom' does not sound

like words of the historic Jesus. But we may assume that Jesus did make a promise, or held out a hope, of this kind to the Twelve, to be fulfilled at the accomplishment of the Kingdom. Note that it is made to the Twelve (so even more specifically in Matthew); hence the impropriety of the present position of the verse in Luke is clear, though Luke has omitted the twelve thrones to soften the awkwardness, while keeping the twelve tribes.

Völter, unlike Klostermann, thinks that the second half of verse 30 has been added later. 29 and 30*a* are an original word of Jesus; 30*b* was added. To sit at a table and to sit on a throne are incompatible mixtures. Matthew uses only the latter part of the verse (*Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu* (1907), p. 17). Or we may say that Luke combines two authentic traditions about the service and the thrones in one place. Certainly it looks as if 28–30 were disconnected with, and of different origin from, 24–27. So too Bacon. The words are old and Jewish-Christian. The Kingdom is the Kingdom of David. The thrones of judgment of 29 are based on Psalm cxxii. 5 (p. 179). For the contrast between this 'proto-Lukan' view of the Supper and Paul's, see Bacon, p. 180. Verses 28–30 are found in Matt. xix. 28. So they come from the Second Source, which, according to Bacon, is incorporated in Luke's Special Source. The two are largely one.

31–34. The Prediction of the Denial of Peter

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 26–31; Matt. xxvi. 30–35)

'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan has demanded to sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. And when thou hast repented, strengthen thy brethren.' And he said unto him, 'Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both unto prison and unto death.' And he said, 'I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow to-day, until thou shalt have thrice denied that thou knowest me.'

Still making the speech of Jesus, begun in verse 25, to continue in the two curious verses 31 and 32, which are peculiar to him, Luke now passes on to the narrative in Mark about the prediction of Peter's denial. This prediction he places while the disciples are still at table with Jesus: Mark has it later on the way to Gethsemane.

31. This verse and the next must rest on some other source than Mark. The praise which was accorded to the apostles in 28

is here considerably qualified. But, so far as they yielded to tempta tion, it was the devil who tempted them. He wanted to get ther into his power. (For the metaphor *cp.* Amos ix. 9.) He has ' asked God to let him try his power over them. The word ἐξητήσατ apparently implies that he has both asked and obtained permissior Dr. Moffatt renders, ' has claimed the right.' The idea is borrowe from the story of Job. Satan hopes that, through the sieve o temptation in which he will shake them, they will all fall, like chaf upon the ground. Though Luke omits, as unsuitable to his genera plan of the crucifixion and the resurrection, the words of Mark i xiv. 50 (' and they all abandoned him and fled '), the fact whic they record is nevertheless here implied.

32*a*. ' But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not. The word πίστις may here mean not ' faith,' but fidelity (*Treue*) So J. Weiss and Bultmann. The former thinks that the saying i authentic. For he says that—read without prejudice or context— it would imply that Jesus was confident that, through his praye he would successfully preserve the faith of Peter from falling Therefore, as this confidence was not fulfilled, the half verse i authentic. Bultmann holds (p. 162) that it comes from a sourc or a tradition which did not know the fall and denial of Peter And even 32*b* may belong to this source, if we may assume tha the word ἐπιστρέψας has been added. ἐπιστρέψας, ' returned,' i the Hebrew sense, morally returned.

In the ordinary interpretation the verse means that Jesus ha put up a special petition to God for Peter, so that he may pas successfully through the crisis of temptation. He will stumble, bu only momentarily. He will regain his faith. Then let him be th first to strengthen and rekindle the faith of his brethren.

It is interesting to note how both in 32 and 33 the wordin seems to reflect the language of 2 Sam. xv. 20, 21 (LXX). (Se Foakes Jackson and Lake. *Beginnings*, Vol. II. p. 104.)

Some scholars hold that both 31 and 32 look back and reflec upon the traditional history. The apostles did lose their faith, firs and foremost among them, Peter. But Peter regained his faith and then quickened the faith of the others. Thus Wellhausen says ' That it was Peter who first saw the risen Christ, and thereby became the founder of the Gospel and of the Christian community is still quite discernible between the lines.' The warning addressed to him passes over into a recognition, though necessarily put into the imperative mood. This recognition is not less marked, though more delicate, than that of Matt. xvi. 17–19. ' Peter is much more to the fore in Luke than in the alleged " Petrine " Mark, and just as important in Luke as in Matthew.' Similarly Loisy. ' The two

passages are closely parallel; the environment only is different: both show how Simon will become Peter.' He is called Simon here to oppose 'the natural man' to the apostle who was to play so eminent a part in the Christian Church. 'The words attributed to Jesus reflect a very accurate recollection, and a very definite feeling of the Christian consciousness, touching the place and the work of Peter in the apostolic community' (*E. S.* II. p. 552).

There is another interpretation of ποτε ἐπιστρέψας, according to which it would mean: 'Do thou, when the hour of need comes, convert and strengthen thy brethren.' ἐπιστρέψας would in that case be transitive (not intransitive 'having returned' or 'repented'). And D and the S.S. have the imperative, ἐπίστρεψον.

Bacon considers that 31 and 32 are of 'utmost importance for our knowledge of the sequel as related in this source; for the Lukan source forecasts not only the scattering of the flock (here a "sifting of Satan" in allusion to Job i. 9–12, for which Mark substitutes a fulfilment of Zech. xiii. 7) but a rallying of them after the catastrophe. The rallying is not, as in Mark, through an appearance of Jesus in Galilee, but through Peter, who thus becomes the founder of the resurrection faith (*cp.* Matt. xiv. 28–33 and xvi. 17–19). From the testimony of Paul (1 Cor. xv. 5) and a subsequent allusion of the Special Source (Luke xxiv. 34), we know that such was the actual course of events. Peter *did* become the living stone on which the Church was built. But Mark substitutes another version of the origin of the faith, in which the leading part is no longer taken by Peter, but by Jesus in person' (p. 183).

33. This verse (with 34, Luke's own composition, as Bultmann supposes) corresponds roughly with Mark xiv. 29, but the wording is very different. The 'prison' reflects Acts xii. 3, 4, 5.

34. Now follows the traditional prediction. 'The cock shall not crow to-day until,' etc.; this may here mean merely 'before dawn.' The change of name from 'Simon' in 31 to 'Peter' in 34 is strange.

35–38. Purse and Sword

(Luke only)

And he said unto them, 'When I sent you forth without purse and wallet and shoes, lacked ye any thing?' And they said, 'Nothing.' Then said he unto them, 'But now, he that has a purse, let him take it, and likewise his wallet; and he that has no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. For I say unto

you, that this word which is written must be fulfilled in me: *and he was reckoned among the transgressors*: for that which concerns
38 me has now an end.' And they said, 'Lord, behold, here are two swords.' And he said unto them, 'It is enough.'

The last speech of Jesus to the apostles, which had begun in 25, and of which the first section, with its two divisions (25–27, 28–30), had ended with verse 30, and the second section with verse 34, is here continued and concluded in a third section of great interest and marked peculiarity, only found in Luke. In its vocabulary verse 35 corresponds, not with ix. 3, but with x. 4, which passage came, not from Mark, but from another source, probably Q; Luke forgets that in x. 4 Jesus was supposed to be addressing, not the disciples generally or the Twelve, but the Seventy. It is possible that 35–38 may also be due to this source.

35, 36. These verses have to be taken closely together. Their connection with 37 and 38 must be separately considered. 36 clearly relates to the period after Jesus's death, when the disciples will have to undergo, and prepare and fit themselves for, a time of stress and opposition and resistance. Before, upon their early journey, they needed nought: they had to provide themselves with nothing. They met with a friendly reception. (They encountered no 'temptations' by the way, such as are implied in 28.) Their wants were supplied by sympathetic auditors. Things will soon be very different. In their new missionary journeys and enterprises they must depend upon themselves. He who has a purse [*i.e.* money] must take that purse with him; he who has a wallet must take that wallet with him. He who has no sword had best sell his cloak, and with the proceeds of the sale buy a sword. These last words imply that *all* will need swords. For the dangers against which the swords are to protect them will befall them all.

These words are in any case highly remarkable. But they surely cannot be connected with or refer to the same situation as that reflected in verse 38. They cannot bid the disciples prepare for the arrest of Jesus, and resist it. For, in that case, what is the meaning of the reference to x. 4, and the contrast with it? What the meaning of the purse and the wallet?

The words of 36 must refer to the coming persecutions of the disciples after Jesus's death. Are the 'swords' in that verse to be taken literally? Most scholars think not. They would regard the words as a proverbial and metaphorical expression, meaning that the disciples must prepare themselves for a season of sore conflict, which the enmity of their fellow-countrymen will bring upon them.

And so Loisy, in so far as the sense which Luke would have us take is concerned. It is not, however, the meaning of the warning 'which one can suspect behind the gloss and the interpretation of the evangelist' (*E. S.* II. p. 555). As the distinguished French scholar now says: 'The correspondence between this counsel and the actual use of the sword at the Mount of Olives is more than striking; also the disciples speak of the two swords in their possession. To assign to Jesus, in the circumstances in which he is, the idea of armed defence, would seem an hypothesis which is all the more precarious in that the spirit of the gospel is repugnant to it. But it must be admitted that the story, looked at impartially, is really based on the idea of such a resistance in which two swords are supposed to be sufficient for the moment. This resistance expresses itself in action in the incident of the cut-off ear, and is only checked by Jesus himself. It is possible that there is nothing to be retained as historical in this idea. Nevertheless, the fact of a resistance offered by the disciples to the arrest of Jesus seems pretty certain, and also their prompt defeat. Although commentators have hardly thought of admitting this, it would, therefore, be possible that our evangelist was editing a source in which the resistance of the disciples had been foreseen and even encouraged by Jesus' (*Luc*, p. 522). And other scholars also think that, even apart from the relation of 36 to 38, the usual view hardly does justice to what J. Weiss calls the 'extremely warlike' tone of verse 36. He points out that it contradicts injunctions of Jesus forbidding active resistance; that it contradicts the whole spirit of early Christianity, and is not to be explained by the situation, conduct, or temper of the earliest Christian communities. Hence he thinks it inconceivable that this strange and unique injunction can be a later invention. It is only intelligible as the product of a special mood and situation of Jesus which did not recur. This mood (*Stimmung*) we already know from xii. 49. Jesus goes to Jerusalem with the distinct consciousness that he is to 'kindle a fire' there, which to himself will be fatal. But he hopes that his disciples will be able to fight their way out. ('Aber seine Jünger, das hofft er, werden und mögen sich durchschlagen.')

Bertram says: 'Was nach neuem Einsetzen in 35 und 36 folgt, sind der Praxis der Mission entstammende Erfahrungen, wie sie sich auch sonst in der Überlieferung finden, eingekleidet in Jesu Worte, deren echter Kern nicht mehr zu ermitteln ist' (p. 40). ('What follows, after a fresh beginning, in 35 and 36 is the product of experiences gained in actual missionary work, set forth in words ascribed to Jesus, the genuine kernel of which can no longer be ascertained.')

36. The last words are awkward. We must probably supply

μάχαιραν after ὁ μὴ ἔχων. If so, the sentence should have ru καὶ ὁ μὴ ἔχων μάχαιραν ἀγορασάτω πωλήσας τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ Perhaps, however, ὁ ἔχων is to be taken absolutely, and ὁ μ ἔχων to correspond with it; 'he who has it, let him take hi equipment with him; he who has no equipment, let him, a least, at any price, even by selling his cloak, acquire a sword (Klostermann).

37. The connection between this verse and 36 is doubtful The best one can do is to suppose that in the first part of 37 Jesu means to say: 'for me, according to the Scripture, a cruel end i imminent: you must expect no much better or happier lot tha your Master' (Klostermann). Or Jesus may mean: 'I can n longer protect you, and my death is to be the beginning of you trials.' The second half of the verse probably does not give th reason for the first half, but is co-ordinated with it, and repeats it 'My life is about to end.'

But it is quite likely that 37 was not originally connected wit 36. The word 'for' (γάρ) may, as so frequently, connect two passages which had different origins. They may have been placed together because of the word 'sword' which appears in both 3 and 38. The Scripture reference in 37 is to Isaiah liii. 12, bu Jesus does not elsewhere refer to this verse in his speeches. 'The suffering of the Servant is explicitly regarded as a prophecy fulfilled by the Passion of Jesus. This marks the difference between Luke and the other Gospels' (*Beginnings*, Vol. I. p. 390). *Cp.* also Burkitt (*Christian Beginnings*), p. 37. 'The only clear use o Isaiah liii. in any saying ascribed to Jesus is the quotation i Luke xx. 37, a saying which in its context suggests that he hardly regarded the passage as specifically "Messianic." It is sometimes asserted that Mark x. 45 shows the influence of the Hebrew text of Isaiah liii. 10, 11, but the expressions are very different.' J. Weiss, who tries to keep for Jesus whatever he honestly can, considers that the quotation is out of place in this passage and for this mood. But Jesus might have said what follows. 'For so far as regards myself—*i.e.* my appointed lot—that which concerns me—*that* has now an end.' 'I have reached my earthly goal.' The disciples' life with the Master is on the point of ending. A new life of danger is to begin for them. Hence the need for swords. The quotation may have been added later to show that the Master's doom was predetermined and prearranged, that it was a fulfilment of a divine decree. But the meaning of τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ is not quite clear. It may be translated: 'For my (earthly) lot is now concluded' (denn mein Lebensgeschick hat (jetzt) sein Ende). Or we may connect it with the quotation and render: 'For that which has

been said of me has now its end.' So Moffatt: 'Yes, there is an end to all that refers to me,' while Dr. Weymouth has: 'For indeed that saying about me has now its accomplishment.' A defence of the historical character of all 37 is essayed by Taylor, pp. 266–268.

38. If, however, 37 can, more or less awkwardly or more or less well, be connected with 36, this is far less the case, as it seems to me, with 38. For 38 clearly refers to a preparation against *immediate* need; in other words, to the approaching arrest. It can only with great strain be made to fit in with Jesus's injunction in 36. Further, it would seem that 37 does not cohere with 38. In 37, Jesus says, 'I must die, even as the Scripture predicts.' In 38 the disciples say, 'Here are two swords.' The two utterances are disparate and disconnected.

What is the starting-point? W. thinks 38. It looks forward to 49. Perhaps, then, 37 contained originally the announcement of the imminent danger of a secret attack. The disciples think they can ward this off by the two swords which they possess. The means are ludicrously insufficient, but Jesus, in sad resignation, declares them to be adequate. ('Diese Mittel sind lächerlich ungenügend, Jesus erklärt sie aber in schmerzlicher Resignation für ausreichend und lässt die Jünger gewähren.') Then 35 and 36 were added on, on account of the word 'sword' occurring in them as well as in 38. Perhaps they were intended to explain the contradiction that whereas, before, Jesus had even prohibited the use of purse and wallet, he now suddenly permits a sword. Loisy also held that the original meaning of 38 had no reference to the ulterior lot of the disciples, but to the actual present danger which was rapidly growing around him and them. 'The Saviour foresees an attack upon his person, and he intends to resist it.' But the arrest was to take place under conditions which would make the two swords not merely insufficient, but useless. He thought the two swords would be enough. They turned out to be useless. Jesus, however, had originally intended to meet force with force (*E. S.* II. p. 557).

Bertram points out that both the 'sword' verses are for us hardly any longer intelligible or explicable. 'The apparently solitary *ἀγορασάτω μάχαιραν* remains unintelligible. It seems to fit better into the trains of thought of Jewish Zealots than into the Christian missionary rules. At any rate, as is so often the case, apocalyptic hopes form the connecting links between these contradictions. That the conclusion of the section (38) is preserved, even in rudimentary condition, is certainly only due to the possibility of allegorical explanation, which has preserved many a

genuine saying in an odd disguise, even if through such disgu many sayings (especially in the parables of Jesus) have been co pletely obscured. In this verse Luke probably saw a welco preparation for the sword incident of the capture' (p. 40. T next paragraph, too long to quote, is worth reading).

One means of connecting 38 with 36 would be to suppose th the disciples misunderstand, as usual, what Jesus has said, a what he implies, intends, and foresees. They just catch on to t mere mention of swords, and say, 'Here are two.' Then Jes perceiving that they have failed to understand him, replies, ' is enough,' half ironically, and breaks off the conversation. T interpretation of the disciples' words and of Jesus's reply c be used either for the view that 36 refers to what the disci must literally do after Jesus's death, or for the view that t swords are to be taken metaphorically. In either case, Jes referred to what would happen after his death; whereas t disciples take his words to refer to the emergency of the mome But it cannot be said that this interpretation of 38, and this mea of connecting it with 36, seem very likely or natural.

Professor Burkitt supports the 'misunderstanding' explanatio But he finds the passage highly original, and a strong support his contention that Luke in his divergent account of the Passi draws from a very ancient source, perhaps Q. The sword passa he regards as among the saddest words in the Gospels, and t mournful irony with which they are pervaded seems to him 'whol alien from the kind of utterance which a Christian Evangel would invent for his Master.' Yet 'it is impossible to believe th the command to buy a sword was meant literally or seriously; is all a piece of ironical foreboding.' The words show that the was in Jesus 'a vein of what I have no other name for but pla fulness, a tender and melancholy playfulness indeed, but all t more remarkable that it comes to outward expression in momen of danger and despondency. . . . This kind of playfulness is total alien from ignorant fanaticism, and indeed it is totally alien fr the general spirit of early Christianity. That it appears at in the Gospels is in itself a proof that the Evangelists, and t sources from which they drew, sometimes remembered better th they understood' (*The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 14 142).

As a vivid contrast to Burkitt it is interesting to hear Lois 'Very bold are those critics who think they know what Jes wanted to say by that, and who see in this short reply either t melancholy irony of a misunderstood man whom his disci wanted to defend by absurdly inadequate means (which he had n meant to order), or a simple device of bringing a futile conversati

to an end, or else both at once : the intention of cutting short the scene after the mistake of the disciples. What did our author want to make Jesus say ? Perhaps he wished to signify that two swords would be sufficient to accomplish the designs of providence in the present case. And one might add that a single one would have sufficed, but that two have been inserted as being more picturesque. The attitude attributed to Jesus cannot be discussed from a psychological or moral point of view. The evangelist certainly does not attribute to him the thought of armed resistance against the Roman and Jewish authorities. His speech seems, none the less, to justify the blow whose damage he is going to heal; without blaming the user of the sword, he at the same time forbids any further violence. It is an artificial device by which the evangelist tries to explain not only the kind of prediction made to the future missionaries of the Christ, and the sword-thrust at Gethsemane, but also the respect shown by Jesus towards constituted authorities ' (*Luc*, p. 524).

Some critics, notably Pfleiderer, lay great stress upon this passage and especially upon 38. They think that, in a more or less disguised form, it contains a most important historic fact. Swords, says Pfleiderer, are only bought in order to be used. He thinks that what Jesus feared was the weapon of some assassin ; he did not anticipate a formal arrest. Hired murderers he feared, and from them he sought to protect himself ; he had not imagined that a band, dispatched for this purpose by the authorities, would arrest him. When he saw the uselessness of resistance, he said ' Stop ; no further ' (verse 51). The passage about the purchase of the swords is thus regarded by Pfleiderer as historical and most important. It shows that Jesus went to Jerusalem to conquer and to establish the Kingdom, and not to die. All the predictions of death put into his mouth are spurious : they are all prophecies after the event. He foresaw danger, opposition, trouble ; he feared the event (*cp.* xii. 49–51), but he did not despair. Even Gethsemane only implies that the coming struggle was fraught with peril ; it does not imply, in fact it is inconsistent with, the belief that his death was a necessary part, or rather the essential condition, of the whole purpose of his mission. It does not imply—on the contrary, it is inconsistent with—the belief that only through his death could men be reconciled to God.

' It is enough ' may also be interpreted, not ironically of the two swords, but as the rendering of an Hebraic idiom meaning ' enough of this,' ' let this suffice,' ' have done with this ' (Klostermann).

39–46. Gethsemane

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 32–42 ; Matt. xxvi. 36–46)

39 And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of
40 Olives ; and his disciples also followed him. And when he arrived
at the place, he said unto them, ' Pray that ye come not into tempta-
41 tion.' And he withdrew from them about a stone's throw, and he
42 knelt down, and prayed, saying, ' Father, if thou be willing, remove
this cup from me : nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.'
43 And an angel from heaven appeared unto him, strengthening
44 him. And in an agony of fear he prayed still more earnestly :
and his sweat became like great drops of blood falling upon the
ground.
45 And when he rose up from prayer, and came to his disciples,
46 he found them sleeping for sorrow. And he said unto them, ' Why
sleep ye ? arise and pray, that ye come not into temptation.'

39. Luke tells the story of Gethsemane in a somewhat shortened form, and yet with additions of his own. He does not give its name. In fact he only mentions the Mount of Olives ; and the words ' at the place ' in 40 sound awkward : they need an addition. The peculiarities of Luke's story can be explained on the theory that he used not only Mark, but an extra, special, distinct source as well : Loisy explains them on the theory that Luke knew and used the sources of Mark.

' As he was wont.' Luke only. The words refer back to xxi. 37.

40. What Mark has later on (xiv. 38), Luke inserts here. But the ' temptation ' is for him probably the outward danger. The disciples are to pray that it may not come. As a matter of fact they succumb to it. Loisy thinks that the original words were, ' Pray that *I* come not into temptation.' This was the fundamental idea which the earliest tradition had attached to the prayers of Gethsemane and to the death of Jesus, namely : death was the supreme temptation which God willed Jesus to undergo, and which Jesus accepted and victoriously passed through. The scene at Gethsemane is the pendant to the scene in the desert. Luke has omitted the ' I,' but he has not definitely substituted a ' you,' though, of course, the Greek as it stands, ' I ' (με) being omitted, means ' pray that *you* come not into temptation ' (*E. S.* II. p. 562).

41, 42. Luke records only one act of prayer.

'If thou wouldst let this cup pass from me'—so literally (*Cp.* Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, ed. 4, p. 120, n. 5).

43, 44. These verses are peculiar to Luke. In some MSS. they are wanting; some think them a later insertion, out of tune with Luke's apparent desire elsewhere not to delineate or allow any struggle in Jesus's complete readiness to accept the divine will. The salient words in Mark xiv. 33, 34 have been omitted. Harnack strongly and learnedly argues for the authenticity of the two verses. They are not a later insertion, but some MSS. omitted them as objectionable. (*Probleme im Texte der Leidensgeschichte Jesu*, pp. 1–5.) See also for the same conclusion, Streeter, p. 137. Also from his special point of view, Loisy, *Luc*, p. 527.

44. Unless the angel strengthened him to pray more intently, the order of the two verses seems unsatisfactory.

ἀγωνία. An agony of fear. 'Todesangst' is the rendering of W., and of J. Weiss. The 'bloody sweat' may be intended literally, or the phrase may be rhetorical, or the sweat may be compared in its amount, its colour, or its density, to drops of blood.

45. They fall asleep from grief. The cause is a sort of excuse. In Mark this is not so.

46. The warning against 'temptation' is again repeated. The disciples are to get up and rouse themselves in order to pray; not because the betrayer is at hand.

47–53. The Arrest

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 43–52; Matt. xxvi. 47–56)

And while he yet spoke, behold a crowd, and the man called Judas, one of the Twelve, at their head, and he came near unto Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said unto him, 'Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?' And when his companions saw what was coming, they said unto him, 'Lord, shall we smite with the sword?' And one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And Jesus answered and said, 'Let this suffice.' And he touched his ear, and healed him.

Then Jesus said unto the chief priests and the generals of the temple and the elders, who had come up to him, 'Have ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and clubs? When I was daily

with you in the temple, ye stretched out no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.'

47. Mark's narrative is somewhat contracted. Of whom the 'crowd' is composed is not stated, nor whence it came.

ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας. How these words should be translated is not certain. Simplest, if permissible, is the rendering: 'the above-mentioned Judas,' referring to verse 3. It is assumed that the kiss was the sign agreed upon by Judas and his band.

48. Luke only. His language is intended to indicate that the odious kiss was not actually carried out. 'Wouldst thou seal thy betrayal by a kiss?' says Jesus indignantly. Note the use of the Son of man.

49. Instead of some resistance, as in Mark, being shown by the disciples after the arrest, Luke changes the order. The resistance precedes the arrest. The question of the disciples is peculiar to Luke. Before Jesus can answer, the sword is used.

51. Again peculiar to Luke. Jesus says: ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου. Apparently this means either, 'Suffer them to proceed and complete my arrest'; or, 'Let what you have just done suffice; let there be no *more* resistance.'

The story of the arrest was gradually bound to include a miraculous incident. What remained of the ear (it was the right ear, says Luke) was touched by Jesus, and it became again whole. Here again Harnack scents the Doctor. Jesus to him was the great Physician and Healer. 'It would have been inexcusable if he, the miracle-working physician, had not healed it.' Luke had no source for this. 'It was so because it must have been so' (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 130). A theory of a double source may be studied in Taylor. Luke's special source, or his own first draft, Luke when Proto-Luke, had only a wounded (or even a bruised?) ear, and this it was which Jesus healed (p. 46).

52. Now follows the speech of Jesus in Mark xiv. 48, 49. Luke apparently thought that the words were inappropriate as addressed to the arresting band. He therefore makes the chief priests and elders present in person. J. Weiss thinks that the text ran originally, 'Jesus spoke to those who had come up to him,' etc., and that the Greek words ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ('chief priests and captains of the Temple and elders') are a gloss added from verse 4. Some support the existing reading of Luke. It is more accurate than Mark, from whom 52*b*

s interpolated. For these words are unsuitable as addressed to he high priests and elders. But the idea of the authorities coming out in person to make the arrest can surely not be based on history, though it is true that the words of Jesus, themselves doubtless unhistoric, are more suitable as addressed to the authorities than as addressed to the crowd or the arresting band.

53. The last words are peculiar to Luke: 'But this is your hour, and the power of darkness.' The phrase sounds almost Johannine. In numerous details Luke marks the transition from the old Marcan tradition and wording to the conceptions and traditions of the Fourth Gospel. 'This is your hour.' Night and darkness befit your deed. You are men of darkness. The power which you exercise now is the power which darkness gives you. The words are chosen to suit the situation, but they have a deeper meaning too. 'Your hour' is also the hour which was predestined for you. 'The darkness' is also the darkness of the devil and his kingdom (*cp.* John iii. 19–21, xii. 35, xiii. 30).

Luke says nothing of the flight of the disciples. For, according to him, they remained at Jerusalem, or in the neighbourhood, where the visions of the resurrected Jesus were vouchsafed to them.

54, 55. Jesus is brought to the House of the High Priest

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 53, 54; Matt. xxvi. 57, 58)

Then they seized him, and led him away, and brought him into the high priest's house. And Peter followed at a distance. And they kindled a fire in the middle of the court, and sat down together, and Peter sat down among them.

54. Jesus is taken, as in Mark, to the high priest's house; but the meeting of the Sanhedrin apparently does not take place in the house.

55. At first, at any rate, Jesus is not, as in Mark, at once taken upstairs, but is left in the courtyard, bound and under guard. By adopting this variant tradition, or, if he does not here follow another source, by himself making this variation, Luke is able to make Jesus present at Peter's denial, and we get the wonderfully dramatic incident of 61.

56–62. Peter's Denial

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 66–72 ; Matt. xxvi. 69–71)

56 But one of the maids saw him as he sat by the fire, and she
57 gazed upon him, and said, 'This man also was with him.' And he
58 denied it, saying, 'Woman, I know him not.' And after a little
while somebody else saw him, and said, 'Thou also art one of them.'
59 And Peter said, 'Man, I am not.' And about the space of one
hour after, another confidently asserted, saying, 'Of a truth this
60 fellow also was with him : for he is a Galilæan.' And Peter said,
'Man, I know not what thou sayest.' And immediately, while he
61 yet spoke, the cock crew. And the Lord turned, and looked at
Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had
said unto him, 'Before the cock crow to-day, thou wilt deny me
62 thrice.' And he went out, and wept bitterly.

Luke makes the denial scene precede the 'trial' of Jesus before the Sanhedrin ; for he recognizes only one 'trial,' held in the early morning, and not at night (*cp.* notes on Mark). Luke makes other slight changes in the narrative. The cock crows but once. In 58 the speaker is a man. Luke's variant narrative is either due to a special source or to the use of Mark's source. It may be that the source of Mark knew of no nocturnal sitting, and that, in the omission of it, Luke followed this source. But for some of Luke's changes, the hypothesis of a combination of Mark with another source altogether seems in some respects more probable.

61. Jesus turns round and looks at Peter. A sublime touch, but probably not historic. It is doubtful whether Jesus remained in the court all this while.

62. This verse is wanting in the old Latin translation, and is perhaps an insertion from Matt. xxvi. 75 ; but, if an insertion, it is an excellent one.

63–65. Ill-treatment of Jesus by the Guard

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 65 ; Matt. xxvi. 67, 68)

63 And the men that held Jesus fast mocked him and beat him.
64 And they blindfolded him, and asked him, saying, 'Prophesy, who

s it that struck thee ? ' And many other words they said, reviling ıim.

Luke inserts this incident here and thereby avoids any break ɔetween the ' trial ' and taking Jesus to Pilate. Moreover, the ɔbuse is confined to the guard—a far more probable version. Luke ıere combines some touches of Mark with some touches of Matthew. Both Luke and Matthew have : ' who is it who struck thee ? ' How s this to be explained ? Some say, through common oral tradition ; ɔthers by Luke being influenced by Matthew ; and a third explana- ɔion is that the text of Luke was at an early date assimilated to that ɔf Matthew. *Cp.* Bultmann, p. 164. Streeter shows that most ɔrobably Matthew's version of the incident was different from Luke's ; see notes on Matthew. The words, ' who is it that struck ɔhee ? ' were not in the original text of Matthew. The three sug- ɡested explanations are all wrong (p. 327).

63. ' The men that held Jesus fast.' In the Greek, ' the men that held him fast,' which ought to refer to Peter (61 and 62). Does this unclearness imply that Luke's version is made up only of Mark and his own changes, or that it is a combination of Mark and another source welded together by himself ? Or is the unclear- ness a mere slip on the part of L or Proto-Luke ? But 52–62 may be from Mark according to Streeter (p. 222).

66–71. The Trial before the Sanhedrin

(*Cp.* Mark xiv. 55–64 ; Matt. xxvi. 59–66)

And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief priests and the scribes came together, and they led him away to their council chamber, and said, ' If thou art the Messiah, tell us.' And he said unto them, ' If I tell you, ye will not believe : and if I ask, ye will not answer. But from now the Son of man will sit on the right hand of the power of God.' Then said they all, ' Art thou, then, the Son of God ? ' And he said unto them, ' Ye say that I am.' And they said, ' What further need have we of witness ? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth.'

Luke's account of the trial is shorter than Mark or Matthew's —six verses instead of Mark's ten and Matthew's eight. He says nothing about blasphemy, and nothing about the destruction of the Temple. W. draws deductions from this to support his own

theory. 'Luke omits the word "blasphemy" in 71; he does not venture to call Jesus's acknowledgment of his Messiahship by that name. He knew what the *real* blasphemy was, and therefore he suppresses the *word*, even as he suppresses the *thing*.'

But it is probable that he used besides Mark a separate source. Nevertheless, even if he did, it does not follow that that source is more historic than Mark in *all* the points in which it differs from Mark. Thus Bertram argues that while the omission of the reference to the temple is due not to Luke, but to his special source, yet the source was inaccurate. The tradition about the temple and the blasphemy in connection with it is certainly historic, but it was offensive to the old Christian community which still clave to the temple and its cult: hence it was suppressed. Taken all in all, Luke's source cannot claim a greater historic value than the traditions which are embedded in Mark (pp. 56, 57).

66. The reading is uncertain: there may be a καί between λαοῦ and ἀρχιερεῖς or not. If there is a καί (and), then τὸ πρεσβυτέριον means one portion of the Sanhedrin, the elders. If there is no 'and,' then 'the priests and the scribes' are in apposition to τὸ πρεσβυτέριον 'the court, consisting of the priests and scribes.' What does τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν here mean? Is it the court house? 'They led him away,' *i.e.* not the members of the court, but the men who had arrested him. But 'and they said' are the members of the court. The composition of the two verses is very clumsy.

Luke knows of only one 'trial,' and that by day. Here his version is probably more historic. Nor is his meeting of the Sanhedrin a real 'trial.' This is in accordance with fact, for 'in reality, this deliberation would not have been an official session, but a private meeting, in which the terms of the accusation would have been agreed on.' 'It is not a death sentence to be submitted to Pilate for ratification, but an accusation which is founded on a confession obtained officially' (*Luc*, p. 539). Luke says nothing about the false witnesses, though he knows about witnesses (verse 71), and the high priest is no longer the interlocutor. He seems to separate and distinguish the Messiah from the Son of God. The true Messiah is also the Son of God; but the second title was already greater and more important than the first. It is, therefore, reserved for verse 70. The reply of Jesus leads to the deduction: 'Then you claim not merely to be the Messiah, but also the Son of God.' Or even: 'Then, whether you claim to be Messiah or not, you do claim to be, what is even more presumptuous, the Son of God.'

67, 68. In Luke, Jesus refuses to say whether he is the Messiah or no. His reply seems characteristic, and perhaps it not only rests

upon a separate tradition, but is authentic. Brandt has sought to show that the reply is probably modelled on, and borrowed from, Jeremiah xxxviii. 15, in the Septuagint version, and is therefore not likely to be historic. That seems rather strained. The resemblance is more probably accidental. The S.S. has an interesting addition: 'And ye would not let me go.' My case is decided; argument is idle. The reason for the omission of the words, if they are genuine, is clear. 'The human desire is not to be imputed to the God-man' (Merx).

69. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.* 'From this time forward.' Luke (or his source ?) no longer lets Jesus say that the judges will see the coming of the Son of man. For the judges are dead, and did not see it. All he lets Jesus say is that 'from now,' that is, after his death, which is soon to follow, the Son of man, *i.e.* himself, will sit at the right hand of God.

The power of God is really a tautology. Luke added *τοῦ θεοῦ* to make things clearer for his Gentile readers, but 'the Power' was a Jewish euphemism for God.

70. The Son of man who sits at the right hand of God could only be the Messiah and Son of God. Hence the judges' reply. Jesus's evasive rejoinder follows Matt. xxvi. 64, not Mark's frank admission (see notes on Mark). 'The members of the Sanhedrin realize that the answer of Jesus in 69 goes beyond their first question. For the Evangelist meant to indicate in Jesus's reply that Jesus is Messiah in the fuller Christian sense. And when the judges use the phrase "Son of God," we are to understand that they mean by it what the Evangelist meant by it' (Loisy, *E. S.* II. p. 608).

How is the comparative agreement of Matthew and Luke over against Mark to be explained ? (Matthew *σὺ εἶπας*, Luke *ὑμεῖς λέγετε*, Mark neither; Matthew *ἀπ' ἄρτι*, Luke *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, Mark neither). Streeter thinks that, as regards the second set of words, they are 'independent editorial insertions by Matthew and Luke.' He points out that the same additions are made in the parallels to Mark xiv. 25. (Matt. xxvi. 29, Luke xxii. 18.) The word *ἄρτι* is used seven times by Matthew, and never by Luke or Mark, while *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* is used five times by Luke and never by Matthew or Mark. As regards the first set of words, he points out that some important MSS. read *σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι* in Mark. 'Now ordinarily one would suspect this reading as due to assimilation from Matthew. But here again the obscurity of the expression, or the apparent hesitancy it might seem to imply in our Lord's acceptance of the title Christ, would favour its omission. Moreover, the view that the words originally stood in Mark explains the

language of Matthew and Luke. Mark wrote σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, an answer intended to preclude the acceptance of the title Messiah in the sense that the High Priest might mean, which looks like a genuine utterance of our Lord. Matthew leaves out the last three words, and inserts πλὴν κτλ., *i.e.* he interprets the words, " You have said it in scorn, but very soon, I tell you, you shall see with your eyes." Luke preserves Mark's sense and phrase, but he makes it plural, perhaps influenced by his other source.' Thus the reading of these particular MSS. is probably the true reading. ' If, however, the ordinary text be preferred, I would suggest that the σὺ εἶπας of Matthew and the ὑμεῖς λέγετε of Luke are independent adaptations of the σὺ λέγεις of Mark xv. 2, intended to assimilate our Lord's reply to the High Priest to His reply to Pilate ' (p. 322).

71. The suppression of the object ' we have heard ' is very curious. Wellhausen's explanation has already been given. And Luke does not let the Sanhedrin pass any formal verdict. This may be more historic. As J. Weiss says : ' Luke avoids the constitutional mistake of letting the Sanhedrin pronounce an official death-sentence on account of a " blasphemy " which, in the legal sense, was not a real blasphemy. In this his account is superior to Mark's.' Loisy, it is true, denies that Luke had any other and better source than what had been used by Mark, or that he did not depend on Mark. This view is less likely. The omission of the blasphemy charge, and of the special part played by the high priest, may have had, so Loisy argues, a number of special reasons. Some of these we have already noticed. Others follow. Perhaps (1) Luke omitted the part played by the high priest on purpose ; perhaps (2) the rending of the garment would have had no meaning to his Gentile readers ; perhaps (3) Luke, realizing that Jesus was formally condemned only by Pilate, omitted, with the condemnation by the Sanhedrin, the blasphemy which motived it ; perhaps (4) he did not like to represent Jesus as even unjustly condemned as a blasphemer. Certainly the interpretation of the Gospels is sown thick with ' perhaps ' ! Bultmann thinks that Luke's Special Source did not include an account of the ' trial ' before the Sanhedrin, and that what we find in 67–71 is ' redaction-work.' The witnesses and their evidence are not omitted because a better tradition knew nothing of them, but from apologetic motives. Luke knew about the witnesses, as his words in 71, ' what more evidence do we need,' make clear. The bad connection between 69 and 68, and the omission of any record of the decision made and taken by the Jewish authorities, show the editorial character of the paragraph (p. 164).

CHAPTER XXIII

1–5. Jesus before Pilate

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 1–5 ; Matt. xxvii. 1, 2, 11–14)

And the whole number of them arose, and led him unto Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, 'We have found this man perverting our nation, forbidding to give tribute to the Emperor, and saying that he himself is Messiah, a King.' And Pilate asked him, saying, 'Art thou the King of the Jews?' And he answered him and said, 'Thou sayest it.' Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, 'I find no guilt in this man.' But they became the more persistent, saying, 'He stirs up the people, teaching through all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, unto here.'

1. Luke, even more strongly than Mark, attempts to throw the guilt of the crucifixion entirely upon the Jews. Pilate is whitewashed as much as possible. Though his account may depend upon another source as well as upon Mark, what he gives us shows that the source cannot be too much relied on for accuracy. (*Cp.* Bertram, p. 65.)

2. Only Luke gives the contents of the accusation which was made against Jesus by the members of the Sanhedrin before Pilate. The gravamen of the charge is that Jesus was a political agitator, who sought to stir up the people against Rome. It was natural enough that Luke should have seen the desirability of making the Jews proffer a distinct charge against their prisoner. 'Perverting': he disturbs the people by making them vacillate in their obedience and allegiance to Rome.

As regards the tax, Jesus had said precisely the reverse. Dibelius argues that Luke's account of the trial is his own correction of Mark's narrative, and does not rest upon any extra or separate tradition. It may be the more historical for all that! It is a correction and a supplementation which might even be made by a modern historian who was trying to reconstruct what must

actually have occurred (*Z. N. W.*, 1915, p. 119). After ' our nation ' and before ' forbidding,' there is some authority for these extra words : ' annulling (or destroying, *καταλύοντα*) the law and the prophets.' Harnack thinks that this addition was probably in Luke's original text.

χριστὸν βασιλέα. ' He is anointed King.' Moffatt renders : ' He is King Messiah.' Others, ' an anointed King.'

3. J. Weiss argues that, to Luke at any rate, ' Thou sayest ' cannot have meant ' pure assent.' For if Jesus admitted that he was king, how could Pilate have said he was guiltless ? Perhaps this is to assume more logic in the narrative than is reasonable. Another view is that 3 is an insertion from Mark by Luke. What is implied in 4 has been omitted. It is, in any case, hardly permissible to translate *σὺ λέγεις* by ' certainly ' (Moffatt). For even if it is an assent, it is a sort of indirect or implied assent only.

4. Pilate's favourable attitude to Jesus is strongly emphasized. The mention of the ' crowd ' already here is noteworthy. Perhaps the intention is to emphasize the importance of Pilate's favourable statement about Jesus and the contrary disposition of the Jews.

5. The guilt and responsibility of the Jews are again strongly emphasized. This verse too is peculiar to Luke.

6–16. Pilate and Herod

(Luke only)

6 When Pilate heard that, he asked whether the man were a
7 Galilæan. And when he learnt that he belonged unto the dominion of Herod, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was
8 at Jerusalem at that time. And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad : for he had for a long time wanted to see him, because he had heard of him ; and he hoped to see some sign
9 performed by him. Then he questioned him with many words ; but he answered him nothing.
10 And the chief priests and scribes stood by, and vehemently
11 accused him. And Herod with his soldiers despised him, and mocked him, and having arrayed him in fine apparel, he sent him
12 back to Pilate. And on that day Pilate and Herod became friends with one another ; for before they were at enmity.
13 Then Pilate summoned the chief priests and the rulers and

he people, and said unto them, 'Ye have brought this man unto ıe, as one that perverts the people: and, behold, I, having ex- mined him before you, have found no guilt in this man touching hose things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for he ent him back to us; and, lo, nothing worthy of death has been lone by him. I will scourge him, therefore, and release him.'

This scene is only found in Luke, and its historical character s dubious. If Jesus appeared before Pilate, was then sent to Herod, and then back to Pilate, he could hardly have been crucified ıt nine in the morning. Moreover, the incident has been prepared or by Luke in ix. 9, and partly depends upon Herod's desire to see Jesus, which, itself, is unlikely. Loisy also regards the story as ınhistorical, though not invented by Luke. He found it in some source (perhaps an ancient redaction of the Gospel of Peter) where the main details of the trial before Pilate were transferred to a trial before Herod (*cp.* 9 with Mark xv. 5; 10 with xv. 3; 11 with xv. 18, 19). It was attempted yet further to whitewash Pilate by making Herod, not Pilate, condemn Jesus. Such an inversion of history Luke could not accept; but he nevertheless borrowed and adapted from this source a short narrative in which the innocence of Jesus is made still more plain, in which Pilate's goodwill is accentuated, and in which the mocking of Jesus is transferred from Roman soldiers to a Jewish chief and his guard.

Another view is that already in the source whence Luke took the story Herod was made to testify (14) to the innocence of Jesus; in any case this attitude of Herod is also probably intended to bring into stronger relief the guilt of the Jerusalem authorities and of the Jewish people. How did the story arise if, as is probable, there is no historic truth in it? Acts iv. 24–29 shows that Psalm ii. 1, 2 had brought about the belief that Pilate and Herod must have been the kings and the rulers of whom the Psalm speaks. It only remained to set forth how Herod had his share in the matter as well as Pilate, and this was done by Luke's source, or by Luke in the story before us, though Herod is co-ordinated with Pilate as a contrast to the Jewish 'priests and scribes.' Dibelius's article on "Herodes und Pilatus," in *Z. N. W.*, 1915, pp. 113–126, is worth reading. *Cp.* also Bertram, p. 65, and Bultmann, p. 165.

6. The story is artistically hooked on to the last remark of the high priests, in 5.

7. Are we to assume that Herod had come to Jerusalem on account of the festival, or to pay his respects to the Roman governor?

But 12, as the story now reads, would be opposed to this supposition. Herod was the tetrarch of Galilee, and Jesus was his subject. We may argue that it was therefore right and proper that his opinion should be asked, especially as there was a divergence of view between Pilate and the Jewish authorities, but it must be confessed that this is a somewhat modern, rationalizing explanation of what, in all probability, is a legendary tale.

8. Herod has heard of the miracles wrought by Jesus. He hopes to have one performed for his own benefit and amusement. But this remark is very improbable and very naïve. Herod had probably no such recollections of Jesus and longings to see him as are here attributed to him.

9. Jesus preserves the same attitude of silence before Herod as the other two Gospels had attributed to him before Pilate. Some think that 9*b* is a later insertion on the lines of what Mark says in xv. 5.

10–12. Some think that 10 is a later insertion on the basis of Mark xv. 3. Others hold that not only 10, but 11 and 12 too, are insertions. They are wanting in the S.S. Verse 11 seems to have been put in to do instead of Mark xv. 16–20, which Luke omits. The assumption has to be that, as Jesus is silent and works no miracle, Herod is angry and mocks him. This is, however, not very convincing. Verse 12 is almost childish. The attention which Pilate thus shows to Herod by sending Jesus before him, and the politeness shown by Herod in declining to interfere in the matter, make them good friends!

But, perhaps, Loisy is right in saying, 'The friendship thus brought about between the Tetrarch and the Procurator is not as naïve as it looks; it fulfils a prophecy (Psalm ii. 1–2), which will be expressly quoted in the Acts (iv. 25–27) as applying to these two persons. None the less, these two witnesses to the innocence of Jesus have not failed to be, by their agreement, the providential instruments of his death' (*Luc*, p. 547).

It is strange that B. Weiss could hold that a remark such as that contained in 12 'can only have originated in circles where the exact relation of the Procurator to the Tetrarch was well known.'

Dr. Verrall wrote a most ingenious and subtle article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1909 (pp. 321–353), in which he essayed to prove that the entire scene with Herod is strictly historical, if properly understood and properly translated. But that right understanding of Dr. Verrall's, especially of verse 11, is hardly likely to win the permanent approval of scholars.

13. Pilate summons the chief priests and rulers afresh. The wording makes one suspect that 10 is a later insertion. Pilate repeats what he had already said in verse 4. But his words prepare the way for the Barabbas incident. Verse 15 rounds off the story about Herod, and Pilate is made to say that Herod takes the same view as himself as to Jesus's innocency. It is noticeable that this is an inference which 6–12 had not entirely justified. Certainly what we get in 9, and more especially in 10–12, looks as if it were taken from the tradition according to which Herod had not, like Pilate, found nothing blameworthy in Jesus, but had condemned him. For Herod, unlike Pilate, was a Jew, and therefore, according to one tradition, was assimilated in his action to the Jews of Jerusalem. Some think that the older conclusion to the Herod scene was lost, and 10–12 substituted for it. It would be more in accordance with 15, and with Luke's obvious intention to accumulate the burden of guilt upon the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, if Herod too had openly declared, just like Pilate, that he found Jesus not guilty. And why need Pilate explain to the high priests that Jesus had been sent back to him, when they had been present and knew all about it? In verse 15 the Syriac versions read: 'I (Pilate) sent him (Jesus) to him (Herod),' instead of 'he (Herod) sent him (Jesus) back to me (Pilate),' which may conceivably be the true reading. For the second time Pilate here expresses his belief in Jesus's innocence. The third time follows in 22.

16. To satisfy the animosity of the Jewish authorities Pilate suggests that Jesus be scourged. Let them be satisfied with that.

18–25. Jesus and Barabbas

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 6–15; Matt. xxvii. 15-26)

But they cried out all together, saying, 'Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas': (who on account of a certain riot which had happened in the city, and also on account of a murder, had been cast into prison). Then Pilate, wishing to release Jesus, spoke again to them. But they kept crying out, saying, 'Crucify him, crucify him.' And he said unto them the third time, 'Why, what evil has this man done? I have found nothing worthy of death in him: I will therefore scourge him, and release him.' But they pressed insistently, demanding with loud voices that he should be crucified. And their voices prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that their demand should be carried out. And he released

unto them him that on account of riot and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for; but he delivered up Jesus to their will.

18. Luke now takes up and inserts the Barabbas incident from Mark. (17, 'Now he was bound to release unto them at the feast one prisoner' is wanting in the best MSS. S.S. and D place it after 19, and S.S. has it in this form: 'And Pilate was wont to release to them a prisoner upon the festival.' The verse is probably not genuine.) 'They cried out,' *i.e.* as we must suppose, 'the priests, the scribes, and the people.' Barabbas is thus introduced quite suddenly, and 19 is added to explain the strange request.

20. Once more Pilate attempts to persuade the Jews to allow him to acquit and release Jesus.

22. He makes a final appeal. The desire to whitewash Pilate, to darken the guilt of the Jewish authorities and to make *them* the true authors of the crucifixion, is very apparent. The motives for this desire are also very plain and obvious. It seems strange that Taylor seems to suppose that in all this Luke gives the truer picture (p. 53).

23. The Jews besiege and press him (ἐπέκειντο) with loud cries, and their insistent clamour prevails (κατίσχυον).

24. ἐπέκρινεν. He finally gave judgment that their request should be fulfilled. The responsibility is put wholly upon the shoulders of the Jews. So, in 25, Pilate 'delivers up Jesus to their will,' as if the Jews, and not the Romans, were the real authors of the crucifixion.

25. Once more Luke alludes, rather suddenly, to Barabbas, and it looks as if he did not belong to the main thread of the narrative.

Luke omits the scene in which the soldiers mock and abuse Jesus. Is the motive for this omission, (*a*) because he has used those details in a different way in the scene with Herod; or, (*b*) because he wants to put the conduct of the Romans in as little unfavourable a light as possible? Both reasons are perhaps at play. So too he does not mention that the scourging was carried out, or that Roman soldiers accompanied Jesus to the cross. The omission of the scourging is partly accounted for by verse 16. For the scourging is there regarded and suggested by Pilate as a substitute for the death penalty.

26–32. Jesus and the Women of Jerusalem

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 21, 27; Matt. xxvii. 32, 38)

And as they led him away, they laid hold of one Simon of Cyrene who was passing by from the country, and on him they laid the cross, to carry it after Jesus. And there followed him a great number of people, and also of women, who beat their breasts and lamented him. But Jesus turned unto them and said, 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in which they will say, Happy are the barren, and the wombs that never bore, and the breasts which never gave suck. Then will they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do these things to the green tree, what will be done to the dry?'

And two others, criminals, were also led along with him to be put to death.

This passage, except verses 26 and 32, is peculiar to Luke. Whether it is taken from his extra source or constructed by him cannot be ascertained with certainty. In either case it is probably unhistorical, being made up out of a number of Old Testament reminiscences. Its basis seems to come from Zech. xii. 10–14, where a great mourning is spoken of for him 'whom they have pierced.' Here are found the women, and the beating of the breast.

27. It is not distinctly said that the great number of people (who were men) followed out of sympathy. The motive may have been curiosity. But the attitude of the crowd in the Gospels is peculiar and contradictory. *Cp.* Luke xxi. 38 and then xxiii. 18 and 48.

28. For the structure of this verse *cp.* Jer. xxii. 10.

29. *Cp.* Isaiah liv. 1.

30. *Cp.* Hosea x. 8. A literal quotation.

31. We may compare Ezekiel xx. 47 (Hebrew xxi. 3). The saying seems to mean that if the innocent Jesus has to suffer so cruelly, how far more terrible will be the sufferings of the guilty Jews in the days of visitation. The passage seems to reflect the capture of Jerusalem. Another interpretation is to suppose that

the green tree represents, not Jesus in his innocence, but Jerusalem in its prosperity, while the dry tree is Jerusalem in its future desolation. If such deeds are done in a time of prosperity, what horrors may be expected in the dreadful time which is coming? This interpretation seems less probable.

32. This verse prepares the way for what Mark relates in xv. 27.

33–43. The Crucifixion

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 22-32 ; Matt. xxvii. 33–44)

33 And when they came to the place which is called the Skull, there they crucified him, and the criminals, one on his right hand,
34 and the other on the left. Then said Jesus, 'Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do.'
35 And they divided his garments, and cast lots. And the people stood and looked on. And the rulers scoffed, saying, 'He saved others, let him save himself, if this be the Messiah of God, the
36 chosen one.' And the soldiers also mocked him, coming up to him,
37 and offering him vinegar, and saying, 'If thou art the king of the
38 Jews, save thyself.' And an inscription also was over him : 'This is the king of the Jews.'
39 And one of the criminals who had been hung up reviled him,
40 saying, 'Art not thou the Messiah? save thyself and us.' But the other rebuked him, saying, 'Dost thou not even fear God, seeing
41 thou art suffering the same condemnation? And we indeed justly ; for we receive the due reward of our deeds : but this man has done
42 nothing wrong.' And he said unto Jesus, 'Lord, remember me when
43 thou comest with thy kingdom.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.'

33. 'They crucified him.' The implication is still that it was the Jews and not the Romans ; a falsification of history, of which hatred was the cause.

34. This famous verse is wanting in some MSS. and is considered by many scholars to be spurious. It somewhat awkwardly, moreover, interrupts the connection.

The prayer is a practical exemplification of vi. 28 at the supreme and most agonizing moment. The same forgiving spirit is attributed, in Acts vii. 60, to the dying Stephen. (*Cp.* also Acts iii. 17, xiii. 27.)

If, then, the verse is not authentic, it shows that the noblest utterances in the Gospels need not necessarily be the most authentic. The argument—'Who could have invented this? only Jesus could have said this; the reporter and editor were incapable of such nobility or originality'—breaks down in a critical instance. If, then, it breaks down here, it may well be of no compelling force elsewhere. If Mr. Adeney's appeal for this verse, 'Nobody would have imagined or invented it,' is disregarded by many good commentators, why should the similar appeal, which meets us so constantly for other passages, be regarded as of irrefragable force? The truth is that editors and disciples have also their moments of high appreciation and inspiration—a truth to which some of the finest passages in the Prophets also bear cogent witness.

And if the saying be not authentic, it nevertheless is *ben trovato*, both because it breathes the higher spirit of Jesus and because it is based upon the teaching of Jesus. The best recent discussion of it and of the reasons which produced it is by Bertram, pp. 87, 88.

Whom is Jesus asking God to forgive? The particular place of the insertion would suggest that the Roman soldiers and executioners are meant; the parallel in Acts vii. 60 might, however, lead us to suppose that he means the Jewish authorities, who have failed to recognize their Messiah, and therefore have acted in ignorance. Loisy thinks the latter, and would even include the Jewish people as a whole. The words attributed to Jesus are a fulfilment of Isaiah liii. 12, 'For the transgressors he made intercession' (*E. S.* II. p. 672). *Cp.* also Acts iii. 17, xiii. 27.

Harnack gives a splendid defence of the authenticity of the saying, a defence marked by his usual ingenuity, resourcefulness, and learning. But he is convinced that the saying does *not* refer to the Jews in general, but to the soldiers, the men who actually nailed Jesus to the cross. The words were omitted in many MSS., because they were falsely interpreted as referring to the Jews generally, and thus from anti-Jewish reasons became intolerable (*Probleme im Texte der Leidensgeschichte Jesu*, pp. 5–11). *Cp.* also Streeter, p. 138, who gives a most interesting defence of its being in high probability an integral portion of the original text of Luke. There are many classical parallels to the reason given for forgiveness, but it is one thing to have the sentiment expressed in an essay, another thing to have it expressed in action. (Philo says somewhere *τῷ μὲν ἀρ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται.*)

Whether Jesus said the words does not after all matter very much. What does matter is that we have got them: here they are. Christianity, it is true, has disobeyed their letter and their spirit. Nevertheless, here they are, even though they have been so appallingly forgotten and violated. Their magnificence remains. The

beauty of them must be recognized. If they have been usually disobeyed, they may sometimes have been remembered. It is better that they should be a household word than that they should be unknown. They are in line with the *best* teaching of the Old Testament: they are its culmination. Surely it can only do good that Jews should be familiar with them, even though much Jewish history is such a bitter and sarcastic commentary upon them. Jesus must not be made responsible for the age-continued wickedness of Christians, even as Jews must not be made responsible for a single Jewish crime.

35. Luke's narrative, here as elsewhere, has many peculiar traits which lead many scholars to predicate a special source. 'The people stood and looked on.' Apparently, so far, in unsympathetic and vulgar curiosity. Note here that, as in Luke ix. 20, where Mark has simply 'the Christ,' Matthew and Luke employ a fuller but different, form. 'In both cases Matthew alters to "the Son of God," Luke to "the Christ of God," *i.e.* each prefers a *different* title. This example is most instructive; for, if either of these parallels had stood alone, we might have supposed the addition of τοῦ θεοῦ to be the result of a coincident agreement of Matthew and Luke in an alteration of Mark. Whereas, having both sets of parallels we see that, while Matthew and Luke agree in altering Mark, each alters in a way characteristic of himself. That is to say, the passages are, so far as they go, evidence of *independent* alteration' (Streeter p. 303).

36. Mark had not assigned a subject to 'they offered him wine with myrrh.' Yet it was possible to understand from his narrative the real course of events, namely, that it was not the soldiers who had prepared and who offered him (except, perhaps, as intermediaries) this wine, but the Jews, more particularly the Jewish women. Matthew, as we saw, while he does not make the subject definite, changes the purpose of the wine. Luke goes still further. He emphasizes that it was the soldiers who gave wine (ὄξος, sour wine), and that it was part of their mockery. He either anticipates and changes the incident given in Mark xv. 36, or he is (as here suggested) modifying Mark xv. 23, or perhaps he makes of the two incidents one. The inscription (38) Luke also regards as intentional insult and mockery.

37. Luke makes the soldiers repeat the mockery of the 'rulers.' The soldiers, who had not been mentioned as taking Jesus to Golgotha or as crucifying him, appear here as mocking watchers on the scene.

39–43. The two malefactors. Again, a special Lucan embroidery. Mark makes no difference between the two men—both insult Jesus. Luke's dramatic incident can lay no claim to being historical. Luke is fond of contrasted pairs. *Cp.* Bultmann, p. 187.

40. Literally, 'because thou art in the same judgment.' The 'because' is a little awkward. Do the words mean, 'Do you not even *fear* God, which you surely should, seeing that you are suffering the same punishment as he, and are about to die?' Or, 'Do you not even fear God *because* you are suffering the same punishment as he (Jesus)? But you and I are suffering justly, whereas he is innocent.' That you are suffering the same punishment as he should not make you add to your sins by mocking God's anointed one. Have you not even enough fear of God to prevent this extra wickedness?

41. The criminal asserts his belief in Jesus's innocency and (42) in his Messiahship.

42. The literal reading is 'in thy kingdom,' which, however, means 'with thy kingdom,' 'when thou comest again bringing thy kingdom,' at the Parousia.

43. Jesus promises him even more than he asked. He shall not merely 'rise' and take part in the Kingdom, but he shall pass at once after death into paradise. Paradise must mean heaven, the heavenly paradise. The commentators compare the phrase, 'Abraham's bosom,' used about Lazarus (xvi. 23). Thus, as J. Weiss says, here ('sehr bemerkenswerter Weise') it is assumed that Jesus, when he died, went at once to heaven. If this had been the prevailing view, and regarded as a dogma, the stories of the resurrection and ascension, as we have them now, could hardly have arisen. But it was only a concurrent and secondary idea; the predominating opinion was either that Jesus went down into Sheol (like everybody else), remained there a short time, and then 'arose' out of his grave, or that he stayed in the grave till he came forth from it.

44–49. The Death of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 33–41; Matt. xxvii. 45–56)

And it was already about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the land until the ninth hour, for the sun was in eclipse; and the curtain of the temple was rent down the middle. And

46 Jesus cried out with a loud voice, and said, 'Father, into thy hands
I commend my spirit': and having said this, he expired.
47 Now when the centurion saw what had happened, he glorified
48 God; saying, 'Assuredly this man was innocent.' And all the
crowds who had come together for this spectacle, when they beheld
49 what happened, smote their breasts, and returned. And all his
acquaintance, and the women who had followed him from Galilee,
stood at a distance afar off, looking upon these things.

45. The darkness is explained to be an eclipse of the sun; but it is not meant that this eclipse was not a miracle. It lasted three hours, and there was a full moon. *Cp.* Amos viii. 9, which is here fulfilled. Mark xv. 38 is transferred to this earlier stage.

46. Luke omits the cry of forsakenness. It was inconceivable to him. He substitutes for it another quotation from the Psalter, namely, xxxi. 5, than which nothing could be more appropriate. Some think that the quotation from Psalm xxxi. 5, which Jesus utters with a loud voice, is not a *substitute* for Mark's quotation from Psalm xxii., but a translation into words of the loud cry of Mark xv. 37, which immediately preceded the death. *Cp.* also Bertram, p. 83.

47. The centurion's words are somewhat altered from Mark, or given from another tradition.

He saw what happened. In Luke's narrative this must refer to the sun's eclipse. The miracle shows that God regarded Jesus as innocent and was indignant at his death. Other commentators take 'what happened' (*τὸ γενόμενον*) to refer to his pious exclamation at death. This seems less likely.

Was what the centurion said—the acknowledgment that Jesus was a righteous man—the way in which he glorified God? Or did he praise God for having proved by the miracle of the eclipse that Jesus was innocent? He praised God *and* said, etc. The modification which Luke makes in the centurion's words, as we find them in Mark, is commonly supposed either to be due to a feeling that it was not natural for a heathen to have said 'Son of God,' or to a wish to add one more testimony to Jesus's innocence. 'The preoccupation of the apologist has dominated that of the theologian' (*E. S.* II. p. 693).

48. Luke only. As in 27 and 35, the 'people' are supposed to be present. They too are appalled by the miracle, and repent their share in the dread drama they have witnessed.

And now the crowd is represented as repentant. W. remarks at the sympathetic attitude of the populace 'fällt sehr auf.' It es seem somewhat too much in contrast with the previous strong mphasis laid upon their guilt and animosity. The previous re-arks about the people seem dictated by a hatred of the Jews: re a less hostile feeling comes to the fore. Guilty as they were, ey show repentance. Would the theory of several sources count for the change? One can perceive that those who told the ory of Jesus were influenced by a variety of motives as regards the lations of the Jews to him. The Scribes and Pharisees, the Priests d Rulers, could be represented as his persistent enemies. But, in e case of the people as a whole, it was different. It was important emphasize that the people welcomed his teaching. His great pularity had to be strongly marked. Did he not expressly come r the moral and spiritual relief of the neglected populace, who ere so oppressed and saddened by the teaching of the Rabbis? ere they not neglected by the official teachers, and did they not elcome the 'gentle yoke' of the Galilæan prophet? Nearly even the end this contrast between the people and its lay and spiritual lers had to be kept up. 'Not on the feast' must the latter arrest sus, lest the populace make a disturbance. On the other hand, e bitterness between Jew and Christian was growing, and growing o was the desire and the need to whitewash the Romans. Hence e temptation to make the whole Jewish people responsible for the ucifixion and to show, in glaring and discordant colours, their rulent hatred of Jesus and their willing acceptance of the burden having put him to death. Yet the divinity of the Master would e the more marvellously displayed if these very people, who had en so wicked, and had displayed such intensity of hatred, should e moved to a late and ineffective repentance. So we may explain ie various phenomena which we observe in the Gospels in regard the behaviour of the Jewish people.

ὑπέστρεφον. Is this word to be translated metaphorically? They became repentant.' Or literally? 'They went home'; they turned away.'

The S.S. reads after 'beating their breasts,' and omitting τέστρεφον, 'And they said, Woe to us, what has happened to us, oe to us, because of our sins.'

49. Luke makes an important deviation from the corresponding assage in Mark. The second Evangelist had stated that women iends of Jesus witnessed the crucifixion from afar: he implied iat no men friends of Jesus were present. But Luke says that l the acquaintances (*γνωστοί*) of Jesus were present, and in them e probably included the Eleven. He had omitted Mark xiv. 50.

It is extremely doubtful whether Luke's statement has any historical foundation. It is very unlikely that if it had, Mark should have been so ignorant of it, and that even Luke in verse 55, etc., should have ignored it. Why should not men as well as women have watched the burial? More probably the addition of the γνωστοι is due to the tempting fulfilment which such an addition brought about with two well-known passages in the Psalter, xxxviii. 12, lxxxviii. 9 (Septuagint version).

50–56. The Burial of Jesus

(*Cp.* Mark xv. 42–47; Matt. xxvii. 57–61)

50 And, behold, there was a man named Joseph, a councillor
51 and he was a good and just man, and he had not agreed with their resolve and deed. He was from Arimathæa, a city of the Jews
52 and was himself waiting for the kingdom of God. This man went
53 to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in fine linen, and laid it in a sepulchre which was
54 hewn out of stone, wherein no man was laid before. And it was
55 the day of preparation, and the sabbath was beginning. And the women also, who had come with him from Galilee, followed after
56 and they looked at the sepulchre, and how his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and they rested on the sabbath day according to the commandment.

51. To Mark's information about Joseph Luke adds that he had not voted or agreed with his colleagues on the Sanhedrin in the condemnation of Jesus.

52. Pilate's assent to the request is omitted. For the verbal agreement with Matthew see Streeter, p. 323.

53. The tomb was new, says Matthew; no corpse had yet been placed in it, says Luke. (*Cp.* the ass on which no one had yet ridden.) A μνῆμα λαξευτόν does not seem quite the same as a tomb hewn in the rock. It seems rather to mean a tomb made of hewn stones.

54. What Mark stated before (xv. 42) is here added to by Luke. The day was Friday, and the Sabbath was soon to begin. It was nearly sunset when the body of Jesus was put in the grave. ἐπέφωσκε is an odd word to use here: it means literally 'to begin to

awn.' It seems to be employed here in a special sense, to indicate e opening of the Sabbath, as an equivalent for Mark's ἤδη ὀψίας νομένης (xv. 42), which Luke had omitted in 50. Lake thinks ere is no evidence that ἐπιφωσκεῖν could be used in this way. He inks that Luke forgot the 'Jewish time reckoning and thought nat, according to the law, Joseph and the women had the whole of riday evening and night at their disposal, . . . that the women epared the spices during the night before the Sabbath and came the tomb as soon as the Sabbath was over—that is to say, on the awn of the Sunday' (Lake, p. 59).

Merx supposes that if Jesus died at 3, and the Sabbath began 6, there was time for Joseph's visit to Pilate, for the detachment om the cross, for the interment, and for the preparation of the ices, all in the three hours. The Sabbath was just 'about to egin' at the interment, but there was still just time for the prepara- on of the spices. This seems somewhat doubtful.

Streeter argues that ἐπέφωσκε must here mean 'begin,' not dawn' (p. 324), 'for Luke goes on to say that they rested during the abbath.' The use of the same word, ἐπιφώσκειν, in both Luke and Matthew is very strange and is discussed by Streeter, who shows nat there may be a possible assimilation from Matthew. But p. also the note on Matt. xxviii. 1.

55. The women who had watched the crucifixion remained at heir post even after Jesus died. They saw how the body was emoved by Joseph; they followed; and finally they saw how the ody was deposited in the tomb. Luke is clearer than Mark or Matthew at this point.

56. How could they do all this before 6 P.M., before the Sabbath egan? And if the Sabbath *had* begun, then the first part of the erse is not in strict accordance with the second; for the purchase f myrrh and spices was itself a violation of the Sabbath. According o Mark xvi. 1, the purchase was only made after sunset on Saturday. Even if the 'preparation' of the spices does not mean 'purchase' —even if we suppose that the women possessed them in adequate quantity, and simply got them ready for use—such a 'preparation' would probably be against the Sabbath law.

CHAPTER XXIV

1–12. The Empty Grave

(*Cp.* Mark xvi. 1–8 ; Matt. xxviii. 1–10)

1 Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning,
they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had
2 prepared, and they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.
3 But having entered in, they found not the body of the Lord Jesus.
4 And it came to pass, while they were perplexed about this, behold,
5 two men stood by them in shining raiment. And when they were
afraid, and bent down their faces to the ground, they said unto
6 them, 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here,
but is risen: remember how he spoke unto you while he was yet
7 in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into
the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise
8,9 again.' And they remembered his words, and they returned from
the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all
10 the rest. (It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the
mother of James, and the other women that were with them, who
11 told these things to the apostles.) And these words seemed to them
as idle talk, and they believed them not.
12 [Peter, however, rose and ran to the tomb, and stooping and
looking in, he saw nothing but the linen wrappings; and he returned
home, marvelling at what had happened.]

1. The women arrive very early, when dawn is just breaking. The object of this may be to show that no one could have come to remove the body since the Sabbath.

3. 'Having entered in' may be an added gloss from Mark. For the exit of the women is not mentioned by Luke.

4. In this verse Mark's one angel has become two. They are like 'men,' not youths.

5. Thus Luke indicates that there ought to have been no doubt about the resurrection. Jesus had predicted it. The living Saviour, whom death could not capture, should not be sought among the dead.

7. Luke changes at this point, because his theory is that the disciples did not return to Galilee, but remained in the capital, and there saw the risen Master. Hence the angels refer to the general predictions of his resurrection, but say nothing of its locality being fixed for Galilee. Galilee is only mentioned as the place where the *predictions* of the resurrection were uttered. But Galilee as the *locality* of the resurrection most probably preceded Jerusalem. It is hard to see how the second tradition should have preceded the first. On the contrary. The Jerusalem tradition is a deliberate correction of the other for special purposes. 'If there is a tradition which is based on historical facts, it is the Galilæan tradition; if there is a tradition profoundly influenced by an apologetic intention, it is the Jerusalemitic tradition of Luke, developed by John' (*E. S.* II. p. 729). Not only was it desirable to deny the flight of the apostles to Galilee, but it was also desirable to make the apparitions of the Risen One begin as soon after the burial as possible. This desire we already see gratified in Matthew (xxviii. 9).

9. Luke agrees with Matthew, and contradicts Mark. The women tell their story to the apostles. Streeter says: 'If, as I believe, the text of Mark known to Matthew and Luke ended at this point, as it does in ℵ B Syr.S., they would be obliged to *guess* at the further proceedings of the women. The women had just been *expressly* commanded by an angel to give an important message to the disciples; it would never have occurred to Matthew or Luke that the women could have failed to carry out the instructions. Mark's words "they told no man" would certainly have been interpreted to mean "they did not spread the news abroad," not "they did not deliver the message of the angel." But if Matthew and Luke took it for granted that the lost ending of Mark told how the women carried out their orders, it was natural, by way of concluding their account of the incident, to say as briefly as possible that they gave the message. But the words in which they do this coincide only in the verb ἀπαγγέλλειν—the natural word for any one to use' (p. 300).

10. This verse is perhaps interpolated. It is awkward and unnecessary, and ends by repeating 9. For Joanna, see viii. 3. In any case, Luke probably wished the reader to understand that the visitants at the tomb were more than two or three.

11. The disciples do not believe the story. What the women say seems nonsense (λῆρος) to them. Their subsequent faith depended altogether upon visible and tangible proof. But the primal doubt remains a fixed element in the tradition,—by Luke used to show the force of the proofs which extinguished it. In a probably spurious verse (12) an interpolator attempted to harmonize Luke's narrative with John xx. 4. Moreover, the interpolation was an answer to the obvious question: 'Why did none of the apostles go and see for themselves?' Well, Peter did! In xxiv. 24 we are told another story. Several of the disciples went to see the tomb.

13–35. The Appearance at Emmaus

(Luke only)

13 And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village
14 called Emmaus, which was sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. And
15 they talked together about all these events. And it came to pass, that, while they talked together and argued, Jesus himself came
16 near, and walked with them. But their eyes were held fast, so that they did not know him.
17 And he said unto them, 'What are these discussions which ye are holding with one another, as ye walk?' And they stood still,
18 looking downcast. And one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answered and said unto him, 'Art thou the only pilgrim in Jerusalem, who does not know the things which have happened therein during
19 these days?' And he said unto them, 'What things?' And they said unto him, 'About Jesus of Nazareth, who showed himself to be a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people,
20 how our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to be condemned
21 to death, and crucified him, whereas we hoped that it was he who was to redeem Israel. And, moreover, besides all that, it is now
22 the third day since these things took place. Yet certain women of our company have amazed us, for they went at dawn to the
23 sepulchre, and did not find his body, and came to us, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive.
24 And some of our number went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they did not see.'
25 Then he said unto them, 'O senseless, and slow of heart to
26 believe all that the prophets have spoken: had not the Messiah
27 to suffer these things, in order to enter into his glory?' And

beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them what is said in all the scriptures about himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going; and he made as though he was going on further. But they pressed him, saying, Remain with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is already far spent.' And he went in to stay with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at table with them, he took bread, and spoke the blessing, and broke it and gave it to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.

And they said one to another, 'Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?' And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, who said to them, 'The Lord has verily risen, and has appeared to Simon.' Then they, in their turn, told what had happened on the way, and how he became known to them in the breaking of the bread.

This story is peculiar to Luke. All sorts of theories have been suggested about it, from the most believing to the most critical. Does it depend on a separate source? Does it go back to, and rest upon, the report of Cleopas himself? Was it invented by Luke, and inserted by him in its present place after the rest of the chapter had been composed? (36 fits as well to 11.) And so on. For the purposes of this commentary these discussions can be passed over.

13. The two disciples are not two of the eleven apostles. They belong to the 'others' mentioned in verse 9.

The village is usually identified with a place called by Josephus Ammaus, where Vespasian settled some of his soldiers. Hence the place was called Kolonia, and to-day it still bears that name (Kolonije). It is 45 'stadia' (5 miles), not 60 'stadia' (7 miles), from Jerusalem.

16. They recognize neither voice nor form. Their ears as well as their eyes are supernaturally dulled.

17. I have adopted Moffatt's rendering of *σκυθρωποί*.

18. *παροικεῖς*. Jesus is taken to be a passing stranger or pilgrim. Even so, it is strange that he should not know what has occurred. Klostermann renders: 'Are you, alone, such a stranger in Jerusalem that?' etc.

19. The description of Jesus is noteworthy. He is still spoken of as a man, and not yet as God, or even as a demi-God. And he is best characterized as a Prophet. ἐγένετο, not merely, says Klostermann, the equivalent of 'was.' *Cp.* the use of γεγονέναι in x. 36: 'who of these showed himself to be, or proved himself to be.'

'Here one recognizes the writer who has turned the story of the denunciation, the condemnation, and the torment of Jesus into a fulmination against the religious leaders of the Jewish people, who themselves were rather the sorrowful witnesses of the crime committed by their heads' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 576).

21. They had hoped that he was the Messiah, but his death had proved that this hope was an error. (The Greek in the second half of the verse is hard, but the meaning must be about that which is given in the translation.) The Jewish form of the Christian hope is very striking in this verse. One hardly expects it here.

22. W. thinks that 22–24 are a later interpolation. J. Weiss would only excise 24. Loisy would keep the whole. Can this story be independent of the legend in John xx. 1–10 and of Luke xxiv. 12?

25. Jesus proceeds to prove to them that the death of the Messiah was predicted in Scripture. His death was the condition precedent of his 'glory.'

26. J. Weiss says that the words almost sound as if Jesus had already entered into his glory. Is it the same conception that we found in xxiii. 42, 43, namely, that Jesus passed straight from the cross to heaven? Is 'heaven' the 'glory'? This seems to be the meaning. Jesus entered upon his glory when he ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of the Father. An older view would be that the glory is the glory of the Kingdom, the glory of the Coming (the Parousia). Jesus would redeem Israel by and at the Parousia. (The still later conception, that his death was itself redemptive, is here ignored. So, too, in xxi. 28.)

27. 'Beginning with Moses and all the prophets.' An awkward construction. The Prophets are added to Moses by a zeugma. Moses and Prophets are made to stand for the Bible as a whole and to include the Psalms. A frequent work of early Christianity is, as it were, anticipated in this sentence, when the Scriptures had to be searched and searched again for proofs of the faith and for arguments against the Jews (*E. S.* II. p. 762).

29. It is odd to find in this beautiful tale a verbal reminiscence of the ugly story in Judges xix. 9.

30. Jesus resumes his old part and habit. He plays the host, not the guest. There is no definite allusion to the Last Supper; only to the common meals, which were such a marked feature of the old life. Yet the memory of the Supper may have been intentionally present to the mind of the narrator.

'The recognition of Jesus in the action of breaking the bread shows the connection which originally existed between the belief in the resurrection and the Eucharistic Communion. The belief in the resurrection of Jesus and the presence of the Christ in the midst of his disciples during the communal repast are affirmed at one and the same time; to put it another way, the two are nothing but one and the same faith in the immortal Christ' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 581).

31. Jesus is half 'material,' half 'spiritual.' He disappears mysteriously, but there is nothing 'ghostly' about his form and look.

34. Even if the Emmaus narrative was composed by Luke, he may have embodied in it current traditions. In this verse he casually introduces a totally fresh story, namely, that Jesus had appeared to Peter. The greatest stress is usually placed upon the statement in this verse, isolated as it is, because it confirms the statement in 1 Cor. xv. 5. All critics now believe that the Epistle to the Corinthians was really written by Paul, and that chapter xv. is therefore the oldest extant tradition about the resurrection appearances. The brief dry statement, 'he appeared to Peter,' seems to most critics worthy of belief. It is often thought that (apart from Paul) the whole conception and story of the resurrection started from a vision which was experienced by Peter. When once one man fancied that he had 'seen' the risen Master, the report of the vision would act contagiously.

There are two readings in verse 34, which, though only differing by a single letter, make a very important difference in the sense. The one reading is λέγοντες (nominative), the other λέγοντας (accusative). The construction with the second reading is awkward, but it is usually supposed to be the more primary. The Eleven report to the returned travellers that Jesus has risen and has appeared to Simon Peter. That he had appeared to Peter is not, however, mentioned in 1–11, and indeed would seem to be at variance with what is there told. At all events the appearance to Peter must be supposed to have taken place, though

unrecorded, between 11 and 13, after the two disciples had left the city. Moreover, if the Eleven report that Jesus had really risen, is not their unbelief in 37 and 41 very strange? One explanation is that 34, 35, and a bit of 36 are interpolated, as if the original reading had been, 'And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, and he himself stood in the midst of them.' (Merx takes this line on the basis of S.S.) I have to pass over other explanations, and also a possible defence and explanation of the reading λέγοντες. If this were the right reading, it would be the two disciples who report their experiences, and say that Jesus has indeed risen, and that his appearance to Peter can be believed. This seems a very improbable explanation. In either case it can be argued that the story of 1–11 is not presupposed in the story of 13–24, and that the verses 22–24 are a later harmonizing interpolation. Or at least verse 24 might be an interpolation, for it does not correspond either with 1–11 or with 34, on the reading λέγοντας. A clear, if very condensed, statement about the various views is given by Klostermann. See also Meyer, *Ursprung*, Vol. 1. pp. 26, 27, for a defence both of 22–24 and 34–36. If the emendation suggested by Loisy were permissible, all would be clear. 'The name of Simon may have been introduced here in order that the Emmaus story should not contradict 1. Cor. xv. 5, which attributes the first vision of the risen Christ to Peter. These last verses would do very well indeed if one might risk putting into the mouths of the two disciples the communication: "Verily the Lord has risen and has appeared to *us*" (ὤφθη ἡμῖν instead of ὤφθη Σίμωνι), upon which would follow quite naturally: "Then they told"—in confirmation of their previous assertion—"what had happened on the way, and how they recognized him by his breaking of the bread"' (Loisy, *Luc*, p. 583).

Perhaps I might here insert, as well as anywhere else, a short description of Prof. Burkitt's views. For everything he writes is worth reading and studying. We already know that Mark is for him a most trustworthy authority, and why he is so. But Luke too is trustworthy, at least within certain limits. Prof. Burkitt's conservative results are, however, reached by new and highly ingenious arguments, very unlike the arguments of the ordinary apologetic commentators, whether English or German. He wears his conservative rue with a vast difference. He is convinced that something really happened after the death of Jesus. You cannot explain the whole history of Christianity unless you believe that. 'The subsequent effect of these alleged appearances is exactly what one would expect if something really out of the common had occurred.' 'The traditional accounts of the Resurrection-appearances to the various

disciples are confused and inconsistent; it is not very easy to construct any consistent narrative about them, and impossible to gather all the tales into a consistent narrative. But the general result upon those who are said to have seen the Lord is what we might have expected from a "miraculous" experience: they are convinced by what they see, and remain convinced. The same, it may be remarked, is true of the "vision" of St. Paul; it leaves an abiding effect on his will and outlook. It seems to me, therefore, that the historian is justified in postulating something surprising, some event following the Crucifixion of Jesus which is not quite explicable. Whether Peter and Paul were mistaken in their belief that they had seen the Lord Jesus is, at this time of day, strictly speaking, unprovable; what I do think we are bound to recognize is that they were fully convinced that they had seen Him' (*Christian Beginnings*, p. 78). I should imagine that even a completely outside and impartial Buddhist would accept the last statement, namely, that the disciples from Peter onwards 'were fully convinced that they had seen Him.' Most of us will hold that the 'seeing' was what we should call an 'illusion.' There was no objective reality behind the apparent vision. But if God rules, and if Christianity has been and is something of enormous importance in the world's history, then this 'illusion' must be held to be in some real sense God-willed. The illusion did as well as a miracle: it produced the same results. There seems no reason why God should not work by illusion: in fact, the history of both Judaism and Christianity seems to show that He undoubtedly does so.

Prof. Burkitt, however, goes further: he wants to show that Mark and Luke who, as regards the place of the appearances, seem to differ so radically, do not really differ. We must remember that the true end of Mark is lost. The appearances of the risen Jesus are never described. All we have in Mark are these two verses: (1) 'After my rising I will precede you to Galilee,' and (2) the statement of the angel: 'He precedes you to Galilee: you shall see him there as he told you' (Moffatt's translation, xiv. 28, xvi. 7). Now Matthew did not know the true end of Mark: his copy of Mark ended as ours does at xvi. 8. What he tells us of the appearances is based only upon our two Marcan verses. We are left with Mark and Luke. What, then, of those two Marcan verses? They would not have been inserted by Mark without leading up to an appearance of Jesus in Galilee? Yes: '*or to some explanation why this appearance did not take place there*' (p. 81).

Then Burkitt argues how strange it is, if Jesus was seen by Peter and the disciples in Galilee, why did they so quickly return to, and remain in, Jerusalem? We know nothing of any Christian Church in Galilee. 'There never were any Christians established

in Galilee till the days when Christians were to be found in every corner of the Empire. As soon as we know anything about the earliest Christians we find them in Jerusalem and nowhere else.' Hence Burkitt suggests that Jesus changed his mind after his death. 'I do not wish to suggest,' says the Professor, 'that Peter did not intend to set out for Galilee; very likely he did start on his way. What I suggest is that he did not get very far. If he saw his Lord alive again while he was still in the neighbourhood of the city, it would not only make him stay, abandoning his projected journey, but he would regard it as a kindly and gracious change of purpose. He who changed His settled and expressed practice for the sake of the Syrophenician woman might do so for Peter.' Otherwise why did Peter hurry back to Jerusalem? 'If the experience of Peter—and it was Peter's experience, no doubt, that was decisive—took place at Jerusalem, then we understand why Peter is found at Jerusalem as soon as we hear of him again. Otherwise it remains a riddle of which no reasonable explanation has ever been given.' It may be added that, from a different point of view, Albertz, in his interesting article, *Zur Formengeschichte der Auferstehungsberichte*, has reached similar conclusions. Peter's vision took place in Jerusalem. The flight of the disciples to Galilee is a 'Legende der Kritik.' 'Gegen Jerusalem spricht nicht Markus xvi. 7, da dies Zitat einer nicht eingetroffenen Weissagung Jesu kein Zeuge für eine galiläische Jüngerchristophanie ist' (*Z. N. W.*, 1922, p. 269). *Cp.* also the view elaborated by J. Weiss in his *Urchristentum*, pp. 10-17 (1917). The Galilæan appearances, and the flight of the disciples to Galilee, rest upon the unfulfilled prediction in xiv. 28, a prediction, moreover, misinterpreted by Mark as by most modern commentators. The risen Jesus was to lead the disciples from Jerusalem to Galilee. But he did not do so.

Burkitt's theory is further backed up by arguments as to the 'eye-witness' character of the scenes and sayings in Mark which lead up to and include xiv. 28, and as to the 'intellectual honesty' of Luke and 'his scientific scruple as an historian.' In Mark the 'solemn vow of Jesus not to drink wine till he was drinking it new in the Kingdom of God (xiv. 25)—that surely was not invented but remembered. And "Rise, let us be off: the traitor is close by!" (xiv. 42)—the Christian who first wrote that down could have had no object but direct reminiscence. Is it not possible that xiv. 28 ("I go before you into Galilee") is real reminiscence of something that Mark heard, or rather overheard?' Luke, in the Emmaus story, records (later writers did not hesitate to do so on similar occasions) 'no fresh revelation.' Jesus expounds the things concerning himself in the Scriptures, but Luke does not make him 'name one single proof-text' (p. 95). Yet Luke

was not above inserting a narrative which pictures the risen Jesus n a crudely materialistic and miraculous form (xxiv. 39, 43). And, as it stands, even the Emmaus story (13–35) is surely sheer legend, and, in spite of the difficulty as regards Galilee so cleverly suggested by Professor Burkitt, his hypothesis as a whole seems more ingenious than convincing. The cautious, if more sceptical, views of Lake *Beginnings*, I. pp. 301–304) seem, on the whole, more acceptable. I am not impressed by Taylor. 'The life-like character of the story of the journey to Emmaus requires more than the skill of the writer for its explanation. The despair of the two disciples, the silence regarding the name of one, their slowness to accept the women's testimony, the manner in which they recognize the Risen Christ, their swift return to Jerusalem—all these are signs of an early tradition which it is hypercriticism to discredit' (p. 252). It seems to me that what remains over after one has deducted the wholly incredible miracles, so much on the lines of parallel stories elsewhere, can in any event be only extremely vague and uncertain.

I may add here that the older view, namely, that Peter saw the risen Lord' in Galilee, and others after him in Galilee too, and that the apostles *did* retire to Galilee immediately after the crucifixion, is ably defended, and the other view ably criticized, by Goguel in his lucid and interesting article, *Le Christ ressuscité et la tradition sur la Résurrection dans le Christianisme primitif*, published in *Actes du Congrès international d'Histoire des Religions tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923* (Paris, 1925, Vol. II. pp. 225–253).

Yet it is interesting to note how archaic in tone is the Emmaus story. Gunkel says: 'The story of the disciples at Emmaus is specially archaic in tone: Christ here appears unknown, as a traveller—just as from times immemorial the gods have loved to wander among men in a humble, human form, perhaps even disguised as Travellers—and reveals his mysterious, divine nature in his trait and that; but as soon as he is recognized, he disappears. This presentation of the story is quite analogous to the oldest tales of the appearance of a god; judged by its style the story might occur in Genesis' (*Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, 1913, p. 71).

36–53. The Appearance at Jerusalem

(Luke only)

And as they thus spoke, he himself stood in the midst of them, and said unto them, 'Peace be unto you'. But they were scared and frightened, and supposed that they saw a spirit. And he said

unto them, 'Why are ye agitated? and why do doubts arise in
39 your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself:
touch me, and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as ye see
40 that I have.' [And when he had said this, he showed them his
41 hands and his feet.] And while they yet disbelieved for joy, and
42 wondered, he said unto them, 'Have ye any food here?' And
43 they gave him a piece of broiled fish. And he took it, and ate it
before them.

44 And he said unto them, 'These are the words which I spoke
unto you, while I was yet with you, that all must be fulfilled, which
is written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the
45 psalms, concerning me.' Then opened he their mind to under-
46 stand the scriptures, and he said unto them, 'It is written that
the Messiah should suffer thus, and that he should rise from the
dead the third day: and that repentance for forgiveness of sins
47 should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning from
48, 49 Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things. And, behold,
I send out the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in
the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high.'

50 And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his
51 hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, as he blessed them,
52 he was parted from them. And they returned to Jerusalem with
53 great joy, and were continually in the temple, praising God.

37. Doubtless the unbelief of the disciples would fit better with 11. It reads strangely after 34 and 35. The second appearance is really independent of the first and only artificially joined on to it.

πνεῦμα. A spirit; a ghost (*cp.* 'apparition' in Mark vi. 49, where the Greek has *φάντασμα*). It would seem that the opponents of the resurrection argued that what the disciples saw might have been an appearance of Jesus from Hades. The popular notion doubtless was that when a man died his 'soul' went down to 'Sheol' or 'Hades.' Here he remained, in flimsy yet human shape, till the resurrection. Such a 'shade' might doubtless be able to show itself on occasion upon earth; he might be 'called up' magically; but if this was what the disciples saw, there would be nothing divine about it; it would not prove that Jesus had risen out of his grave, or that any special resurrection had taken place. Hence the tendency grew to insist upon the corporeality of the risen Jesus. He could not only be seen, but also heard; then he could be touched; he had flesh and bone; he could eat. On the other hand, he can pass in and out of closed doors. His

esh is not quite the old flesh; it is not subject to all the old laws; *p.* John xx. 19. (Lake holds an interesting view that Luke's naterialism is due to anti-Docetic polemic, p. 222.)

It is not meant that the 'ghost' would have been a mere figment of their brains. It would have been a real 'spirit,' but the spirit' of a man was, somehow, not quite his real self.

In the story of the last appearance, though Jesus suddenly ppears, and then is mysteriously (or was it visibly?) 'parted' from he disciples' sight, yet the material and physical nature of his risen ody is emphasized, which is not the case in the Emmaus story.

39. Apparently this means that Jesus showed the marks upon is hands and feet of the nails by which he had been affixed to the ross. This is more fully brought out in John xx. 25–27. Into the elation of the two stories and of the two gospels I cannot enter.

40. An interpolation, based upon John xx. 20.

43. He eats fish, and some MSS. add that he ate some honey. Both probably have some symbolic meaning. But the fish may be relic of the Galilæan apparition stories. *Cp.* also John xxi. 6–13 he miraculous draught of fishes). But only Luke makes Jesus at. It is doubtful whether Paul or any of the apostles would ave admitted that Jesus, after his rising, would have been able o partake, or would have partaken, of 'corruptible' mortal food, ven though it were only to strengthen the faith of his disciples.

44. οὗτοι. The sense is rather different from the grammacal wording. 'These things which ye have experienced, namely, ıy death and resurrection, are the fulfilment of the words which I poke,' etc. Thus Jesus reminds them of what he had told them ı his lifetime upon earth. The Scriptures must be fulfilled. Here 'e get the Psalms coupled with the Law and the Prophets: the llusions are to such Psalms as xxii., lxix., cx., etc. Jesus speaks as he early preachers of Christianity spoke.

45. Jesus has to 'open their minds.' Their understanding, itherto dulled, is now illuminated, so that they comprehend what e says to them. He proceeds to expound the Scriptures, as in 27. he two narratives are perhaps parallel and independent.

47. The construction is not easy. Most commentators say ıat the order to preach is also contained in the Scriptures. ἀρξάμενοι beginning') in the nominative case is an irregularity. W. holds ıat the order to preach is not to be conceived as contained in the criptures. There is a new beginning. The infinitive, κηρυχθῆναι,

stands for the imperative. This makes the nominative, ἀρξάμενοι, easier. But in that case, if W. is right, ' my name ' must be read for ' his name,' which in fact the Sinaitic Syriac has.

The programme is universalistic. The new community is to convert all nations, including the Jews; and it is to start from Jerusalem. (*Cp.* Acts i. 8.) The faith in the resurrection founded the Catholic Church. The mission of the Church, as the Church conceived it at the close of the century, is put in the mouth of the risen Master.

48. They are witnesses of his death and resurrection: these ' things ' which they themselves have witnessed, and to which they can testify, were already predicted in the Scriptures, and, by faith in them, men, repenting of their sins, will obtain forgiveness.

49. Luke points forward to the next stage, and to his next work—the Acts. In violation of, and contradiction to, the order given in Mark and Matthew, the disciples are to remain in Jerusalem. The Church is to be founded there. There they are to receive the Holy Spirit (' the power from on high ') which Jesus will send to them. The ' promise ' and the ' power ' are the same: the Holy Spirit. The promise (ἐπαγγελία) is an allusion to Joel iii. 1–5. (*Cp.* Acts i. 4, 8, ii. 1–21, 33.)

50. Jesus apparently takes the disciples through the streets of Jerusalem, and as far as Bethany. Was it night? Or does no one see him? Or was he invisible to all but the disciples? Probably the narrator did not think of these puzzles. If the section is independent of the Emmaus story, we need not suppose that the time was night. But, anyway, the ' ascension ' (if 51 describes it) takes place upon the same day as the resurrection. According to Acts i. 3, the ascension did not take place till forty days after the resurrection. The varying forms of the legend need not concern us here. The original idea was doubtless that the risen Jesus ascended directly to heaven. It is the heavenly Jesus who then later on appears to the disciples in Galilee. The resurrection and ascension were ' two aspects of the same event.' Moreover, it was a Jesus with a ' spiritual body ' who appeared to Paul as to the disciples in Galilee. But it is possible that another story also grew up according to which Jesus rose with his flesh and blood unchanged; he could still eat and be touched; he had not yet ascended into heaven, and did not ascend thither until after his ' appearances,' and only then, at the ascension, was his body changed into the spiritual body of the heavenly Christ (see Lake, pp. 230–234).

51. Many good MSS. add the words, ' And he was carried up

nto heaven.' But others omit them, and so perhaps no 'ascension' was originally here intended. It is unnecessary in this book to liscuss the relation of Luke's stories of the risen Jesus in his Gospel o his variant narrative in the first chapter of the Acts. This is lone by Loisy, *E. S.* II. pp. 756–782, and in many other works.

Streeter, p. 142, gives reasons for believing that the words and he was taken up into heaven' are genuine, and belong to he original text of Luke. *Cp.* also Loisy, *Luc*, p. 591.

53. The early church of Jerusalem, the first disciples in the ity, were faithful lovers of the Temple. Their discipleship did ot apparently make their visits to the Temple less frequent, ut more so.

The notes upon the stories of the Passion and the resurrection ave been meagre, not because these stories are not full of interest nd fascination, but because, for the purposes of this book, it was nnecessary to discuss at any length or in detail the various problems hich they raise. Neither the self-surrender at Gethsemane nor he death scene at Golgotha is without religious value and meaning o a Jewish reader. But such a one does not feel nearer, or more econciled, to God because of the death of Jesus; he does not raw his faith in immortality from the resurrection of Jesus, even f that resurrection were more than a legend or a 'subjective' ision. Yet the time will surely come when the roll of Israel's rophets will be acknowledged by Jews themselves to include the rophet of Nazareth. For here is his true spiritual kinship: he is f the same stuff and lineage as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

It may not be possible to prove with any certainty whether esus himself intended to found a new religion. The probability s that he had no such intention. Like the prophets of old, he elt and believed himself sent to the house of Israel to prepare hem for the coming Judgment. But like the prophets too, he not nly announced the Judgment, but he summoned to repentance. Ie was not always engaged in thinking of and talking about the udgment, though he believed that it was at hand. He was also he teacher of religion generally—the teacher, the consoler, the riend. Since the days of Isaiah religion had become much more ndividualized, and thus Jesus, in this like Ezekiel, spoke to the ew and to the individual, as well as to the many. He was not lways the prophet of doom and repentance: he was also the *Seelsorger*; the saver of souls, the shepherd. And the great nd novel feature about this shepherd is that he seeks his flock mong the erring, the lost, the disconsolate. He moves among hem, helps them, cheers them, and consoles them. He desires hat they should be saved in the Judgment, and wants to

prepare them for the Kingdom. In some ways, though he is as vehement in denunciation as Jeremiah, he is less sweeping and more hopeful. He does not leave the future merely to God. He does not merely *predict* that, in the future, in the Kingdom which is to come, men will know God truly; he labours, by his own care and influence and love, by his example and his teaching, to make them know God truly now. He seeks to save and to redeem.

His teaching is cast in a finely prophetic mould. It takes its inspiration from the prophets. And yet the highest teaching of the Pentateuch, based as it is upon the teaching of the prophets, is also the teaching of Jesus. 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is One. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' What Jesus has to say is mainly based upon these words.

Modern Judaism needs both the Rabbis and Jesus. It can, as it were, absorb them both. Both are bone of the Jewish bone and spirit of its spirit. The teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels could not suffice for a new religion. A religion needs body as well as spirit. Hence, Christianity had to create a quantity of dogmas, of ceremonies, of institutions, many of which were in antagonism to the teaching of its founder. Modern Judaism can combine what is best and truest in the two strands: in the prophetic, inward teaching of Isaiah and of Jesus; in the institutional, outward system of the Pentateuch and the Rabbis. For the second was itself based upon the first, and included considerable portions of it, while it also needs the first as its perpetual corrective and limitation. Rightly regarded, the two are not antagonistic, but complementary. If modern Judaism may rightly claim Isaiah as one of its founders, it may also claim Jesus. He too is ours.

[xxiii. 70. v. Gall holds that what the High Priest really asked Jesus was, not 'Are you the Messiah?' but 'Are you the Son of God?' The High Priest did not want to know if Jesus was the Messiah, for the Messiah was not supposed to be the Son of God; but the High Priest wanted to know if Jesus was the Son of man (the heavenly Man), for only *he* was the Son of God. The extra verse in Luke (70) shows that this is what the High Priest intended and meant. The assertion of the witnesses about Jesus's alleged declaration concerning the Temple, and how he could, or would, destroy it and build another in its place (Matthew xxvi. 61, Mark xiv. 58), is, v. Gall thinks, a further prop for his hypothesis, inasmuch as a similar statement is put in a 'mandaean' passage into the mouth of Enos. *Cp.* Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, pp. 63–69. (v. Gall, p. 404.)]

'AM HA-'AREÇ

By Dr. Israel Abrahams

Students of the Strack-Billerbeck commentaries will do well to treat the editors' note on Matthew v. 3 [1] as a mere conjecture. The note is concerned with the first of the Beatitudes, and the distinguished scholars named accept a suggestion made in a recent Hebrew commentary on Matthew.[2] This Hebrew commentary, which emanates from the Delitzsch Institute, has many valuable points. On Matthew v. 3, the author, J. Lichtenstein, writes: 'Some interpret *Blessed are the poor in spirit* by the text Isaiah lxvi. 2, *But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit.* But to me it seems that the allusion is to the type known in Rabbinic phraseology as *'ani be-da'ath*—one who lacks the spirit of wisdom and knowledge, the class of *'Ammê ha-'Areç*, despised by the sages of Israel, but regarded as beatified by Jesus the Messiah.'

Strack-Billerbeck accept this theory. 'We assume that, by the term *poor*, Jesus meant that large stratum of low and despised persons among his people, termed in Rabbinic literature *'Ammê ha-'Areç* (singular *'Am ha-'Areç*) and (John vii. 49) are described by the learning-proud and self-righteous Pharisees as *this crowd that knows not the Law—cursed are they!* If this execration represents the temper which animated the spiritual leaders of the people against the *'Ammê ha-'Areç*, how must the hearts of these despised folk have been stirred by Jesus' proclamation *Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God* (Luke vi. 20)?'

Behind this theory lies a fundamental truth. Jesus himself, and in the first instance, made his appeal to the poor and despised

[1] *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, aus Talmud und Midrasch*, von Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck, München, Beck; Band I. *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1922; Band II. *Das Evangelium nach Markus, Lukas, und Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte*, 1924; Band III. *Die Briefe des Neuen Testaments und die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1926. The passage cited is from Vol. I. p. 190.

[2] Leipzig, 1913, p. 26. On עני ברוח or עני ברעה, *cf.* I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, First Series, 1917, p. 115; Strack-Billerbeck, I. 191.

of the older *régime*; it was not till much later that Christianity was upheld by emperors and princes against the poor and despised of the newer world. The Beatitudes needed reiteration in many subsequent centuries, and if those subsequent centuries required the gracious message of Jesus, so unquestionably did his own contemporary age. His words must indeed have fallen as refreshing dew on a parched earth. Unhappily, the earth is recurrently parched, the drought of oppression afflicts it, and the Beatitudes must be reiterated till the ears of the powerful and the persecutor listen and give heed.[1]

But this approach to an understanding of Jesus does not lead us to an identification of those with whom he sympathized in the early first century with the *'Ammê ha-'Areç* of the mid-second century. Many tides had ebbed and flowed on the Judean seaboard between Jesus and John; many more between Jesus and Bar Cochba. In particular, 'learning-pride' meets us, in only one clear record in the earlier period, before the destruction of the Temple threw Jews enduringly into the category of the Peoples of the Book. That one clear record describes, curiously enough, not Jews at all, but the young Christian community of Corinth, recruited mainly not from Jewish but from Gentile converts. Paul assails these factious Corinthian Christians, as he never assails the Palestinian Jews, on the ground of their 'conceited self-satisfaction as to their intellectual superiority,' 'false wisdom,' and 'inflated self-complacency.'[2] It is mysterious that Paul, if he had known the first of the Beatitudes (at all events in Matthew's version), did not cite it with crushing force in the opening chapters of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, written as is commonly agreed *circa* A.D. 55–57. On the Jewish side, the earliest relevant allusion to the 'ignorant' made by a Pharisee comes from Hillel, who (in Pharisaic records) is persistently set up as the supreme model of the very class pronounced happy in the third of the Beatitudes (Matthew v. 5). 'Happy' be it noted is a better term than 'blessed'; in the R.V. margin to Psalm i. 1, the alternative 'happy' is proposed, though the N.T. revisers omit the alternative in the Beatitudes. The Greek μακάριος corresponds rather to *ashrê* than to *baruch*. In the LXX the Greek word introduces many an O.T. felicitation, where the Hebrew has *ashrê*. The Hatch-Redpath Concordance (p. 892) gives the full details. The LXX Psalms provide a large proportion of the instances of the word, just as they do of the idea. The Hebrew Psalms never use *baruch* ('blessed') in such congratulatory

[1] The sects would apply the Beatitudes to themselves and against their opponents. To give an instance, the Unitarian Thomas Emlyn cites Luke vi. 22 against Dr. Stillingfleet (in 1708), see below, p. 669, note.

[2] *International Critical Commentary*, 1 Corinthians (1911), edited by A. Robertson and A. Plummer, Introduction, pp. xv–xvi.

xclamations, except in Psalm cxv. 15 and Psalm cxviii. 26 : *Blessed baruch*) *is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*, where the occasion s quite exceptional. In all other Psalmic passages, while it is man who is μακάριος, it is God who is *baruch*—whence the use of the atter word in the liturgical benedictions rather than in human eatitudes. This is what we should expect from the LXX rendering f the root to which *baruch* belongs by εὐλογεῖν. Yet the distinction is not very significant, as is revealed by a comparison of he Hebrew text of Jeremiah xvii. 7 with Psalms xl. 5, lxxxiv. 13 nd xxxiv. 9. None the less, the use of *baruch*, in such a context, s applied to human beings is extremely rare. 'Her children rise p and call her *blessed*,' in the praise of the Virtuous Woman Proverbs xxxi. 28)—here the Hebrew text uses the same root as is ound in *ashrê*, not in *baruch*.

To return, from this digression, to Hillel, and his contemptuous eference to the *'Am ha-'Areç*. Pharisaic literature has no doubt ut that Hillel was a typical exemplar of those beatified in Matthew . 5 : *Blessed are the meek for they shall possess the earth* (*cp.* Psalm xxxvii. 11). The 'earth' is here in Rabbinic view, the future life. By the addition of *in spirit* to *poor* (in Matthew's version of the irst beatitude), the third beatitude becomes identical with the first. The πραεῖς of verse 5 are no other (in Matthew's text) than the πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι of verse 3. These are not necessarily ignorant, ut those who are conscious of their own insufficiency. 'If I am ot for myself, who is for me ? and being for my own self what am I ? ' asks Hillel. Man must work out his own salvation, must how some self-reliance ; yet how futile are his unaided efforts ![1] The 'meek' who are felicitated are the *'anavim*[2] rather than the *aniyim*, the humble rather than the poor. There was no need to lefend an impoverished peasantry against proud academicals ; for he poor were largely represented among the academicals.

'Men of the soil' and 'sons of the Torah'—must they be accounted as opposites ? Take a famous *baraitha* in the Talmud, and consider its terms.[3]

Our Rabbis have taught, *And thou shalt gather in thy corn*

[1] *Mishnah Aboth*, I. 15 ; *cp.* C. Taylor's Note. On the suggestion that *'Ani* stands for *'Adhonai* and on the parallel in *T. B. Sukkah*, 53*a*, see a valuable note n Heidenheim's *Maḥzor* for the *Hosha'anoth* of the 1st day of Tabernacles, on *'Ani vaho hosh'iah-na*.

[2] Hillel was both, *T.B. Yoma*, 35*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. II. 849, l. 2] (*cp. First Series*, p. 115 ; the reference to *Yoma* should there be corrected to 35*b*), and *T.B. Sabbath*, 30*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. I. 387, l. 10]. For a valuable presentation of this aspect of Pharisaic idealism, *cp.* A. BÜCHLER, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., the Ancient Pious Men* (Jews' College Publications, No. 8, London, 1922), pp. 9 ff.

[3] *T.B. Berachoth*, 35*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. I. 133, l. 9]. The passage is quoted from the translation of A. Cohen (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 237–238.

(Deut. xi. 14)—what has this teaching to tell us? Since it is written, *This book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night* (Joshua i. 8), it is possible to think that these words are to be understood as they are written;[1] therefore there is a teaching to say, *And thou shalt gather in thy corn, i.e.* conduct at the same time a worldly occupation. These are the words of R. Ishmael. R. Simeon b. Yoḥai says: Is it possible for a man to plough at the time of ploughing, sow at seed-time, reap at harvest-time, thresh at the time of threshing, and winnow at the time of wind—what is to become of Torah? But when Israel perform the will of the All-present, their work is done by others; as it is said, *And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, etc.* (Isaiah lxi. 5); and at times when Israel perform not the will of the All-present, their work has to be done by themselves; as it is said *And* thou *shalt gather in thy corn.* Not that alone, but the work of others will be done by them; as it is said, *And thou shalt serve thine enemy*, etc. (Deut. xxviii. 48). Abbai said, many acted in accord with the teaching of R. Ishmael, and it proved efficacious; but he who acted in accord with R. Simeon b. Yoḥai did not find it so. Raba said to the Rabbis: I beg of you not to appear before me during the days of *Niṣan* and *Tishri*, so that you may not be concerned about your maintenance the whole year.[2]

The Rabbis named as protagonists in this passage belong to the latter part of the first and the early part of the second century A.D. Simeon b. Yoḥai's narrow view, belittling agriculture altogether, found no support. It is unnecessary to repeat here the very remarkable story in condemnation of his attitude.[3] For the age of Jesus, the evidence is abounding. Shema'yah, the predecessor of Hillel and of Jesus, said 'Love work'; and the early Pharisees—like the later—recur to this maxim many times.[4] Thus 'men of the soil' and men of the schools were of the same class, and there is no ground for treating them as antagonists. It cannot too often be recalled that, in the first century, the Pharisees, so far from despising the toiling masses, belonged to those masses, and the

[1] If interpreted literally, no time would be available for agricultural or other secular labour.

[2] *Niṣan* (in the early spring) and *Tishri* (in the late summer) were the months of the main agricultural activities. Devotion to the soil at those periods left the rest of the year free for study. This combination of labour with the pursuit of learning, long the mark of Scotch manliness, was also the distinguishing characteristic of the Pharisaic scholars. All this is exquisitely expounded in Franz Delitzsch's vivid essay on *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Christ* (see the 'Unit Library' edition, 1902, pp. 20 ff., 54 ff.

[3] *Cp.* my *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Second Series, p. 111.

[4] Consult the references in Taylor's Note on *Aboth*, I. 11.

nfluence over the people ascribed to them by Josephus, in a memorable passage, is based according to that historian on no low grounds.[1]

It is obviously essential, therefore, to examine closely Hillel's allusion to the *ʿAm ha-ʾAreç*. How necessary it is to treat a man's doctrine as a whole, and not in detached fragments, is demonstrated by the precedent of Sirach. If the latter wrote his thirty-eighth he also wrote his seventh chapter. If he that holdeth the plough (Heb. the goad) can scarcely become wise (xxxviii. 25), yet the man of virtue must 'hate not laborious work, neither husbandry which the Most High hath ordained' (vii. 15, R.V.). While then Hillel said: An *ʿAm ha-ʾAreç cannot be a Ḥasid*, he also meant not the industrious workman, but the man devoted exclusively to worldly pursuits, without retaining the leisure and desire for pursuits of the spirit. It is necessary, as we shall see, to supplement *Aboth*, II. 6 by *Aboth*, II. 8, and both by the summarized principle of Rabban Gamliel II., a principle which operated in Jewish life for many centuries. 'An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with some worldly occupation, for the labour demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten; all study of the Torah without work must in the end be futile and become the cause of sin.'[2] Moritz Friedländer's works are always meritorious, always faulty. In a book which uniquely combines these excellencies and defects,[3] he quotes Hillel's saying and makes a comment: 'An *ʿAm ha-ʾAreç* cannot be a *Ḥasid*! If a man like Hillel, whose inexhaustible meekness and tolerance the Talmudic sources report in such overflowing measure, passes such a verdict on a whole class of the people, denying to it the possibility of becoming truly pious (though, to be sure, only according to Pharisaic conceptions),[4] this by itself enables us to form an idea of the attitude towards the *ʿAm ha-ʾAreç* of the less tolerant teachers of the Law.' Friedländer fails, however, to cite a single general Pharisaic condemnation, from any early source whatever.

We should be more likely to be right, surely, if we inferred that a man like Hillel could not possibly have intended what Friedländer ascribes to him—an attack on a whole class (*eine ganze Volksklasse*).

[1] 18 *Antiq.* I. § 3 [=p. 526 in D. S. Margoliouth's edition of Whiston, London, 1906].

[2] *Mishnah Aboth*, II. 2.

[3] *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, Berlin, 1905, p. 79.

[4] The only categorical evidence for the first century before A.D. 70 is that of Josephus, as cited in Note 1 above. His actual words are: 'On account of these doctrines they (the Pharisees) have very great influence with the people, and whatever they do about divine worship, or prayers, or sacrifices, they perform according to their direction. Such great testimony do the cities bear them on account of their constant practice of virtue, both in the actions of their lives, and in their conversation.'

It is necessary to read Hillel's saying in its context : [1] 'No *Bôr* can be a sin-fearer, nor can an *'Am ha-'Areç* be pious, nor can the shamefaced [2] learn, nor the passionate teach, nor he who is engaged over-much in business be wise.' Here there is no question of despising classes ; still less of execrating them. The saying deals throughout with the school, with the purpose of acquiring knowledge and imparting it when acquired. The shamefaced student, neglecting to ask for necessary explanations, is no competent student ; the teacher who impatiently resents the student's questions, is no competent teacher. The *Bôr*, altogether uneducated, would be without principles of theoretical ethics, which he could reduce to practice, unless he acquired knowledge ; the *'Am ha-'Areç*, who belonged to the farm-owning and farm-labouring type, needed attendance at school to become pious, in any true sense. Piety, fear of sin, were qualities only to be cultivated by a knowledge of religion, in theory and practice. 'It must be kept in mind,' as Dr. Büchler justly adds,[3] 'that the object of the ordinary man's attendance at the school of the Rabbi was not to listen to the halakhic interpretation of the legal portions of the Pentateuch, nor to learn by heart the rules deduced ; but only practical instruction of the kind evident in Hillel's sentences, to guide him gradually to an improvement of his moral and religious conduct. It was probably based on a full exposition of selected chapters of the Pentateuch, like Leviticus xix., applied to the requirements of daily life, and illustrated by the sayings and the lives of the patriarchs and the ancient leaders of Israel. By that method the ordinary man who attended the lessons only in the evening was taught first to avoid all that was wrong and sinful, and then the positive duties of the Jew towards his fellow-man, as Hillel understood and interpreted them.' Possibly a little more was expected of the non-specialist student than this, but indisputably the *'Am ha-'Areç* was assailed by Hillel as a materialist. Sometimes the rich, sometimes the poor, was in Hillel's mind. Thus, he warns the rich as to the evils of the

[1] *Aboth*, II. 5, 6.

אין בור ירא חטא ' ולא עם הארץ חסיד '
ולא הביישן לסר ' ולא הקפדן מלסד ' ולא כל המרבה
בסחורה סחכים :

For various English translations see the editions of C. Taylor, S. Singer, R. T. Herford, and A. Büchler in his *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.*, London, 1922 (Jews' College Publications, No. 8), p. 25. In the *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, p. 72 (II. 33), the saying is attributed to 'Aqiba, with a rearrangement of the clauses, and with addition of the word פרוש in the *'Am ha-'Areç* clause : ולא עם הארץ חסיד פרוש.

[2] 'Shame,' *i.e.* modesty, of another type might, of course, be the road to piety (*Mechilta*, ed. Friedman, 72*a*). The same root, nevertheless (ביישן and בישה), is used in both contexts.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 27.

wealth which they set up as an ideal: 'The more flesh, the more worms (in the tomb); the more property, the more anxiety; the more Torah, the more life; the more schooling, the more wisdom . . the more charity, the more peace.'[1] This phraseology obviously refers to the well-fed and the well-to-do, and attacks not their occupation but their wrong valuation of things. On the other side, Hillel pleads with the poor journeyman, he does not despise or denounce him, but gently remonstrates with him. Meeting some workmen by the gate of Jerusalem, Hillel asks them as to their daily wage, and the use they would make of their earnings. He urges them with pathetic entreaty to spend time in acquiring Torah, which would bring them far greater returns.[2] Hillel does indeed desire to make scholars of them, but also to widen their moral horizon, to make them think of spiritual good now and its consequential bliss hereafter, to conjoin Torah with *derech 'ereç*, life eternal with mundane livelihood. For if a man possess neither of these things, he is not civilized; if he possess both, he is a citizen of this world and of the next.[3]

This demand for a combination of wisdom with virtue, with a tendency to interpret virtue and wisdom as synonymous, was not specifically Hebraic. A comparison of Sirach of Jerusalem with Plato of Athens, of Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. with the *Republic*, Books III. and IV., reveals a striking parallel. To Hebrew and to Greek wisdom required leisure; and, in the ancient view, leisure was incompatible with occupations demanding a man's predominant energies.[4] It is a modern conception that this is not necessarily true. More effectually than with the Rabbis, the current restrictions on hours of labour, with early closing days, and summer time, the establishment of Polytechnics, University Extension, and the rest of the incentives and means for general culture—these legislative enactments and state facilities introduce into the working life the very opportunities which Greeks altogether denied, and Hebrews only partially provided. The gulf between leisure and labour is still wide, but it is being bridged. It is to the credit of the Pharisees

[1] *Aboth*, II. 8.

[2] *Aboth de R. Nathan*, II. 26 (ed. Schechter, p. 54).

[3] If *'Am ha-'Areç* (עם הארץ) means 'a man of the earth,' *derech 'ereç* (דרך ארץ) means 'the way of the earth.' The term is used in three senses, (*a*) secular occupation, (*b*) good manners, also in the special sense of decency in marital relations, (*c*) good morals. In the *Mishnah Qiddushin*, I. 10, a man who possesses neither Torah (defined as Bible and Mishnah) nor *derech 'ereç* is uncivilized (אינו מן הישוב), he does not belong to the *Yishub*. On this word "ישוב", see the Dictionaries; Levy, II. 272*a*; Jastrow, 599*b*; Kohut, IV. 167*b* foot, 168. *Yishub* often means the upkeep of the earth, the securing of its inhabitability. Particularly necessary for the *Yishub* was agriculture (*T. J. Baba Bathra*, end of chapter II.). See p. 669.

[4] This leisure would be a different thing to the accidental freedom from other concerns. 'Say not I will study when I have leisure,' says Hillel (II. 5). One must not rely on occasional chances, but must make regular opportunities.

that the gulf was passable, for son of Torah might be man of soil, and man of soil (as in the famous case of Aqiba) might pass over into the category of son of Torah. There is no exact parallel in Pharisaism to Philo's division of humanity into the Moses and Pharaoh types, into those made in the very Image and those fashioned of clay,[1] between those who in Platonic language perceive realities and those who are content with appearances. But Philo's characterization of the two actual results, of the devotion to the material pleasures and the life according to the rational delights of the soul, is perennially true. It was from Sirach and not from Philo or Plato that John Earle's 'plaine country fellow' draws his inspiration. It is wonderful how Sirach's picture retains its colour, and he whose discourse is of bullocks remains the ignorant boor of circumscribed interests. John Earle's 'character' is one 'who manures his ground wel, but lets himselfe lie fallow and untill'd. He expostulates with his oxen very understandingly, and speakes *Gee* and *Ree* better than English. He is capable onely of two prayers, for raine and faire weather, and thinkes Noah's Flood the greatest plague that ever was, not because it drowned the World, but spoyl'd the grasse!'[2]

It is assuredly, then, not necessary to be tainted with academic pride in order to demand that the mind must be cultivated in the service of life. Love God with all thy whole mind, as the LXX (is it a Greek touch?) renders Deut. vi. 5. Calvinists and Jansenists in their day were charged with spiritual 'superiority,' but when they claimed to be of the 'elect,' not as other men, they, like all noble claimants for chosen rank, admitted a higher responsibility while asserting higher rank. Is there, again, academic pride in Dr. P. N. Waggett's choice of the subject Knowledge and Virtue for his Hulsean Lectures?[3] Simple faith is much, it is better than

[1] I. 481 (Cohn Wendland, III. 14). *Quis per Div. Heres*, 12 *ὥστε διττὸν εἶδος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν θείῳ πνεύματι λογισμῷ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων. τοῦτο τὸ εἶδός ἐστι πλάσμα γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνος ἐμφερὲς ἐκμαγεῖον. Cf.* I. 436; II. 45, 259. See p. 669. One is tempted to compare this with Hillel's saying, for we have the *γῆς* (ארץ) and the setting up of Pharaoh, in the first quotation from Philo, as the man of earth and enemy of *θεοσέβεια* (*cp.* both יראי חטא and חסיד).

[2] JOHN EARLE published his *Micro-cosmographie* in 1628, the quotations are from Methuen's 1904 reprint of the sixth edition. Earle was Bishop of Worcester (1662) and of Salisbury (1663).

[3] *Knowledge and Virtue*, the Hulsean Lectures for 1920–1921, by P. N. WAGGETT, Oxford, 1924. There is a fine and balanced treatment of the subject also in Mr. C. G. Montefiore's address entitled *Mind in the Service of Religion* (Oxford, 1897). As this publication is difficult to obtain, I quote from Mr. Montefiore's first two paragraphs: 'The dangerous, if inevitable separation between Mind and Feeling, or between Reason and Faith, was little known till a later period in Hebrew history. . . . It is indubitable that there has been an intellectual element in Judaism ever since the days of Ezra and the Sages of Proverbs. . . . The wisdom which is regarded as man's guide and *summum bonum* is, indeed, a wisdom with a difference; but though suffused by religious

ophisticated self-sufficiency, but simple faith is not enough and nowledge need not be arrogant. At no time was the *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ*, noreover, the type of simple faith. He was as sophisticated as the cholar, though his sophistication was other. It may be that it was precisely the function of Jesus to rouse a 'simple faith' in the earts of those who, in those far-off days as in ours, are altogether without faith, which is only another word for ideals. But the attainment of simple faith is the hardest of disciplines! It cannot e reached by the road of ignorance, and if Jesus showed the masses he goal, the Pharisees showed them the path to it.

It would seem, then, if the above view of the situation is correct, hat the first century teachers in Judaea were not far from the standpoint of Proverbs xv. 16: 'Better is little with the fear of he Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith,'—advancing eyond Proverbs only in contrasting 'the fear of the Lord' with great treasure' as aims as well as results. But another, less amiable, feature presents itself. 'With the humble is wisdom,' whatever it meant in the Proverb (xi. 2), continued to be a clear Pharisaic principle, expressing the ideal of the scholarly character.[1] And when, in after times, contempt for the unlearned unduly embittered relations between them, the contempt was never for he poor. The world despised the poor scholar, as Sirach abundantly proves, and as constant experience and the satirists from Juvenal onwards confirm. With Sirach, indeed, as in the Psalms, poverty and piety are synonymous, and rich and poor became 'semi-technical erms for Sadducees and Pharisees, and the description was justified by the facts of the case from the time when the Hasmonaeans first renewed the temporal prosperity of Israel.'[2] It is unnecessary to

prepossessions, it demands the earnest activity of the mind. At a later period, intellectualism of a certain kind became still more prominent, hardly to the advantage of religion. But, however this may be, we have the assured fact that in the service of God according to Judaism, the mind, as well as the heart in the narrower sense of the word, is wanted and called into play.'

[1] So Toy translates; A.V. and R.V. 'with the lowly.' The Hebrew here is the same root as in the 'walk humbly' of Micah vi. 8. The same word (צנוע) becomes almost synonymous with 'pious' (*e.g. T.B. Niddah*, 12*a*), in the sense of decorously pure, applied not to the scholars—who need no such epithet as they *ex hypothesi* possess the quality—but to those who follow their injunctions. There is the arresting phrase in the Hebrew of Sirach (xxxii. 3), וצנוע שכל—though nothing more may be meant there than a praise of ἀκρίβεια, 'precision' (the reading of 248). I may here quote the note of the accomplished editor of 248, J. H. A. Hart: 'Now the humble—the meek—the lowly are titles, which the Pharisees used in speaking of themselves. In relation to the Scriptures from which they derived their tradition they were *Precisians*: in relation to God whose will they strove to perform exactly they were *humble* (*Ecclesiasticus*, the Greek Text of Codex 248, Cambridge, 1909, p. 300). This is a fine distinction, fine in two senses of the word.

[2] Hart, *op. cit.* p. 295. See also Oesterley and Box on Sirach x. 23, in Dr. Charles's *Apocrypha* (i. p. 351).

labour the point, were it not that some critics seem inclined to imagine that unfriendliness to the *'Am ha-'Areṣ*, when it developed, was due to indifference to poverty and low estate, as though the Gospel needed to champion the downtrodden as well as the outcast. With regard to the outcast, the contrast between Jesus and the Pharisees is real enough; Jesus had an active, the Pharisees at most a passive sympathy.[1] But with poverty the case was other. How could the poor be despised by those who were themselves mostly poor, or poverty the subject of contumely to those who knew its repressive power so well? Rather did they say, 'Pay ye special regard to the sons of the poor, for from them cometh forth Torah.'[2] Long before the benevolent in Europe began to support the poor scholar, the Pharisees in Palestine recognized the duty. Indeed much of the later hostility to the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* was due to the neglect by the latter of this duty. There is still, as there was in the far-off days between the burning of the Temple and the overthrow of Bar Cochba, contempt for scholarship on the one side as there was contempt for ignorance on the other. Which contempt came first, which at the last became more galling, 'tis not to decide. Very remarkable, indeed, is the variant to the saying quoted above, so remarkable that it deserves to be set in parallel columns:

T.B. Nedarim 81*a*	*T.B. Sanhedrin* 96*a*
Pay ye special regard to the sons of the *poor*, for from them cometh forth Torah.	Pay ye special regard to the sons of the *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ*, for from them cometh forth Torah.

This may be said to clinch the argument. The *Sanhedrin* variant, be it observed, was contained in a message from Judah b. Bathyra, who lived before the destruction of the Temple at Nisibis, though, as the saying went, his net was cast from afar, yet was spread in Jerusalem.[3]

Confirmation comes from Galilee. In one sense it is difficult to particularize as to social and economic conditions in Galilee, the records are curiously inexact and unsatisfying. In another sense, however, there is an overwhelming mass of evidence as to Galilæan prosperity. The Talmud vies with Josephus in lyric exuberance of admiration. The testimony of Josephus,[4] at all events, is early, and must apply to the Gospel age. Rich and fruitful soil, a population sturdy and prosperous both in the cities and the villages—so

[1] See, however, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, First Series, chap. vii., on 'Publicans and Sinners,' and chap. xiv., on 'Poverty and Wealth.'

[2] זהרו בבני עניים שמהם תצא תורה, *T.B. Nedarim*, 81*a* [=Goldschm. Vol. IV. 996, l. 5, text]. The variant referred to a little later in the text of this essay runs thus: זהרו בבני עמי הארץ שמהם תצא תורה, *T.B. Sanhedrin*, 96*a* [=Goldschm. Vol. VII. 414, last line, text].

[3] *T.B. Pesaḥim*, 3*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. II. p. 347, l. 20, text]. *Cp.* S. Krauss in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II. p. 598*b*.

[4] *War*, Book III. ch. III. 2 [=Margoliouth, p. 751].

Josephus eulogizes. In the Talmud Galilee wears the same smiling face.[1] Thus we have no ground for assuming that poverty was peculiarly prevalent in Galilee in the age of the ministry of Jesus.

But were there other grounds for animosity between the learned and the ignorant? The educated 'looked down on the masses, not only as unlearned, but as ill-bred, rude, and dirty,' writes G. F. Moore. This is a hard saying. But before he completes his Note, Professor Moore makes a remark which is a full answer to those who, taking up arms in favour of the *'Am ha-'Areṣ*, find all the sincerity in their order. 'The notion that sometimes crops up in the books, that the *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ* were the humble pious in the land, in contrast to the arrogant scholars and the self-righteous Pharisees, a class corresponding to the *'anawim* of the Psalms, is without any better support than the imagination of the authors who entertain it. That among those upon whom the Rabbis and the Pharisees so liberally bestowed the name *'Am ha-'Areṣ* there were many godly men and women is unquestionable, but that the genuine religion of the Jews is to be looked for in this class is an altogether different matter.'[2]

The animus, on both sides, between the educated rabbi and the ignorant masses, is, in fact, a phenomenon of the second, not of the first century. The only unquestionable first century saying is misquoted as evidence of this animus. Dosa b. Harchinas was born early in the first century and died before its close; his dates are approximately A.D. 10 to 90. He himself was wealthy, and was familiar with the vices of the luxurious—morning sleep, mid-day wine, frivolous conversation of the young, and assemblages of the vulgar—these, says he, put a man out of the world. An innocent

[1] See E. G. Hirsch in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 554, following on an account by F. Buhl (*op. cit.* Vol. v. 553). *Cp.* also a brilliant article by T. K. Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 1630 ff. 'Umbria gives the key to St. Francis, Galilee, in some sense, gives the key to Jesus of Nazareth.' We must, however, be on our guard against such sentiments, for, as Cheyne acutely points out, the exaggerations of Renan on this point 'repel sober minds.' One other passage from Cheyne must be quoted. 'Such are the revenges of history, this home of the fulfiller and transformer of the Law, became in the second century after Christ, the centre of Jewish study of the Law.' Reference may also be made to Selah Merrill's article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. 98 ff.; to Strack-Billerbeck, 153; E. A. Abbott rightly expresses astonishment at the saying (John vii. 52) 'out of Galilee ariseth no prophet' (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 3409, *s.v.* Nicodemus). He suggests that the true text might be ὁ προφήτης, 'the prophet is not to arise out of Galilee.' The older authorities on Galilee are cited in the bibliographies to the articles referred to in this note. The first century Rabbis would have disputed the statement that any district was without its prophets (*e.g. T.B. Sukkah*, 27*b*). On the other hand Johanan b. Zakkai, who resided for a time in Galilee before 70, found the inhabitants indifferent to the Law (see W. Bacher's article in *J.E.* Vol. VII. p. 214).

[2] Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I. p. 439. Much of the material used by Prof. Moore belongs to a period much later than the beginnings of Christianity.

enough piece of the rich man's morality, and soundly pertinent withal. Dosa in the last clause certainly uses the phrase '*Ammê ha-'Areç*, but I cannot agree with R. T. Herford (R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. . . . Oxford, 1913, Vol. II. p. 701) that Dosa's saying is 'a general condemnation of them.' It is a condemnation of another kind. In Taylor's words: 'Everything which leads the mind astray from it (the Torah) is to be avoided as destroying a man's soul.' [1] There is no hint here of more than a desire for a serviceful life, a life which (in an addition to the text in the *Aboth de R. Nathan*) places a man second only to the rank of ministering angels.[2] Even when, in a later century, the relations between learned and unlearned had become embittered, one must guard against exaggeration. Thus, we have seen that a man who neglected Scripture, Mishnah, and manners was pronounced outside the pale of civilization.[3] With the man who possesses none of these three, cries Bar Qappara, intercourse should be disallowed; as he words it, no 'profit' or 'enjoyment' should be derived from such a one. But what did Bar Qappara mean by study, what were his demands? *This book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night* (Joshua i. 8)—one or two chapters read in the morning, and one or two in the evening, fulfil this 'day and night' duty.[3]

We must probe this aspect of the case a little closer, although we are passing into second century records. But just because this is a second century record, it is peculiarly significant, as will be seen immediately. A *baraitha* in tractate *Menaḥoth* [4] having cited a view of R. José concerning the shew-bread, the Talmud proceeds:

> R. Ami said: From the words of R. José we learn that, even if a man has studied no more than a single section (*pereq*)

[1] *Aboth*, III. 10, 15, 16.

רבי דוסא בן הרכינס אומר · שינת שחרית · ויין של
צהרים ושיחת הילדים · וישיבת בתי כנסיות של עמי
הארץ · מוציאין את־האדם מן העולם:

It is not against praying with the *'Am ha-'Areç* that Dosa inveighs, but *yeshibah*, *i.e.*, sitting in idle conference in his assemblages. That the true reading is not בתי כנסיות ('synagogues') but כנסיות ('assemblages') seems to me certain. For the critical support for this reading *cp.* C. Taylor, *Appendix to Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 1900, p. 150. This would bring the saying into line with the saying of R. Johanan, the second century sandal-maker, *Aboth*, IV. (14, 16). In the *Aboth de R. Nathan*, I. 21 (p. 74), the 'assemblies' of the *'Ammê ha-'Areç* are unequivocally interpreted to mean street-gadding and circus performances.

[2] *Aboth de R. Nathan*, II. chapter xxxiv. beginning (ed. Schechter, p. 73), on the avoidance of the four habits enumerated:

הוא היה אומר כל הפורש מן · דברים אלו הוא
(בנ"א · ראוי לו להיות) שוגי למלאכי השרת:

[3] *T.B. Qiddushin*, 40*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. V. 835, l. 20, text]. Association with such a one is an association with a scoffer, deprecated in Ps. i. 1, *cp.* Midrash, *ad loc.* See p. 669.

[4] *T.B. Menaḥoth*, 99*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. VIII. 759, l. 8, text].

in the morning and a single section in the evening, he has fulfilled the precept inculcated in Joshua i. 8. R. Joḥanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, even the morning and evening recital of the *Shema'* (Deut. vi. 4–9, etc.) suffices. Yet it is forbidden to announce this in the presence of *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ*. But Raba said, it is a duty to announce this in the presence of *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ*.

The motive for this difference of attitude towards the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* is given by Rashi: do not tell them the minimum, lest they make it a maximum for their children—so runs one view; tell them the minimum, for it will lead them into a frame of mind in which they will accustom their children to study the Torah. In neither view, is there a display of animus or contempt; the motive in both views is solicitude for the good of the *'Am ha-'Areṣ*. We ought not, therefore, to take the violent passages in tractate *Pesaḥim* too literally.[1] 'Much of it,' as Moore so truly comments, 'is rabbinical hyperbole which no one acquainted with the literature will take too seriously.' And there is something more. Aqiba from the ranks of the *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ*—he was an ignorant shepherd—rose to a high place in the ranks of the learned. He said of himself: 'When I was an *'Am ha-'Areṣ*, I used to say, "I wish I had one of those scholars, and I would bite him like an ass." His disciples said, "You mean like a dog." He replied, "An ass's bite breaks the bone; a dog's does not."'[2] How can this be read literally? It is a jest, a grim jest no doubt, but it no more corresponds to the facts than do so many modern self-revelations of repentant sinners. Take an earlier and more august example. As I have formerly written, and I stand by it: 'A Jewish reader of Acts, making allowance for Paul's temperament, refusing to accept as literal his account of the persecutions he inflicted as Saul or suffered as Paul, sees some of the facts in a different perspective.'[3] The same applies to Aqiba.

Some of the rules regarding the *'Am ha-'Areṣ*, which seem at first sight harsh, were ordinary rules of social fitness. That the educated should not desire intermarriage with the illiterate, with women who disobey the rules of *niddah* (rules at once of hygiene and of holiness), with men who are rough lovers and indecent assertors of conjugal rights—all this (stated with unmannerly emphasis it is true) seems to me creditable and not discreditable. The worst *mésalliance* is a union of the culturally unfit. I think that these maxims, perpetuated as they were in Jewish life through-

[1] See the quotations in MOORE, *loc. cit.*

[2] *T.B. Pesaḥim*, 49*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. II. 494, l. 22, text]; MOORE, p. 444. M. LAZARUS is right in regarding the *Pesaḥim* passages as 'a jest' (see *Ethics of Judaism*, English translation, I. 258, Philadelphia, 1900.

[3] *Studies*, etc., Second Series, p. 57.

out the ages, did very much for that high esteem of scholarship which made the student so welcome a son-in-law to the rich *bourgeois*. Academic distinction is still the path to a wealthy marriage in many sections of Jewish society. From the count, then, of the charge against the Rabbinic treatment of the *'Am ha-'Areç*, I would eliminate most of the indictment.

Something, however, remains, and to that we must turn; striving, to the best of our power, to discriminate first century evidence from the later facts. First there is the question of what nowadays is a large element in a clergyman's activities, be he minister of Synagogue or Church. In the first century 'pastoral' work was unknown. The rabbi was easily accessible to the laity, men and women, of all classes—none were *déclassés*; there are several early references.[1] But mostly the visits to the rabbi (*he* did not do the visiting) were for two purposes: the men to receive instruction, the women to inquire on ritual purity laws.[2] An incident recorded of Johanan b. Zakkai proves a good deal; it belongs to the period well before 70, as the scene is the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. One day Johanan passed the place where a certain Simeon was digging wells. He was a smart fellow, and cried to the rabbi: 'I am as great a man as thou!' We can see the twinkle in Johanan's eye as he asks 'How so?' 'Because,' rejoins Simeon, 'we are both engaged on public service.' 'But,' Johanan retorts, 'thou diggest the well, but I am needed to tell whether its waters are sweet or ritually valid, when man or woman inquires.'[3] The whole episode is full of interest; it shows a friendliness between rabbi and labourer, a *camaraderie* even, and it also reveals the Pharisee's readiness to converse with the 'crowd.' Shammai, who was less amiable, must have learned better as he grew older, for the very man who angrily drove off a questioner[4] was the man whose favourite maxim became: 'Receive all men with cheerful amiability.'[5] Nor was there contempt of the crowd in the readiness to seek the view of the man in the street, especially on proverbial lore, the significance of common things and established ritual practice.[6]

But our chief purpose is, at this stage of our inquiry, to show that certain acts of kindness and consideration, which with the

[1] *Cp.* Büchler, *Types, etc.*, p. 10.

[2] Sometimes the question put to the rabbi would be more general, as in the well-known case of Hillel, who not only dealt with proselytes' inquiries, but also answered with unfailing good-temper the frivolous disturber of his bath. Throughout the ages the Rabbinic *Responsa* have been distinguished by variety as well as subtlety, by width of life-interest as well as by ritual *minutiae*.

[3] *Midrash Rabba* on Ecclesiastes iv. 17.

[4] *T. B. Sabbath*, 31*a* [=Goldschm. Vol. I. 387, l. 4 from foot].

[5] *Aboth*, I. 15 (16).

[6] [illegible]. *T.B. 'Erubin*, 14*b* [=Goldschm. Vol. II. 45, l. 17, text]: 'Go, see how the people act.'

ages grew to be the concern of special organizations and of the pastor, were not in Jesus' age left to the Rabbi, but were everyman's duty and privilege. Jesus seems here to have moved in a path of his own, to have assumed more than a common share of the common burden of sympathy with human joy and with sorrow, and thus to have created and presented an exemplar fruitful with loving suggestion for all subsequent time. In his day we can well believe that he exercised a magnetic attraction, not merely to the poor and outcast, but to those also who were neither poor nor outcast but had some consciousness of ideals to which they could not give expression, except under the personal touch of an understanding leader. Yet there was much to be urged on the side of those who held that sympathy as we each need at times must come from all to each. The unique faculty of Jesus was not well delegated later on to specialists in benevolence. The first century conception is clear enough; that it is earlier than 70 is shown by the terms of the most notable expression given to the conception—which lives on, and is found in the daily liturgy of the Synagogue. It runs thus: These are the things which have no fixed measure (by enactment of the Law): the corners of the field, the offerings brought on appearing before the Lord at the three festivals, the practice of charity, and the study of the Law. These are the things, the fruits of which a man enjoys in this world, while the stock remains for him for the world to come: viz. honouring father and mother, the practice of charity, timely attendance at the house of study morning and evening, hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, dowering the bride, attending the dead to the grave, devotion in prayer, and making peace between man and his fellow; but the study of the Law is equal to them all,' or rather corresponds to them all, is the source and sanction of all virtues. The passage just quoted is composite, but all of it is ancient, and it proves alike the fulness of Pharisaic sympathy with all men's needs, and also the Pharisaic principle that such sympathy was a common, and not a 'pastoral' obligation.[1] Intercourse between the classes and the masses was secured when these varied social obligations were general.

But there were bars to intercourse. It is a pity that critics of Rabbinic ritualism confuse two points which are largely distinct—confuse inconvenience with unsociability. Rabbinic apologists have so clear a case in rebuttal of the former charge, that they attach less importance than they should to the latter. To begin with, most of the ritual rules, once Pharisaic, are now the ordinary amenities of polite society. One does not nowadays furnish a marital chamber

[1] For an analysis of this passage and a reference to its sources, see my *annotated dition* of the *Singers' Prayer-Book*, p. xi. ff. *An Historical Survey of Jewish Philanhropy*, by E. Frisch (New York, 1924, Ch. II.), has many useful facts and comments.

with a single bed. One takes many precautions for the health of women in the menstrual period. One washes one's hands before meals, and one uses a finger-bowl after meals. One does not boil one's beef in the same pot which is used for scalding milk; and one uses different dishes and plates for tea to those which one uses for dinner. One does not buy tuberculous meat. It is wonderful how often ancient ritual becomes modern etiquette. And as to the fringed garments, the older Pharisee made far less fuss with his costume than does the present-day Parisian. Generally, ritual becomes routine, and it ceases to be a burden. It lifts itself out of routine by a benediction here and a grace there, and becomes an element in the psychology of continence and self-denial. The answer is complete.[1]

[1] The importance attached to the question of hand-washing seems to me exaggerated by both sides, by the critics and defenders of the Pharisees. The custom has its beautiful aspect surely. Hesiod delights us. 'Never cross the sweet-flowing water of ever-rolling rivers afoot, until you have prayed, gazing into the soft flood, and washed your hands in the clear, lovely water.' The poet spoils it a little for us when he adds: 'Whoever crosses a river with hands unwashed of wickedness, the gods are angry with him, and bring trouble upon him afterwards' (*Works and Days*, 737–741, Loeb edition, p. 57). Hesiod applies the rule to sacrifices: 'Never pour a libation of sparkling wine to Zeus after dawn with unwashen hands, nor to others of the deathless gods: else they do not hear your prayers but spit them back' (ll. 724–726). Similarly with the Hebrews the rite began with the priests (Kohler, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I. 70 ff.), and though no general obligation was imposed by the Law, and though, moreover, it continued a matter of controversy among the Pharisees long after the age of Jesus, it is impossible to assume that Mark vii. 2–4, and Matthew xv. 2–3, are inauthentic. In Matthew the custom is called a 'tradition'; the term is used loosely, if 'tradition' implies antiquity. The subject was probably becoming a heated question in the time of Jesus. G. H. Box, in his valuable commentary on Matthew, claims that the Shammaites based their claim for a hand-washing on a Solomonic origin, but this idea is not found till the third century. On the other hand the episode of R. Aqiba in prison, who uses part of a small supply of water for hand-washing on the ground that he does not wish to offend his colleagues, fails to support Dr. Büchler's view that hand-washing was not the generally established pious layman's habit in the Bar Kochba period. R. Aqiba may merely have meant that in prison, when the water supplied was barely enough to maintain life, it was open to dispute whether the hand-washing rite ought to be observed. The whole evidence on the subject is discussed with great learning and ability by Dr. Büchler in his work on the Galilean *'Am ha-'Areṣ*; and more recently in Strack-Billerbeck on the texts in Mark and Matthew (Vol. I. pp. 695 ff.; Vol. II. p. 13). For Jewish comments on these texts *cp.* Kohler as cited above, and Büchler's very important note in the *Expository Times*, October 1909, pp. 34–40.

Washing the hands before meals survived in the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. A reference may be cited from a poem of the fourteenth-fifteenth century (Early English Text Society, Vol. XXII., 1867), *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*; H. L. Dixon, *Saying Grace*, Oxford, 1903, pp. 59 ff.:

> Non lotis escam manibus, non sumperris (*sic*) unquam,
> Nemo cibum capiat donec benediccio fiat.
>
> "You must not ever take up your viands with unwashen hands;
> Let none take any food until the Blessing shall be given."

But on the other side the answer is not only incomplete, it is nugatory. Seen from the outside, a foreigner's etiquette seems at once burdensome and silly. It is neither unless it projects *to the outside* a wall of separation. In the first century, and more deliberately in the second century, Pharisaic ritualism did project this wall. In the first place we have evidence for this in the Gospel narratives, especially in Mark and Matthew. Now, both these Gospels were written considerably later than the lifetime of Jesus, and both were written away from the centre, Mark certainly in Rome, and Matthew possibly in Antioch. Hence we may expect misunderstanding. Take first the requirement of levitical purity, the duty to remain continuously in such a state, the nervous punctiliousness for the prescribed ablutions, the anxious avoidance of contact with possible sources of contamination. Most of this is an imaginary picture. C. G. Montefiore, as long ago as 1892, explained the essential truth, and subsequent research has only filled in details and provided further evidence for the thesis advanced.[1] 'A layman might contract uncleanness without scruple; the traditional law on this point even modified the letter of the Pentateuch, interpreting, for example, the enactment of Leviticus xi. 8 to apply only to the priesthood or to the season of the festivals.' Mr. Montefiore quotes Maimonides: 'It is permitted to every one to touch an unclean thing, and thereby to become unclean. . . . Every Israelite is enjoined to be clean at the time of the festivals, in order that he may be able to enter the Temple and eat holy food (*i.e.* sacrifices). And when it says, *Their carcase ye shall not touch*, this means at the festivals only.'[2] That the great majority of the Pharisaic laws of clean and unclean refer to priests, asserted by Mr. Montefiore, has been proved up to the hilt by Dr. Büchler.[3] There is no need for further argument; the evidence adduced by Dr. Büchler is absolutely conclusive. It would not be wonderful if Mark and Matthew confused somewhat, and thought that a controversy with the priests was held with the Pharisees in general. On the Pharisees the purity laws can have been little burden, can have caused scarcely any of that 'uneasiness' which some modern writers assume.

This, however, does not end the matter. We have to make more allowance than Jewish apologists commonly do for two facts: (*a*) the extent to which pietists offered voluntary sacrifices, and

[1] C. G. Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892. In my account of the *ʿAm ha-ʾAreç*, I omitted several passages of importance which are quoted by him, pp. 499–501. His early treatment of the question is not superseded by anything written since by others, or by himself.

[2] *Hilchoth Tum'ath 'Okhelin*, xvi. 9; *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 476.

[3] See Büchler's wonderfully learned book *Der galiläische ʿAm ha-ʾAreç des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1906.

(*b*) the extent to which laymen voluntarily elected to live after sacerdotal manner. On neither of these points is the evidence clear; but there are indications that on both counts we must allow for a certain amount of lay rigorism. It is obvious that if a man frequently offered sacrifices, and if to offer sacrifices imposed severe rules of purification, then he would necessarily hold himself bound to maintain a continuous state of levitical cleanness. On the one hand Hillel bathed in the public bath as a religious duty, but only to keep clean that which was made in the Image of God. There would be no doubt but that Hillel was in his own person indifferent to the demands of levitical purifications, were it not that he would seem to have been a frequent visitor to the Temple. This, however, is a doubtful inference from an obscure saying of his.[1] But some of the next generation or two must have been clearer cases. The evidence is scanty, hence we can be brief; it is suggestive, hence it is important. We have, first, early strictness as to the blue cord on fringes, which, while not relevant to the problem of ritual purity, is indicative of increasing niceties in ritual observance.[2] But much more important, as well as more directly relevant, is the fact that we have some clear reference to frequent, monthly, and even daily, presentation of sin-offerings. Some would elect to assume the Nazarite vow in order to be *liable* for a sin-offering every month, seeing that they did not feel it lawful to make such offerings without Biblical prescription. This is recorded of a whole class, the 'Ancient Pietists.'[3] Individuals were less scrupulous as to the need for Biblical prescriptions. R. Ele'azar says: 'A man may voluntarily offer a trespass-offering for a problematic sin *every day*, and *at every hour*, that he wills so to do, and this was called the *'asham ḥasidim*—the trespass-offering of the pietists or saints. Moreover, Baba b. Buta is known to have done this day by day and every day except on the morrow of the fast of the Tenth of *Tishri*.[4] Then there is the charming story told of a certain *Ḥasid* who 'forgot' a sheaf in the midst of his field and told his son to go and offer a bull as holocaust and another as peace-offering. 'Why dost thou rejoice over the performance of this precept more than over the performance of all others?' 'Because all other precepts must be performed with premeditation, but this one with forgetfulness.' It is hard for the

[1] *Tosefta Sukkah*, IV. 3 (ed. Zuckermandel, Pasewalk, 1880, p. 198, l. 12): 'Hillel the Elder said, to the Place which my heart loves thither my feet carry me'—this must refer to frequent appearances within the Temple precincts, which Hillel would scarcely have approached in a state of levitical impurity.

[2] These facts are adduced by Dr. BÜCHLER in his *Some Types, etc.*, but not in the context of the present writer's argument. For the fringes see *T.B. Menaḥot*, 40–41 [Goldschm. Vol. VIII. pp. 548 ff.]; *Sifre*, Numbers, § 115.

[3] *Tosefta* (Zuckermandel, p. 276, l. 1), *Nedarim*, I. 1; *cp. T.B. Nedarim*, 10*a* [=Goldschm. Vol. IV. 856, l. 18, text].

[4] *Tosefta Kerithoth*, IV. 4 (Zuckermandel, p. 566, l. 10); *Mishnah*, VI. 3.

aint to forget to do his duty by accidentally leaving an unreaped heaf, for so our pietist interpreted כי תקצור קצירך ושכחת [1] True his was an exceptional case, but, taking it together with what recedes, it may well be that there were a fair number who often rought sacrifices, apart from those at the festivals, and who would hus naturally desire to maintain their persons in the state of ritual leanliness. Nor is it possible to estimate how often sacrifices were rought by those who became conscious of having committed an nintentional offence and might be required to bring a sin-offering.[2] Similarly with the other points at issue. Even the priest was compelled to observe ritual purity only at sacrificial meals *in* the Temple. In his home he was not so compelled, though from the Pharisaic insistence on ritual purity during the consumption of *ʿerummah* in the priest's private abode, the custom grew up for riests to observe the purity laws at all their meals. And the trictness which the rigorists demanded of the priests some of them were ready to inflict on themselves. In the first century and in he first half of the second century non-priests who observed the aws of ritual purity were rare,[3] as Dr. Büchler maintains and as ie has proved. But there are some cases on record, and we are nable to ascertain whether it was just with a group of such pietists hat Jesus came into conflict. The attempt, however, of some noderns to create a mass of such pietists is more creditable to their ancy than demonstrated by their facts.

In what precedes enough has been conceded, it may be hoped, o explain the Gospel references without doing injustice to the abbinic evidence. It remains only to insist on the agricultural rovenance of a very large proportion of the regulations concerning he *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ* in relation to the *Ḥaber*. The vast majority of he ritual exclusiveness turns on the giving of tithes. The *ʿAm a-ʾAreṣ* is not the average Jew, hampered by Laws and impatient f impositions, but he is the Galilæan antithesis to the *Ḥaber*, flourishes fter the Hadrian War, and because of his neglect of tithes was not ne from whom to accept hospitality.[4] It is doubtful whether, efore Hadrian, the figure of the non-tithing *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ* can be liscerned; he is rather the neglecter of rites in general, and in articular he fails to educate his children;[5] in the first century assage, the *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ* is, as contrasted with the *Ḥaber*, a man f lower credibility.[6] It may be that the distresses following on

[1] *Tos. Peah*, III. 8.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Johanan b. Zakkai's eulogy of the law and its observers—princes nd commoners—in this respect, *Sifra* to Leviticus iv. 22 (ed. Weiss, p. 19c).

[3] See Büchler, on the Galilean *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ*, pp. 53 ff., pp. 166 ff.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 9. On the pre-Hadrianic *ʿAm ha-ʾAreṣ*, see pp. 19 ff

[5] This is the definition of first century rabbis: *T.B. Berakoth*, 47*b* [=Goldschm. ol. I. 170, l. 7, text].

[6] *T.B. Bekoroth*, 36*a*.

Bar Cochba's revolt so impoverished the farmers that they resented the tithes, or it may be that the introduction of sub-letting of farms influenced the question, for while in the time of Josephus the Galilæans freely paid tributes, they did not do so in the later period.[1] In general, the two questions of tithes and ritual purity came to be the dividing line, they affected intercourse, they led to mutual animosities, but the line was not a rigidly fixed one. 'Any man,' says G. F. Moore, 'could become a *Ḥaber* by binding himself to be trustworthy in the matters of ceremonial cleanness and the separation of the portion of God and the ministry.'[2]

The whole issue was unreal and ephemeral; it had no roots in the past, and produced no fruits in the future. Of all the early features of Pharisaism, the phenomenon of the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* left least traces. Hence the problem is important historically, not theologically. In this instance, however, archæology would be playing a great rôle, were it clear that the temporary division between *Ḥaber* and *'Am ha-'Areṣ* affected men at the very critical moment of the beginnings of Christianity. Dr. Kohler thinks it did, but he bases his contrast on the difference between the 'poor and outcast' masses whom Jesus won and the learned and proud specialists who opposed them and him.[3] We have seen, however, that there are grounds for rejecting this contrast. On the other hand, G. F. Moore—who recognized that the line between the *Ḥaber* and the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* 'was not one of birth or status but, we might say, of culture and piety,' so that 'there was no great gulf fixed impassably between them—closes his Note on the subject with a suggestion which runs thus: 'That Jesus and his disciples would have been counted by the Scribes and Pharisees among the *'Ammê ha-'Areṣ*, is proved by the fact that they did not observe the rabbinical rule about washing their hands before eating, for the first step in the reception of an *'Am ha-'Areṣ* to the *Ḥabûrah* was the observance of precisely this custom.' It cannot, however, be proved that this type of regulation was already current in the age of Jesus. Therein consists the main difficulty, and it would appear that we must reconcile ourselves to impotence in completely solving it.[4]

[1] Note the contrast (suggested by Dr. Büchler, p. 26) between Josephus *Life*, § 12 [=Margoliouth, p. 606], and the rabbinic references from the late second and early third centuries.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 442.

[3] *J.E.* Vol. I. p. 484.

[4] Some interference with social intercourse between Jews and Christians was in later centuries, due to the dietary laws. On this there is much valuable information in A. Wiener's *Die jüdischen Speisegesetze*, Breslau, 1895, a work which deserves to be more widely known than it is. But the objection was not all on one side. Elmslie, in his comment on Mishnah, *'Aboda Zara*, II. 6, v. 5 quotes the Elvira Synod of the year A.D. 305. 'Si quis clericus vel fidelis cum

The duty cannot at this stage be evaded of going through—on the basis of what has been said above concerning the *'Ammê ha-'Areç*—those passages in the Synoptic Gospels which appear to present some direct evidence on the subject. My reluctance is due to the consideration that this method of summing up may assume an appearance of dogmatism, which the writer is far from entertaining.

(1) Mark vii. 3: 'with defiled, that is, unwashen hands.' This passage has been fully discussed in the preceding pages. The whole conception is sacerdotal, it applies to laymen under exceptional circumstances only, but there remains enough basis for antagonism between the disciples of Jesus and Pharisees of a particular group. It does not, however, characterize the general body of the Pharisees, nor distinguish these from the masses in the first half of the first century, except possibly in respect of the particular custom of hand-washing.

(2) Matthew xviii. 10: 'See that ye despise not one of these little ones,' with verse 6: 'Whoso shall cause one of these little ones which believe *on Me* to stumble . . .' *Cp.* Mark ix. 42. It is significant that in Mark the words *on Me* (εἰς ἐμέ) 'are omitted by many ancient authorities' (R.V. margin). The passage in Matthew also has been altered by an editorial hand, when the mission was in action, and the words 'on Me' had a proselytizing force. In the original form of Matthew, the whole section applied only to the children throughout. In Luke xvii. 1 (2 in Greek), on the other hand, the 'little ones' are children in faith. At all events, though these texts point back genuinely to Jesus' sympathy and gentleness to all simple, humble souls, they do not prove with definition the existence of any large class of 'submerged,' 'outcast,' or 'neglected' persons.

(3) Matthew x. 6: 'The lost sheep of the house of Israel'; *cp.* xv. 24. These passages, again, when compared with the parallels in Mark vi. seem coloured by conditions subsequent to the death of Jesus. The expression 'lost sheep' was, moreover, a conventional one, as is particularly seen from Isaiah liii. 6, 'sheep without a shepherd' as Qimhi comments. Luke's Parable of the Lost Sheep (xv. 4–7), with which compare Matthew xviii. 12–14, has a close analogue in the legendary embellishments of the story of Moses. Moses in the Midrash is also said to have helped the heavily burdened

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Judeis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communicatione abstineri, ut debeat emendari.' Such unsociability has its true root in the feeling against associations with pagans at meals, which involved idolatrous rites. Yet we find in the Mishnah (*Aboda Zara*, v. 5) evidence that such associations occurred. As between Jews and Christians, the separation was based on fear either of mixed marriages or of proselytizing opportunities. Between Jews and Jews, also, the dietary laws have at certain periods raised social barriers. All this, however, has nothing to do with the *'Am ha-'Areç* question.

to fulfil the Egyptian taskmasters' demands. On Matthew xi. 28, compare my remarks in *Second Series*, pp. 4 ff. The passage has no relevance whatever to the problem of the relation of the scholars to the masses. Later on, when the Christian propaganda was finding opposition from the Synagogue, the missionaries would naturally enough think of the Jews who rejected their overtures as 'lost sheep.' This would be in the period between the start of Paul's mission and the fall of the Temple, the period when the Gospels were being formed in their oldest shape. While then the phrase 'lost sheep' points back to the firm tradition of Jesus' rare and enchanting humanity, it ought not to affect the problem of the 'masses,' as it presents itself to many modern readers of the Gospels. The latter are thinking of certain phenomena of the history of the Church itself, when tendencies were rampant against the example of Jesus, and towards neglect of the humbler members of the Christian fold. With regard to Matthew ix. 36, the context is indeed nearer to such a distinction between classes and masses, but the sufferings of the latter seem exclusively physical—they are due to sickness. Mark, however, regards the multitude which flocked to Jesus as spiritually destitute as well as physically diseased. 'He began to teach them many things' (Mark vi. 34). Doubtless there were many then, as in every society, who needed instruction, guidance, consolation, enlightenment, and who failed to find their wants supplied by the current organizations of religion. Most of the Jewish masses felt no other needs than the religious system of their day provided in ample measure. Others did feel the need for something different, and in Jesus they found it. That a 'multitude' flocked to him surely proves his superior attraction, not the failure of other teachers to do their duty in their own way. We must not overdarken the background of the picture, because a figure in the foreground is so radiant. Jesus needs no such artistic tricks.

(4) Matthew ix. 11: 'Why eats your Master with publicans and sinners?' Compare Mark ii. 16, Luke v. 30; and see my remarks in *First Series*, pp. 54 ff. Jesus, unquestionably, associated more freely than other Jewish leaders with persons who *notoriously* disobeyed various ritual laws, or who were of doubtful moral character. These persons are similar to the class later on known as *'Ammê ha-'Areç*, but cannot be identified with that class. Still less is it right to think of the 'publicans and sinners' as corresponding with the poor and distressed masses; the 'publicans' were often wealthy, and the 'sinners' were not invariably of the Martha type. But that they were persons who were ill regarded by what was not entirely a smug respectability is probable enough, just as to-day Jews feel a not discreditable antipathy towards money-lenders and those degenerate sons and daughters of Israel

ho find their way into the divorce court. It is part of the dis-nctive glory of Jesus that he tried to win over and win back the publicans and sinners' of his time by friendly and reassuring ssociation with them. Throughout the ages men of genuine but onventional faith have been apt to draw aside their mantle from ontact with social outcasts. But such superfine sensibility should ot be called Pharisaic—it is the mark of the 'superior' persons ho have been wanting in no epoch and no creed. Against ll such, the example of Jesus stands out as a rebuke and an nspiration.

Additional Notes

Page 648, note 1.—The reference, kindly found by the Rev. Prof. W. A. L. lmslie, is as follows: Thomas Emlyn, *Examination of Mr. C. Leslie's Last Dialogue, relating to the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ together with some remarks n Dr. Stillingfleet's True Reasons of Christ's Sufferings*, London, M.D.C.C.VIII. he reference to Luke vi. 22 comes as the last lines of the pamphlet on p. 24.

Page 653, note 3, end.—The reference, kindly found by Rev. Dr. A. Feldman, s *Halakhah* xii. p. 130 ישוב העולם באילנות . . . ישוב העולם בבורות

Page 654, note 1.—The references II. 45. 259 seem to have no application, but hey are so given by Dr. Abrahams.

Page 658, note 3, end.—The reference, kindly found by Rev. Dr. A. Feldman, s to the *Yalqut*, where the saying of R. Hananya b. Teradion in *Aboth*, III. 3, is ited in application to this verse.

NOTE

I ought to have stated in my Preface that though my 'peculiar point of view' is that of a Liberal Jew, I, nevertheless, speak only for myself, and by no means as a representative of Liberal Judaism. I believe that I hold a higher view of the greatness and originality of the teaching of Jesus than is common among Liberal Jewish writers.

Secondly, I venture to ask that my estimate of that teaching and of the teaching of the Rabbis may be considered as a whole. It would be perfectly possible for a Jewish writer to quote a number of sentences from my book which warmly praise the teaching of Jesus, and criticize the teaching of the Rabbis; it would be just as easy for a Christian writer to quote a number of sentences which warmly praise the teaching of the Rabbis, and criticize the teaching of Jesus. Neither set of sentences would give a fair picture or estimate of my position as a whole.

C. G. M.

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